

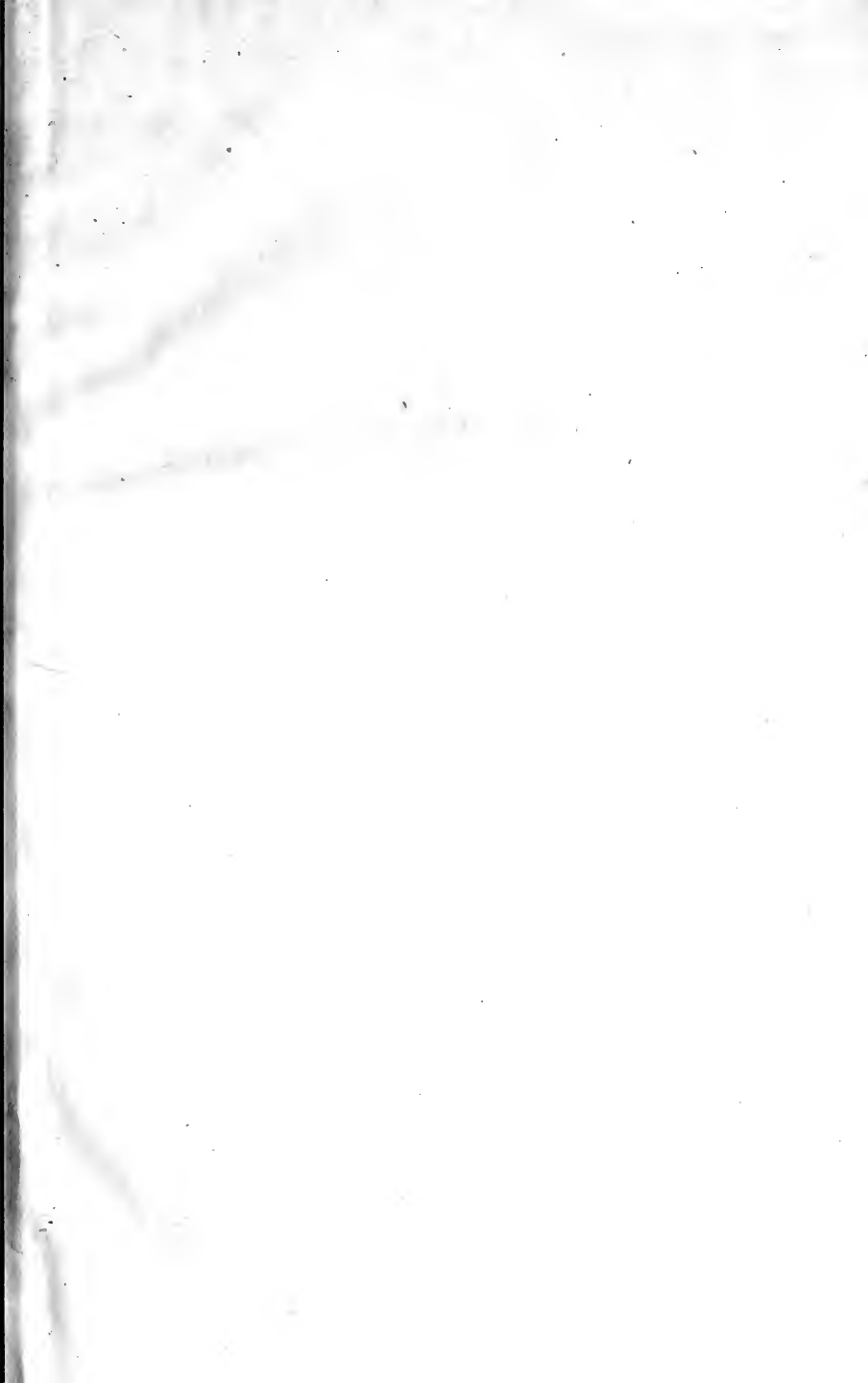
UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE IRISH
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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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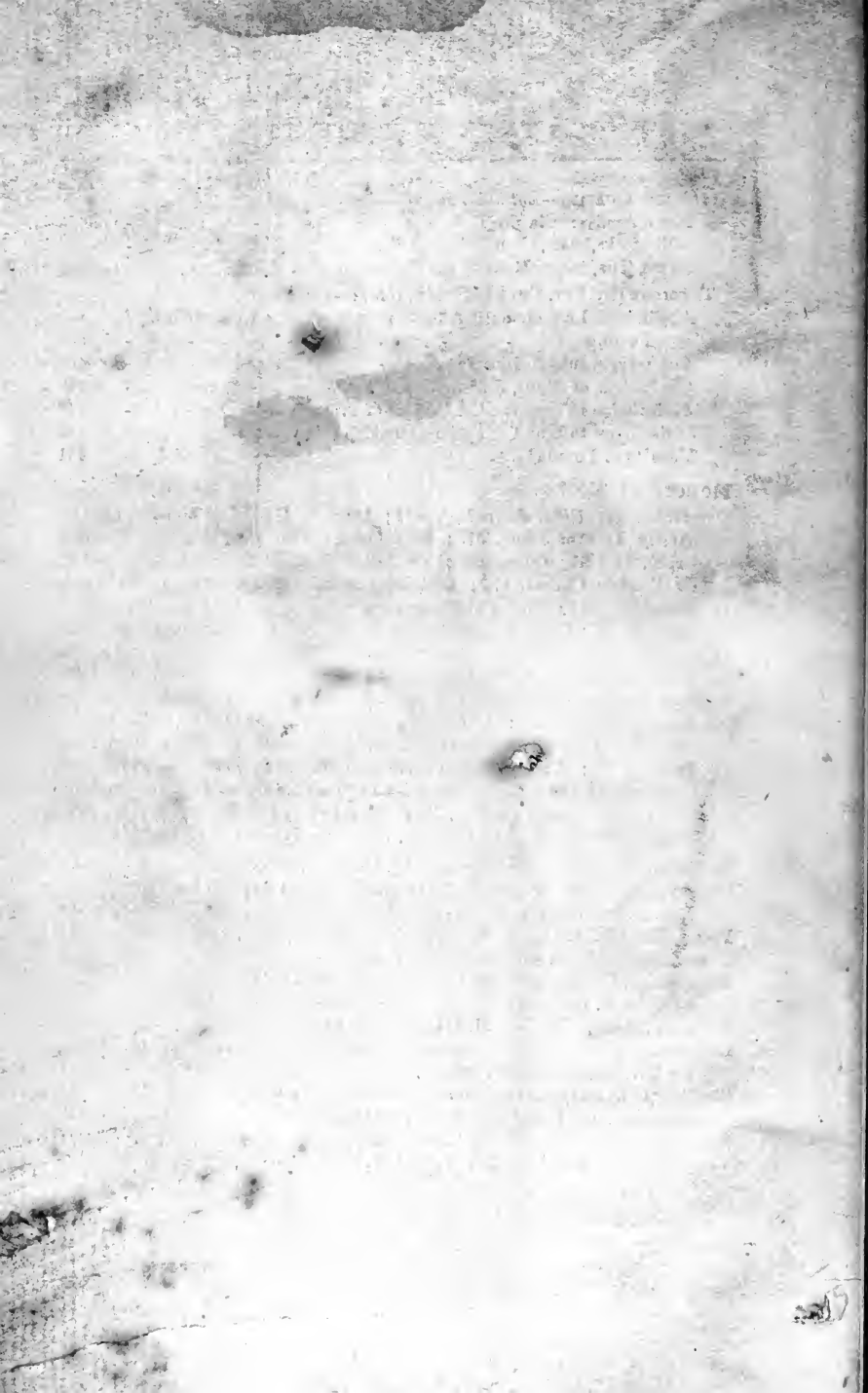
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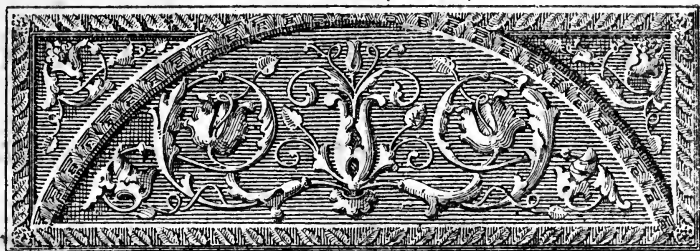
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LEAVES FROM MY EGYPTIAN DIARY¹

WE had been tossing on the Mediterranean for four full days, and there, at last, a speck on the horizon, was the top of the lighthouse which stands near Alexandria. Soon the loftier buildings rose up from the under-world, and a little later the whole city was before us, lying on the low shore. A great breakwater throws out its long arm from the east end of the city, and, curving round to the west, leaves but a narrow opening. We steamed safely through, and in a few moments were at the wharf. A motley crowd had come down to meet us—black faces, brown faces, and white faces; head-dresses of every colour, the most striking and most common of all being the scarlet tarboosh, which popped up everywhere, like an inverted geranium-pot. I scanned all the faces eagerly, in hopes of seeing my friend, Hashán Effendi,² an Egyptian officer, the commandant of a fort near Alexandria, in which he had kindly invited me to take up my abode. To my intense disappointment and bewilderment, he was nowhere to be seen. I discovered subsequently that the letter which I sent him, three or four days before my departure from Oxford, did not reach

¹ Paper read last year at a meeting of St. Mary's Literary Society, Maynooth College.

² The name is, of course, fictitious.

Alexandria earlier than myself, although I had come down through France in the most leisurely fashion, spending a night in Reims, another in Dijon, and a third in Marseilles.

And so there I was, on the quays of Alexandria, somewhat in the predicament of the Saracen lady who came to England knowing only the two words, 'Becket' and 'London.' By the use of natural signs I called a cab—a low, open vehicle. Then, by uttering the name of the village near Hashán Effendi's fort, I got the driver to understand that he was to take me to the railway station, from which I could get thither. In driving across the city I noticed, especially in the poorer quarters, many evidences of Oriental taste. No man was so poor as to be satisfied with such a legend as 'John Brown, Baker,' or 'Thomas Jones, Butcher.' The Alexandrian describes his house very frequently as 'The Grand Oriental Magazine of Egyptian Commerce,' or 'The Wonderful Emporium of Eastern Magnificence,' even though he sells nothing better than shoe-strings. I saw one little shop, owned by a Greek, who, although its front was only seven or eight feet, yet gave it the title: ΠΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΟΔΟΧΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΦΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΟΠΟΙΕΙΟΝ.¹ These little shops are all much alike. The door is usually closed. Instead of the window, there is an open space and a counter, so that one must stand in the street when making purchases. As to the wares offered for sale, one sees a lot of bright-coloured ribbons and shawls; a heap of bread in one corner, and vegetables in another; plenty of tobacco and coffee, and in the background, perhaps, a little boy grinding corn or sifting flour, and a woman combing a child's hair or preparing dinner. It is, therefore, like all the little shops in the East, really little more than a private room, with an opening on the street.

All this, and much besides, I noticed on my way from the steamer to the station. I arrived about three hours too soon at Mohatta Bab el Ghedeed, for that, I found afterwards, was the name of the station. I then dismissed the driver, paying him, I believe, about three times his legal fare.

¹ Universal Magazine, Hotel, Caffee, Bakery.

Now, however, I felt myself more at home, as some of the railway officials could talk French or English, and with their help I was able to send a wire to Hashán Effendi. During the few hours' delay I had an opportunity of observing the natives, who had assembled in a crowd around the luggage office. I sat in the open air, outside the railway buffet, and watched their movements, whilst I sipped a tiny cup of delicious Egyptian coffee. They seemed, as I thought, to be possessed with a species of frenzy. They were about fifty in number, but made noise enough for five hundred. Every man spoke as if he were convinced that the person addressed was at least five miles away from him; and occasionally someone amongst them, fearing lest proceedings might become monotonous, silenced all his companions with a yell which for pitch and volume could be equalled only by an Irishman in a bayonet charge. Add to all this the loose, flowing garments, the under garment of white, the outer of blue or brown material; the dark faces and the gleaming teeth; the turban, consisting of a soft white cloth wound round a low scull-cap; and picture the wearers all dashing to and fro in an insane hurry, pushing, pulling, and shrieking, and you will have some conception of what I saw at Mohatta Bab el Ghedeed.

At last, the train is ready to start. I step into the compartment, and am barely seated when a porter comes in and with a large cloth whisks about the thick deposit of dust which had settled on the cushions, in spite of the venetian shutters attached to all the windows. It was useless for me to interfere. He would neither cease dusting nor yet allow me to leave the compartment. He was evidently interpreting too literally some direction which he had received, not to allow passengers to step out of the train a minute or two before starting. Every movement of mine was met with a gesture of lofty and stern prohibition, accompanied by that inarticulate sound so common amongst the Egyptians, which we usually represent by the words 'tut-tut.' I was thus almost choked with dust, so much so that I was scarcely able to appreciate the hot dispute that now arose between the guard and the engine

driver, the former affirming that he had sounded the horn for departure five minutes before, the latter swearing by the prophet's nose and eye-brows that he had not. In the midst of the dispute, the station-master rushed up, hustled the disputants off to their posts, and stood on the platform pouring out volleys of terrific Mohammedan oaths after the departing train. After a journey of about three-quarters of an hour, I arrived at the little station of Chafakhana, and saw the welcome figure of my friend Hashán Effendi on the platform, with a squad of soldiers ready to carry up my baggage, which, however, consisted of only one trunk, and a small one at that.

After a light meal, consisting chiefly of curry and bananas, followed, of course, by coffee, I was shown over the fort, an immense building with two quadrangles, one of which is used as a drill ground, the other as a garden where the roses were already in bloom, the fig-trees bursting into leaf, and the vines that grew over a cage-shaped trellis within which a fountain played were just waking from their winter sleep. The fort is now used more as a barrack than as a fortress. Still, from its position on a rock with a deep moat all round, it would be difficult to storm. It stands but a few hundred yards from the coast, Alexandria lies five miles to the east, and the Bay of Agamé, or, as Europeans call it, Aboukir, lies a mile to the west. When night came on, although it was in the month of February, we sat, Hashán Effendi and I, by the open window sipping coffee, whilst we listened to the strains of the band which he had ordered out to do me honour. Most of the musicians were Soudanese, natives of upper Egypt, stalwarts of the true negro type, well over six feet in height, with crisp curly black hair, coal black faces, and large lips. To my amazement they commenced with the well-known tunes rightly despised by self-respecting Irish people, 'Killaloe and Enniscorthy,' and then drifted into weird Arabic airs. And so the music went on, a dirge broken now and then by a lively European melody that came like laughter in the midst of tears. At length, the Khedivial hymn was struck up, and we retired to rest.

Hashán showed me to my bedroom, a very large apartment about ten metres square, and six metres high. Just as he was bidding me good-night, he told me that the room was supposed to be haunted by an old Egyptian wizard.

'Of course,' said he, 'you don't mind about it. The story goes that he was strangled by Satan because he feared that the wickedness of the black-hearted magician might surpass his own. But, you know,' he went on, 'there's no truth in it. I may tell you, though, that I heard strange goings on in this very room myself. But, then, you see, it doesn't make any difference, you don't believe in these things.'

And so he left me. The room, truth to tell, was eerie enough. Quaint cupboards everywhere, mysterious nooks and recesses, and heavy hangings of antique tapestry, adorned with the figures of ancient Egyptian gods and demons, and with grotesque representations of the crocodile and the ibis and other uncanny creatures of the Nile, all dimly visible by the light of a single candle. However, I was too tired to think much of ghosts. I got into bed and drew around the muslin mosquito curtains which hung from a square frame overhead. Once or twice I was aroused from my slumbers by the thunder of hoofs on the drawbridge as the mounted patrol came in from the desert, or by the sound of the waves of the Mediterranean falling on the sandy beach.

A few days later we hired a dahabieh, and sailed across the bay of Agamé to the headland of the same name. A dahabieh is a low, fast boat, much used on the Nile. It carries a single sail, fixed to a slanting pole. One end of this pole is fastened to the bow, and the centre is tied loosely to the top of the mast. In about half an hour we had crossed the bay, and were climbing over the rough ground to the top of the low hill. On our way up we saw a native engaged in building. Just as we were looking at him he heard the cry of the mueddin, *i.e.*, the signal for prayer, from some distant mosque. He at once stood up, though he was on the top of the wall, turned towards the east, and began a series of movements and gestures, now kneeling down, and touching the ground with his forehead, now

standing erect, with his arms close to his sides or held high over the head, with outturned palms, preserving throughout a stony expression of deep solemnity. We passed on, and soon reached the top of the hill, which is all littered with the ruins of a fort destroyed during the bombardment of Alexandria. Here and there a few rooms escaped ball and shell, and one of them had been used as a cell by a Moham-medan hermit. He was known to the natives all along the coast, and far inland, as the Sheik of Agamé, and was famed for his fasting and merciless austerity. When he died his remains were reverently interred in his little cell, the scene of his earthly conflict. Ever since, the place is holy ground, and we dared not cross the threshold. Within, several lamps were burning, and innumerable votive offerings of tiny boats and ships, more or less rudely made, were fixed to the wall or placed on the floor. These were the gifts of devout sailors, who attributed their escape from dangers on the deep to the patron of mariners, the Sheik of Agamé. The sight of these offerings brought my thoughts back to an evening in autumn, some five years before, when I went into one of those grey-stone cathedrals in a little town in the North of France, and saw in the Lady Chapel, high up in the air, a great ship hanging like a phantom in the deepening twilight, masts, spars, and shrouds all complete, the gift of captain and crew of some ship that had escaped disaster off the Breton coast.

On reaching the foot of the hill we found horses awaiting us. Hashán, for some reason or other, wished to make the return journey by land. About half a mile from the fort we saw a group of fishermen sitting on the rocks, busy with their lines. We drew near to watch the sport. We could see right down through the clear water to the end of the line. The bait consisted of a small fish, which the victim was supposed to swallow entire. Presently we saw a large fish dart up through the waters. The excitement amongst the fishers was intense. They nudged one another, and strained forward to watch events. But the fish was evidently an old campaigner. He reconnoitred for a few seconds, and then, in the most gingerly fashion, nibbled off

the tail of the bait, and plunged back into the depths. The deluded fisherman leaped to his feet with a shriek, careered madly round, and ended by walking about on his hands. Then articulate utterance returned. He stood solemnly at the water's edge, and, with hand stretched forth, he cursed the fish, the fish's father, and the fish's religion, and called him a hypocrite and a liar. At length he sat down again, and plied his trade as before, occasionally nudging his companions, and muttering: 'Wasn't that a terrible hypocrite? Allah never made him.'

We hurried along towards the fort, and on our way were invited by a Bedouin family to come into their tent, and drink coffee, a sincere invitation, which, however, we politely declined. These Bedouins form a distinct class in the Egyptian population, not by reason of race, but by reason of habit. Like the other Egyptians around Alexandria and Cairo, they are a mixture of Turk and Arab, but prefer the roving life of the desert to the monotonous life of the town. In appearance the Arabs, or Turco-Arabs, are handsome and good-humoured, with large dark eyes, full of expression. The Bedouin women do not comply with the ordinary Mohammedan law of covering with a veil the entire face, except the eyes and forehead, a law strictly observed by the women of the other sections of the population. Whatever may be thought about this apparent want of ceremonial observance in the Bedouin woman, one thing is quite clear—that she has a higher sense of her duties as a mother. She keeps her children clean, and takes especial care to remove sand or flies from the eyes of the child, when too young to attend to itself. The other Egyptian mothers never take the least trouble to keep the children's eyes clean. The result is, that the eyes become very sore, never healing, even in after life. Foreigners imagine that the sand and the bright sunshine are to blame; but that is not true. The Bedouins are almost always roaming over the great wastes of sand, are exposed to the sun's fiercest rays, and yet their eyes are bright and clear. The explanation is simply as I have given it—the carefulness of the mother in one case, and her

carelessness in the other. The Bedouin woman, besides, is more respected than the other Arab women. During their journeys over the desert she is never compelled to trudge painfully along, as her less lucky sister must often do when a change of residence has to be made.

One day Hashán and I saw a young Arab boy driving proudly along in a little cart; the lord of creation he thought himself, haughty of mien as any Spanish knight from the court of Ferdinand, whilst his poor old mother—or grandmother she might have been—was hobbling along quite footsore by his side. Hashán rushed at him, seized him by the neck, flung him on the sand, and put the poor woman in his place. Then, with a sound drubbing, he helped still further to impress on the young rascal his first lesson in politeness.

• Every morning during my residence in the fort, I used to watch the soldiers' drill. The words of command in Arabic uttered with a shriek and the rattle of muskets are still in my ears, and I can readily paint for myself again the picture I then beheld; the crimson turban, the dusky uniforms, the black faces, the glittering steel, and the eye-balls flashing white. These soldiers, Hashán said, are practically ignorant of what fear is. Like some dogs, they fight when their masters tell them, never thinking of consequences or seeking for reasons. There is no such thing in Egypt as a national question, no such cry as Egypt for the Egyptians. The people can be roused to revolt only by some religious impostor, like the Mahdi,¹ who professed to have been sent by Heaven to conquer the whole world, and who proves his mission by the words of the prophet in the Koran. But to return to the soldiers. I noticed after a week or two a general disimprovement in their appearance and style of marching: not a very considerable disimprovement, perhaps, but still obvious enough to one who had been watching them rather sharply for several days. The cause, I discovered, was, that Ramadan, the Mohammedan Lent, was then in progress. Ramadan is the name of the ninth

¹ Pronounced with a guttural sound, as if spelled 'Mochdi.'

month of the Mohammedan year, but since it is given up to penance and fasting, its name, Ramadan, is often transferred to the fast itself. The Mohammedan year being lunar, Ramadan occurs eleven days earlier every year. There are some religious details in connection with its formal opening by the Sheiks with which I was unable to make myself quite familiar. I could gather, however, that the fast is not proclaimed, until the principal priest in charge of the great mosque at Cairo sees the delicate crescent of the new moon mirrored in the waters of a deep lake near the citadel; but that its termination is declared when the crescent of the next new moon has been seen in any part of the Egyptian land. Ramadan is not a fast, in our sense of the word. One is forbidden to eat, drink, smoke, or bathe between sunrise and sunset, but after sunset one may do as one pleases. The rich people get over all difficulties by simply turning night into day; the poor people who have to work all day must try to eat and sleep at night. Taking the population as a whole, the fast is observed with a fidelity which should put many a Christian to shame. Several of those poor soldiers of whom I was speaking used to cover their nose and mouth with their hands when they passed near anyone smoking a cigar; some of them, in fact, seemed to me to grudge themselves the very air they breathed. About sunset, the scene in the great quadrangle was quite exhilarating. The little children used to stand watching the sun, and the moment they saw the lower rim touching, or almost touching the sea, they clapped their hands with joy, and ran helter-skelter to tell their mothers to put the kettle down. In a few moments a bright fire in a brasier is blazing outside the doors of every house, and the first meal is ready in a few moments. Of course, none of the small Egyptian houses has such a thing as a fireplace; all cooking is done out of doors. As soon as dinner is over—vegetable fare, as a rule—they drink coffee and smoke for an hour or more, and then retire to rest. At twelve o'clock they take a second meal, usually of the lightest kind, often nothing more than bread and water, return to bed again, rise at half-past four, and take a hearty meal before

beginning the work of the day. When Ramadan is over, a period of rejoicing follows, called Beiram. It lasts three days, during which the whole country gives itself up to feasting and amusement. The Arabs from the country flock into the towns, dressed in their Friday robes, for their Friday corresponds to our Sunday. The children dance about in long dresses of pink, blue, or yellow, all flashing with spangles, and fly through the air on hobby-horses or swings. Everybody eats Beiram cakes, the ingredients of which I was unable to discover. They are very white, are covered with powdered sugar and flour, but to me were not very palatable. Unlike days of rejoicing in our country, Beiram is unmarred by scenes of drunkenness. The only Arab vice is of the very mildest kind, coffee-drinking. And their coffee is unlike ours, both in quality and in the quantities in which it is taken. It is pleasant, refreshing, mildly stimulating, is served up in tiny cups about one-third the size of ours, and is drunk in sips. After a day of marching or camel-riding in the desert, or of any fatiguing work, the weary Arab finds a complete restorative in this, the national beverage. To me it was always an agreeable sight, to see some poor fellow who had been slaving all day carrying bales of cotton, lolling peacefully outside his own door, in a species of paradise 'twixt pipe and cup, watching with half-shut eye the crimson sunset and listening to his children's voices as they played about on the sand.

A few days after the termination of Beiram, Hashán Effendi and I drove into Alexandria, over the rough path that connects the fort with the town. About half-way in, our driver, wishing to make things more comfortable for us and easier for his horses, drove along the tram-lines, which had been carried out some distance beyond the suburbs. Just as it happened, the old man whose duty it was to keep the rails free from dust was coming towards us at the time, pushing a pole with an iron ferule along the rut. When he saw the car approaching, he dropped his pole, threw up his hands, and uttered a series of yells that brought all the women and children to the doors. The moment, however,

he saw Hashán in his Turkish uniform, with countless decorations on his breast, his demeanour changed with amazing rapidity.

'What's the matter?' said Hashán, with a look of feigned bewilderment.

'Oh, it's all right,' he answered. 'Tis a very fine day.'

'Yes; but what are you shouting about?'

'Tis a very fine day. The oats will be coming up soon in the soft ground; Satan himself won't be able to stop it.'

'Yes. That's all right, but we're not going to drive on till we know what you were making all that noise for.'

'Ah, well, you know,' said he, 'I have to keep these lines clear, and your car is pushing back all the dust again.'

'I know,' said Hashán, 'but what are you paid for? If somebody doesn't keep filling in the ruts there'll be nothing for you to do, and you'll lose your situation.'

The old man's face was a study. After a moment's hard thinking, he raised his hand slowly to his forehead, as much as to say—'Effendi, you've got a head, and no mistake.' Then, aloud, in a low, eager tone—'Of course, you won't say anything about it.' Hashán shut his eyes, and shook his head slowly, and made that 'tut-tut' sound to which I referred in an earlier part of the narrative. We then drove away, leaving the old man standing in the same place, with his red tarboosh and his long robes, the pole still on the ground where it had fallen, gazing after us with a look of admiration and fear.

We called that morning to see an Irish family which had settled in Alexandria. The hearty welcome which I received as being the first priest of the race who had ever crossed their threshold, the enthusiasm of the children of whom I am sure there were a dozen, these and numerous points of social detail, I must of necessity pass over. I noticed that the children from the age of three upwards, *i.e.*, those who were able to speak at all, spoke two, three, or four languages. They all knew Arabic and English. The other two languages were, in their case, German and Italian. I afterwards discovered that the same is true of almost all European children. As a rule, they learn the various languages from their little playmates who, in such

a mixed population as that of Alexandria, are sure to belong to different nationalities. Of course, they also learn languages in school, or, rather, they learn to read and write the languages which they are already able to speak. What I noticed principally about all these European children in Egypt, was their quickness of intellect and their readiness of speech, advantages which the educated speakers of more languages than one always enjoy. As all educationalists know, one of the most useful exercises for the mind and for the organs of speech is the expression of the same ideas in different ways. Children who speak one language are not accustomed to do this; and, in fact, can be got to do so only in a very imperfect way through means of a number of laborious written exercises. On the other hand, children who habitually speak two or more languages are of necessity always clothing their thoughts in different garbs, and always instinctively comparing the various modes of expression. The truth of this theory, obvious enough in itself, was first driven home to me by what I saw in Egypt; and it was there I became convinced of the enormous educational advantage of getting our own people to talk their own language again, in addition to English, a conviction made all the firmer some months later when I witnessed the enthusiasm of German scholars for the distant past of our race.

Towards the end of February I took the mail train to Cairo, which is, roughly, about a hundred miles south of Alexandria. The scenery on the way up was interesting, and yet there was little variety—the Nile, now approaching, now receding, with its yellowish surface dotted over with lazy dahabiehs; the rich green of the cultivated lands along its banks, a brighter, richer green than we ever see even in this country; the clumps of date-palms, with their feathery foliage; the natives lounging lazily underneath, smoking their long pipes, and the wastes of sand in the distance, thrown into hillocks, with here and there a ridge of yellow slate or purple sandstone. On such a journey one easily realizes the truth of what Herodotus says: ἡ Ἀίγυπτος τὸ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ—Egypt is the gift of the Nile. The river

rises about the summer solstice, and attains its highest at the autumnal equinox. Canals, provided with sluices, run off on each side at right angles to the river. Across the Nile, here and there, are immense barrages, or dams, made of concrete, which drive the water out into the canals. The farmers, or fellaheen, to give them their Arabic name, draw the water from these canals by various appliances—by force pumps, by the Archimedean screw, the *sákiyeh*, the *shádoof*, and the *táboot*. Most people are familiar with the Archimedean screw, one of the most ingenious of mechanical contrivances, which makes water rise by falling. The *sákiyeh* and *táboot* are nothing more than wheels, slightly differing from one another in matters of detail, to the rims of which a number of buckets or receptacles are attached. These pour the water into a trough, which empties itself on the land. The *shádoof* is still more primitive; it is nothing more than a kind of rough balance, consisting of an upright stake and a horizontal pole. To one end of the latter is tied a heavy stone, to the other a bucket. The bucket is pulled down into the water, and then is raised by the weight of the stone. When the water leaves the trough or pipe which conveys it to the land, it is not allowed to flow freely about; it is carried over the little farm through tiny canals, a few inches deep, and from these is roughly spread by the hand or by a spade over the adjacent ridges, on which it deposits a thick silt. Every farm is thus like a miniature Egypt. Crops of every description grow with amazing rapidity, the productiveness of the land being about treble that of ours. Cattle, when grazing, are fastened to a stake by a very short cord, because of the richness of the pasture, and also, of course, because the farms are not separated from one another by fences or palings of any kind, but merely by stones laid here and there along the line of division, just as it was in the old times, when, as recorded in Sacred Scripture,¹ a curse was pronounced against the man who moved his neighbour's landmark.

After a few days' rest in Cairo, I began to explore the

¹ A friend of mine at home directed my attention to this.

city, going to the various mosques and gardens. Cairo is gradually becoming more European, but still is far more Oriental, and a far finer city in every way, than Alexandria. It is built round a steep rock, which forms its citadel, and its suburbs stretch down to the banks of the great river. The gardens in Cairo are like fairyland—palms of every description, little groves and valleys, with streams rushing along, and fountains without number playing; rustic summer-houses here and there, and flowers of every hue, numbers of which are to be seen in this country only in the hot-house. Even at night-time these gardens are scarcely less attractive, with coloured lanterns hanging from every tree, and with the Khedivial bands playing. The principal mosque in Cairo is on the citadel, and in size is, I am told, equal to San Sofia. When Hashán and I got into the courtyard, outside the entrance to the great mosque, he told me that I should either have to take off my boots when going in or put over them a pair of slippers, specially provided at the door; but he remarked that if I took off my boots, and if they were worth stealing, I should probably not find them when I came out. So I put on a pair of flaming yellow slippers, evidently made to meet all emergencies, as they were at least sixteen inches long. The inner walls of the great mosque are built of Oriental alabaster, a kind of stone which seems somehow to be more like amber than marble, being rich and warm in colour, with curious veins of white or red running through it. The floor is covered with carpet. There are no seats of any kind, no stands, no altar, no pictures. There is a low pulpit, in a remote corner, from which the priest reads the Koran on Fridays. There are pillars and columns innumerable, with arches between, all aglow with the most brilliant colours. The windows are of stained glass, 'richly dight,' but not 'storied.' In the centre of the mosque springs up the magnificent dome. Underneath the dome, and about twenty feet from the ground, hangs a great horizontal ring, about fifteen yards in diameter, from which are suspended a number of lamps. Besides these lamps there are many others all over the mosque, at various heights, varying from six feet to thirty

feet; so that at night-time the spectacle must be very brilliant.¹

As we were leaving the mosque, we saw approaching us an aged man, straight as a lance, with long grey beard, and snow-white turban. When his eyes met those of Hashán, they both uttered a cry, and after the manner of the people in the *Arabian Nights*, fell into one another's arms and wept. When the storm of emotion had subsided, as the novels say, Hashán explained with Egyptian volubility that this was his old schoolmaster who had taught him Arabic years and years ago, and who had grown rich in the meantime. I was then formerly introduced to him. His name was Ahmed Suleiman Ben Amar. When we had shaken hands, he did as all true Egyptians do, he laid his right hand on his forehead, then on his heart. He then invited us to his tent, which was pitched some twelve or thirteen miles from Cairo, away on the Libyan desert. On our way out we passed by a band of wretched prisoners who were working under the scanty shade of some date trees. Most of them carried heavy chains round their waists, and some dragged iron balls after them. In my expression of disgust at the sight, Ahmed heartily joined. 'Yes,' said he, 'it is a shame. It encourages others.' Here I saw that there must be some misunderstanding, as I could not conceive Ahmed attempting a witticism similar to Voltaire's when he heard of the shooting of Admiral Byng.

'What do you mean?' I said.

'Oh,' said he, 'these men's heads should be cut off at once. They're all murderers. Nobody will be prevented from committing murder by seeing them so well and happy. They haven't very hard work, they're sure of their meals, and they've clean houses to live in.'

'But,' said I, 'what about those chains?'

'The chains,' said he, and here he made that tut-tut sound, 'why they only like to have those chains about them! they look on them as ornaments.'

I must really say that a closer scrutiny of the prisoners

¹ As a matter of fact, the lamps are never lit. The birds have built their nests in them, and, being looked upon as silent worshippers of Allah, enjoy secure possession.

only helped to confirm Ahmed's assertions. They looked at one, not wistfully like some pent-up bird, but proudly as if they expected one to admire them.

We remained several days in Ahmed's tent, wandering over the desert in the early morning, or the cool of the evening, and at night we slept on the sand, rolled up in single blankets. One evening we ventured farther out into the desert than usual, and it was almost midnight ere we turned our camels for home. On the way we noticed a rather lofty ridge to our right, we turned aside, climbed up the easy ascent, and there in a little valley below, protected from sand-storms by the surrounding rocks, was a Mahomedan graveyard. The moon hung high in the clear blue heavens, seeming to breathe down peace on the abode of the dead. Every jut of yellow rock, every fern-like branch of the stately palms, every stone in the graveyard was softly, delicately defined in the flood of ghostly light. Suddenly we heard a cry in the distance. It came nearer and nearer, shaping itself into a dreary chant. It was a funeral, unusual with them at night-time as it is with us. They moved quickly over the sand. The words became audible, 'La, La, ill-allah, Mahmoud Rasoul, ill-allah.' 'There is no God but God, Mahomet is the prophet of God.' They now passed close beside us, the men in front of the bier, the women behind, and as they were droning out the words they moved their right hands in a circle, signifying by that mystic symbol the eternal duration of the truth they were proclaiming. We stood by the shallow grave. The body, wrapped up in cloths, was taken off the stretcher, and laid to rest without further ceremony. The sand was quickly shovelled in. A heavy slab was laid on top, on which were placed two little white-washed pillars, one over the head, another over the feet. Food and drink were then set beside the grave, and in an instant all had disappeared over the ridge, the women wailing out a rude lamentation which rose or fell as the breeze came or went, and at last died away in the distance.

On the way Ahmed insisted on telling us, for the twentieth time at least, the history of Egypt from the time

of the French occupation under Napoleon. After all, Ahmed had been a schoolmaster; and I suppose, the habit of exposition, like other habits, is not easily laid aside.

'Ah!' said he, at the conclusion of his history lecture, 'Mohammed Ali was the best of the Khedives.'

'Why,' said I, 'wasn't it Mahomet Ali whom the Sultan of Turkey sent into Egypt after the departure of the French?'

'Yes,' said he.

And, to the intense annoyance of Hashán, he began the story over again. When the French had been crushed at Aboukir, or Agamé, and on the Nile, the Mamelukes, the feudal lords of the country, who resembled the Norman barons, regained their estates, and refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey, to whom Egypt had belonged since the ancient days of Mohammedan conquest. The Sultan sent a young Turkish officer, named Mohammed Ali, to make terms with the rebel chiefs—a commission which he executed in the most satisfactory way. All the Mamelukes were invited to a peaceful conference in the citadel of Cairo. In the midst of their deliberations the soldiers of Mohammed Ali rushed in, and cut them all to pieces—all, with the exception of one, who made his escape somehow from the banqueting-hall, leaped over the parapet down a sheer depth of at least one hundred feet, was unhurt by the fall, mounted a horse, and rode away into the desert. All Egypt was thus in the hands of Mohammed Ali, who, however, had now, in his turn, become an object of fear to the Sultan. Certain tribes along the Red Sea were giving trouble about this period, and the Sultan, with sinister motives, directed Mohammed to reduce them to submission. The expedition was a disappointing success, and the loyalty of Mohammed's soldiers to their commander was assured. An open rupture now took place between him and the Sultan. They met in battle at Nizib, in Syria, and the Turkish forces were routed. A peace was signed, according to the terms of which Mohammed and his children for ever are to retain possession of Egypt, with the title of pasha changed,

later on, into that of khedive, and are bound, at the same time, to pay a yearly tribute to Turkey. At this point Ahmed burst into a fresh eulogium of Mohammed Ali, which I thought fit to interrupt by reminding him of the massacre of the Mamelukes. 'Oh, well, you know,' said he, 'he had to do that, because he was only *beginning* !'

We were too tired next morning to attempt a fresh expedition. The next morning but one we started off for the Pyramids, the great graveyard of the Egyptian kings. These immense monuments lie along the west bank of the Nile, beginning a few miles from Cairo, and extending in groups up the country for sixty or seventy miles. On the day of which I speak we confined ourselves entirely to the first group of pyramids, consisting of the Great Pyramid, the Pyramid of Chephren, and the little Pyramid of Menkaura. In the distance the Great Pyramid looks like the geometrical figure of the same name, with perfectly smooth sides, tapering to a point. However, on nearer approach, I found that it was a rough mountain, consisting of a number of layers of stone, each layer three or four feet high with square surface being smaller than the layer underneath. Thus each slanting side of the pyramid is exactly like a staircase, which narrows as it ascends. Originally the sides of this pyramid were perfectly smooth ; but the great triangular prisms of stone, which were laid lengthwise along the steps, have been removed by successive invaders. The neighbouring Pyramid of Chephren is still smooth, and polished towards the top ; so, too, are a number of others. The Great Pyramid can be ascended, as is apparent ; but not so easily as one might suppose. The steps are so high, that you must hire two Arabs to help you up. One of them holds you by the waist, and tells you to throw up your feet on to the step above, and the other seizes you by the hands, and pulls you up. This goes on, step by step, till you reach the narrow platform on top ; but by that time you are so completely exhausted, so torn to pieces and dislocated generally, that the magnificent panorama, the long line of pyramids rising up in the desert glare, the white walls of Cairo, and the great white-domed mosque on the citadel,

the brown river hurrying through the belt of green, all this swims dizzily before the eye, to be enjoyed only in its recollection. How can I convey an idea of the size and the massiveness of the Great Pyramid? There is no building with which we are both acquainted that could serve as a common term of comparison. It is more than one hundred and fifty yards high (formerly it was one hundred and sixty yards high), and each side of the square base is two hundred and fifty yards long. Thus it covers an area of thirteen acres, and its contents exceed eight hundred and nine million cubic feet. Nowadays, when one reads a description of some enormous book or building, one is told, for instance, that, if the leaves of the book or the bricks of the building were laid down side by side, they would make a tessellated pavement for the bed of the Pacific Ocean. Some calculator of this school has been busy with the Great Pyramid, and he discovers that if the contents of the vast structure were laid down in a line, a foot in depth and half a foot in breadth, this line could form the curb-stone of a footpath thirty-four thousand miles in length. The companion Pyramid of Chephren is only a few feet smaller.

In the presence of these mighty buildings two questions force themselves upon us, how they were built, and why they were built. Modern scholars have answered these questions, and answered them satisfactorily in the main, although some points of detail are still enveloped in mystery. The stones of which the Great Pyramid consists are chiefly of granite, and were brought from the quarries of Syrene, five hundred miles away. The magnitude of the task will be understood when I tell you that some of these stones are four feet high, six feet wide, and thirty or forty feet in length. I have measured them myself. These stones, as is evident from the lines and scorings on them, were cut from the rock by a kind of saw, still used at the present day for the same purpose, a saw the teeth of which are set with diamonds. Each stone, cut near the ground, was dragged out by ropes on to a massive wooden sledge; this sledge, to which slaves by the hundred were harnessed, ran along a wooden causeway, specially laid for the purpose

and thickly covered with oil.¹ Thus, with practically no machinery each block was conveyed to the ground on which the pyramid stands. But, now, how was the *second* flight of stone erected? how were these huge blocks lifted? They were lifted, as we may infer from Herodotus, just as great blocks of stone are often lifted at the present day. Each block was brought by the sledge quite near the edge of the first layer. As the workmen were drawing off the stone, they slipped underneath a low block of wood, probably bound with iron bands. This block stood some few feet away from the centre of the stone. The longer end of the stone was then raised up by means of levers and possibly by means of pulleys, until the shorter end touched the ground. A larger block or two smaller blocks were put under the longer end, a few feet from the centre of the stone as before. This process was repeated several times. Thus the stone was raised inch by inch on two gradually growing pillars, as it were, to the top of the platform. Throughout the operation the stone was guided by uprights and secured from shooting off by ropes. When the stone had to be raised to the third or any higher platform, it was raised as before from the ground to the edge of the first platform, from this platform it was rocked up to the next, and so on. Tradition says that this slow process required, in the case of the Great Pyramid the labour of one hundred thousand men for twenty years.²

And now, the next question, why were the Pyramids built? Why did these Egyptian kings, ever so many centuries before the coming of Christ,³ waste so much time and treasure on the erection of these mighty monuments? It was the belief of the ancient Egyptians that the soul sur-

¹ Whenever possible, the stones were placed upon rafts or inflated skins and floated down rivers and artificial canals. Some consider this to have been the more usual method of conveyance.

² See contribution from Flinder's Petrie in 'Engineering,' 22nd June, 1883; also, the fascinating little book by V. E. Johnson, *Egyptian Science*.

³ 'On suppose que ces pharhons, i. e. les bâtisseurs des grandes Pyramides, ont régné 4,000 ans à peu pres avant J.-C., et l'on doit admettre que la civilisation Egyptienne fut tres avancée à cette époque lointaine.'—Vigouroux *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, art. on 'Egypt.'

vived after death only so long as the body remained incorrupt.¹ Hence the infinite pains which they took in embalming their dead; hence these mighty pyramids, each one containing several chambers in which the royal dead had hoped to sleep undisturbed for ever. The chambers are ventilated by shafts of ingenious construction, and are protected from the vandal by being sealed up with smooth stone and by numerous decoy passages leading to chambers containing nothing. The modern scientist, alas! has outwitted the Pharaoh, and ancient Egypt's kings and queens have been exiled to the various museums of Europe.

Only a few paces from the Great Pyramid stands the Sphinx. It is a great stone figure cut out of the natural limestone rock, with the face of a man, the body of a lion. It is about sixty feet high, and one hundred and fifty feet long. The upper portion of the face has been disfigured by fanatics, but the mouth still wears that wondrous smile, that smile of dignity, of power, of mystery, that smile which subdues to awe even the most thoughtless beholder. Thus a writer of the present day, habitually trifling and flippant though he be, speaks of the Sphinx:—

After years of waiting, it was before me at last. The great face was so sad, so earnest, so longing, so patient. There was a dignity not of earth in its mien, and in its countenance a benignity such as never anything human wore. It was stone, but it seemed sentient. If ever image of stone thought, it was thinking. It was looking toward the verge of the landscape, yet looking at nothing—nothing but distance and vacancy. It was looking over and beyond everything of the present, and far into the past. It was gazing out over the ocean of Time—over lines of century-waves which, further and further receding, blended at last into one unbroken tide toward the horizon of remote antiquity. It was thinking of the wars of departed ages; of the empires it had seen created and destroyed; of the nations whose birth it had witnessed, whose progress it had watched, whose annihilation it had noted; of the joy and sorrow, the life and death, the grandeur and decay

¹ Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, Vigouroux, 'La Bible, et les Decouvertes Modernes en Palestine, en Egypte, et en Assyrie,' vol. iv. A learned authority on Sacred Scripture has pointed out to me that Pharaoh's punishment of the baker as foretold by Joseph (Genesis xl. 19) was the severest that could have been inflicted. He was beheaded, and his flesh torn by birds. Thus, the body was destroyed, and, consequently, the soul was deprived of immortality.

of five thousand slow revolving years. It was the type of an attribute of man. It was Memory, Retrospection, wrought into visible, tangible form. All who know what pathos there is in memories of days that are accomplished and faces that have vanished—albeit only a trifling score of years gone by—will have some appreciation of the pathos that dwells in these grave eyes that look so steadfastly back upon the things they knew before History was born—before Tradition had being—things that were, and forms that moved, in a vague era which even Poetry and Romance scarce know of—and passed one by one away, and left the stony dreamer solitary in the midst of a strange new age and uncomprehended scenes.

The Sphinx is grand in its loneliness ; it is imposing in its magnitude ; it is impressive in the mystery that hangs over its story. And there is that in the overshadowing majesty of this eternal figure of stone, with its accusing memory of the deeds of all ages, which reveals to one something of what he shall feel when he shall stand at last in the awful presence of God.

The sun had passed the meridian hours before, and we made haste to mount our camels and move towards the tent of our hospitable friend. On our way we were all busy with our thoughts. I was thinking, and the others also, I believe, that those great memorials would yield some day to the law that denies eternity to man and his works. The day will surely come, I thought, when those huge blocks of stone, and that great sightless face with the mystic smile, shall be buried, far down from the light of day, beneath the shifting sands of the ever-changing desert, or beneath the waves of the tideless Mediterranean : the chambers of the royal dead shall be choked with sand, or draped with sea-weed, and the fishes flit in and out, and thus be accomplished at last the destiny of all things human.

Here I must take my fabric of recollections from the loom, leaving to yourselves to weave on in your own imaginations all that I have left unsaid.

M. SHEEHAN.

THE DOUAY BIBLE

THE Douay Bible is the name very often—in fact, commonly—given to the translation of the Holy Scriptures current among English-speaking Catholics. The title is an historic one; so much so, that it will seem almost an irreverence to find fault with it. At the same time it is not strictly accurate, and however ancient, may very easily be misleading. During the last three hundred years, so seriously has the original text been altered, so many changes and modifications have been introduced into it, that no longer is it possible, without a straining of terms, to speak of any of the versions now in use as identical with that which first went by the name of the Douay Bible. ‘To call it any longer,’ writes Cardinal Wiseman,¹ ‘the Douay or Rhemish version, is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published.’ Cardinal Newman was of the same opinion. Speaking of Dr. Challoner’s revisions—and pre-scinding entirely from subsequent corrections—he hesitates not to pronounce the Bishop’s labours ‘as issuing in little short of a new translation.’² With such valuable testimonies to smooth and prepare the way, Catholics will still find it hard to abandon a title so historic, and for them, bound up with so many bright traditions. Nor is it any wonder. For although the work of translation was pursued and completed, as we shall see, at Rheims, the men who worked upon it were all Douay men, or closely associated with that historic college.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was a fateful time, and for English Catholics fraught with many dangers. As a consequence, many, and among them some of the most cultured in the country, had to seek on the Continent the religious liberty so cruelly denied them at home. In an especial manner was the University of Oxford a sufferer by this

¹ *Essays*, vol. i., pp. 85, 86.

² *Rambler*, July, 1859.

literary exodus. Some of its best men remaining faithful to the old religion were driven into exile, and took with them a large portion of the culture of the country. Hitherto they had been scattered up and down the Continent—in France, and Spain, and the Low Countries. But about this time, mainly through the exertions of Cardinal Allen, a select body of them were brought together, and a college, destined to play a memorable part in the history of English Catholicism, was founded at Douay.¹ This was in 1568. Years before in England, they had seen the baneful influence of the varying versions of Scripture which were then appearing almost every year. And so on coming together, they resolved that one of their first works in the service of their countrymen, would be a version in English of the Holy Scriptures. In their zeal they little thought of the dangers and difficulties that were before them. Already for their religion, they had been driven into exile and forced 'to go over the sea.' They thought, and reasonably, that, whatever difficulties might hamper them, persecution from the home country, as far as they were concerned, was now at an end. But they soon got a rude awakening. Owing to political troubles, brought about in all probability by Elizabeth's² agents, they soon found it necessary to quit Douay, and seek a home elsewhere. To be outside the dominions of the King of Spain—in which Douay was at the time—they removed to French territory, and after some difficulty succeeded in establishing themselves at Rheims. It was intended to be only a temporary removal, and so, as we shall see, it proved to be. But it was here, during their temporary stay at Rheims, during the years of what we may call their second exile, that the task of translating the Scriptures was taken in hand, begun, and finished. The very day almost when pen was first set to paper can luckily be determined. In a marginal note in the *Douay Diaries*,³ amongst the entries for 1578, we read :—

On October 16th, or thereabouts, Mr. Martin, the licentiate, commenced his translation of the Bible into English

¹ Dodd, *Church History of England*, vol. ii., pp. 165, *et seq.*

² Philopater, pp. 65, 66.

³ *Douay Diaries, Diar. Second*, p. 145.

And that a work from which much utility is expected may the more quickly appear, he does two chapters each day, he himself translating; but that the work may be done as well as possible, our president, Dr. Allen, and our master, Dr. Bristowe, read them through, and in their wisdom faithfully correct whatever seems to them to need it.

Five names in all are mentioned as concerned in the work—Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Allen, Dr. Gregory Martin, Dr. Richard Bristowe, John Reynolds, and Thomas Worthington. All were Oxford men—fellows or graduates of that university. Cardinal Allen, in the olden days, had been a student of Oriel—Cardinal Newman's College—and subsequently principal of St. Mary's Hall. Bristowe, 'noted for his acute parts,' was an ex-fellow of Exeter, as John Reynolds was of New; whilst Gregory Martin, to whom fell the chief part of the translation, had been one of the original scholars of St. John's. A south of England man by birth, and a native of Maxfield, near Winchelsea in Sussex, he had, in 1557, been nominated one of the original scholars of St. John's College by its founder, Sir Thomas White. There, amongst others, he had as fellow-student, Blessed Edmund Campion, both friendly rivals and fast friends. Indeed, it was Martin's influence brought Campion out of Oxford, and its many dangers in those days for a Catholic, and started him on the career which ended in a martyr's crown. 'If we two,' he wrote¹ to him, 'can live together, we can live for nothing; if this is too little, I have money; but if this also fails, one thing remains: they that sow in tears shall reap in joy.'

In 1569 Martin accepted the position of tutor in the family of the Duke of Norfolk. Shortly afterwards when the Duke visited Oxford and was presented with an address, the fellows of St. John's College thought it not out of place to show their grateful remembrance by alluding to Martin, their former master, as the 'Hebraist, the Grecian, the poet, the honour and glory of the college.' Solid learning, scholarly abilities, powerful patronage, everything that could ensure success, were already his. Yet all were sacrificed, freely

¹ Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. iv., p. 485.

given up, home and friends and preferment, rather than abandon the faith. He preferred the free exercise of his religion to all hopes of advancement, and escaping to Flanders, obtained admittance into the newly-established College of Douay. Wood¹ bears testimony to his 'incredible industry,' and speaks of him as 'a most eloquent linguist exactly read and versed in the Sacred Scriptures, and going beyond all his time in humane literature, whether in poetry or prose.' Even Moulton is constrained to admit him to have been 'a man of great learning.'² And Dr. Westcott, the great Protestant biblical authority, willingly testifies to his distinguished attainments, particularly in Hebrew and Greek. All writers, indeed, admit him to be one of the ripest scholars of his time. As a linguist he was, perhaps, not excelled in his day; and the many works he has left behind him bear ample testimony to the breadth and depth of his scriptural knowledge.

Almost immediately upon their arrival from Douay, in 1578, the work of translation was taken in hand. Careful translation is at all times necessarily slow, and more especially is this the case when there is question of the Scriptures. At first sight we should not expect the translation of a work so extensive for many years. Difficulties,³ too, financial and otherwise, would seem in their poverty to have hampered and hindered them. But there were giants in those days, giants in faith and perseverance; and, with the untiring industry of Gregory Martin at their disposal, most of the work of translation was got through and finished by 1582. That same year, a memorable one in the history of our English Bible, saw the publication of the New Testament. Martin, as has been said, was the translator, but the notes were the work of Cardinal Allen, then President of the refugee College at Rheims, and his right-hand man, Dr. Bristowe.⁴ It comes to us on the authority of certain divines of the Cathedral and College of Rheims. A long

¹ *Athen. Oxon.*, 1691, 1.

² *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, p. 32.

³ Constable, *Specimen of Amendments*, p. 133.

⁴ Cotton, *Rheims and Douay*, p. 13.

preface, but one of consummate skill, is prefixed, in which we are told the circumstances that called forth the work, and the principles that guided them in their translation. The Old Testament was translated at the same time, and at Rheims, but for want of funds its publication was delayed. As they themselves tell us in their preface, 'owing to a lack of means in their poor estate of banishment' it had 'to lay by them.'¹ It was only twenty-seven years after, and a considerable time after their return to the old home at Douay, that their labours were brought to a successful issue, and the Old Testament appeared in two volumes, dated 1609 and 1610. In the meantime Gregory Martin had died. The needs, too, and changes of a troublous time had separated the little band of workers; and so, upon Thomas Worthington, then President of Douay College, devolved the task of seeing it through the press. The notes, not so copious as those of Allen and Bristowe on the New Testament, are his;² and so also are the historical tables we find appended. Like the New Testament, it has no *imprimatur*, and comes to us on the authority of certain divines, this time of Douay.

Thus it came about that neither Old or New Testament was translated at Douay, and a part only, though the larger, was published there. It is the custom, when speaking of the New Testament alone, to refer to it as the Rheimes, or Rhemish Testament. When both Testaments are alluded to, you hear them very often—in fact, ordinarily—spoken of as the Douay Bible. A less convenient, but more accurate title, and one we should be glad to see become popular would be the Rheims and Douay Version.

At these dates, 1582 and 1609-10, the versions of the New and Old Testaments were respectively published; that of the New at Rheims, that of the Old at Douay. After an interval of twenty-five years, the Old Testament came to a second edition in 1635. A second edition of the New Testament had been brought out at Antwerp in 1600; and twenty-one years later was followed

¹ *Preface to Rheims New Testament*, 1st edition, 1582.

² Mombert, *English Versions*, p. 294.

by a third edition printed at the same place, and at a more popular price. In 1633 a fourth edition appeared. It went back to the old quarto form of the first edition, and was brought out at Rouen, in France. The fifth edition, in folio, a very handsome volume, and the smartest, perhaps, in appearance of all the editions, bears the date 1738. Where it was printed, or to whom we are indebted for this edition, we do not know; nor does the volume itself offer any information on these points. It has been¹ suggested, by way of conjecture, that it was printed in London, and was brought out under the joint editorship of Dr. Challoner and Father Blythe, a Carmelite priest. The sixth edition, which is practically a reprint of the fifth, with here and there a marginal note left out, was printed in Liverpool in 1788. In 1816-18 an edition or editions of the whole Bible were published in Ireland, in which, as regards the New Testament, the old Rhemish text and notes was followed. This edition or editions—for whether it must be spoken of as one or many is doubtful—is sometimes regarded and spoken of as the seventh edition of the Rheims Testament. The last and eighth edition appeared in New York, where it was brought out by a Protestant party, and ostensibly for controversial purposes. It bears the date 1834.²

And here, before we come to the question of the merits of the Rheims and Douay, it may be convenient to offer a few specimens of its style and language, illustrative of its most salient features and characteristics:—

23. And when Jesus was come into the house of the Governour, and saw minstrels and the multitude keeping a sturre, 24. He said: Depart, for the wench is not dead but sleepeth. And they laughed him to skorne. 25. And when the multitude was put forth, he entered in, and held her hand. And the maid arose. 26. And this bruit went forth into al that countrie.³

And a certain young man followed him clothed with sindon upon the bare; and they tooke him; but he casting off the sindon fled from them naked.⁴

¹ Cotton, *Rheims and Douay*, p. 47.

² Newman, *Tracts Theol. and Eccl.*, pp. 363 and 364.

³ Matthew ix. 23-26.

⁴ Mark xiii. 51.

And he spake, also a parable to them, that it behoveth always to pray and not to be weary, saying : There was a certain judge in a certain citie, which feared not God, and of man made no account.¹

O Timothee, keep the depositum, avoiding the profane novelities of voices, and oppositions of falsely called knowledge.²

No one now-a-days would think for a moment of judging conditions of society long since passed away by modern standards, modern methods of life. In theory, at least, it will be conceded that to come to an accurate judgment, to form a correct estimate of times or things in the distant past, we must throw ourselves back, as it were, and live and move in the conditions and among the men we are studying. This principle, insisted upon in most things when judging the past, should not be lost sight of in forming an opinion on the literary merits and critical value of the Rheims and Douay. The circumstances that called forth the work, the end the translators proposed to themselves, the principles which guided them in their translation, are considerations which, if duly borne in mind, will help us not a little in forming an opinion, and prepare us for many things that might otherwise strike us as strange. It would be a great mistake to suppose the Douay translators to have taken upon themselves the task of producing a Bible in every way suitable and adapted to modern needs and tastes. No doubt, it was their wish, and they laboured with the view that their work might be as permanently useful as they well could make it. But their version was made primarily for their own contemporaries, for their own countrymen, and the trying circumstances in which they were then placed.³ In the days before their exile they had seen only too often the pernicious influence of the versions which were being then scattered broadcast among the people. Literary excellence these translations may, indeed, have had ; but on the confession of Anglicans⁴ themselves, there can be little doubt that they were wanting, and sadly wanting, in truth and fidelity. In

¹ Luke xviii. 1, 2.

² 1 Tim. vi. 20.

³ *Tablet*, 1871, vol. xxxix., p. 585.

⁴ Ellicott, *Pastoral Epistles*, xiii.

translating the Sacred Scriptures, as, indeed, any book, ambiguous phrasings, doubtful collocations, readings open to a variety of meanings, will necessarily be sometimes met with; and it is only reasonable to expect that the fair translator will deal impartially with these, importing nothing of his own into them, and leaving them as he found them, open, and not closed. Of course, he is within his right in having his own opinion, and expressing his own views, but justice demands that attention be called in some way, either in the notes or on the margin, to the alternative readings and interpretations. Now this was what the early Reformers—Coverdale and Tyndale and Cranmer and Knox and others—did not do. On the contrary, they scrupled not in very many and very important places to twist and distort words and phrases which at most were ambiguous. At a time when ‘the Bible, and the Bible only,’ was the cry, it is only too evident how ruinous such a method of procedure could prove to be. The Scriptures were stolen from the Church, and then the Church, or what was left of it, was stolen from the Scriptures. It was to stem the tide of these wilful corruptions, to open the eyes of these misled people, who thought that in the corrupt texts they possessed they had copies of the Word of God, that Gregory Martin and his companions resolved to bring out a translation, at once accurate and faithful, and, as far as in them lay, fair and impartial.

Since diverse learned Catholics [they tell us in their preface to the New Testament¹], for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forward by sundry sects, have published the Bible in the several languages of almost all the principal provinces of the Latin Church . . . We, therefore, having compassion to see our beloved countrymen use such translations, have set before you the New Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may give occasion to you, after diligent perusal thereof, to lay aside at least such impure versions as hitherto you have been forced to occupy.

Perhaps if this point, the end the translators proposed to themselves, had been kept more prominently in view, not a

¹ Ward's *Errat*, pp. 40-91.

² Preface to *Rheims Testament*, 1st edition, 1592.

little of the differences of opinions about the merits of the Rheims and Douay might have been avoided. Their great aim was to try and stop the liberties that were being constantly taken with the text by would-be reformers. And so they resolved above all things that, in their version, the true and genuine text would be given; and, like loyal Catholics, they resolved that the Latin Vulgate used everywhere throughout the Church would be the basis of their translation. In doing this they did not forbid themselves—as is so often unfairly implied—the use, whenever necessary, of the Greek and Hebrew texts. Indeed, the traces of their use of both Greek and Hebrew are to be largely met with in almost every chapter and page of the work. To confine ourselves to the Greek, perhaps the most remarkable proof of the extensive use they made of that text is to be found in their treatment of the Greek article. Seeing that a Latin text, the Vulgate, was the basis of their translation, and that the Latin language has no article, one might very naturally be tempted to suspect the Douay Bible to be not over exact in this respect. Yet the very reverse is the case.

There are many instances [writes Dr. Moulton¹—a comparatively hasty search has discovered more than forty—in which of all versions from Tyndale's to the Authorised inclusive, this alone is correct in regard to the article.

Their treatment of the article [adds Bishop Westcott²] offers a good illustration of the care and skill with which they performed this part of their task . . . The central function of scholarship is dealt with more satisfactorily by them than by any earlier translator. And it must be said that in this respect the revisors of King James were less accurate than the Rhemists, though they had their work before them.

What the Bishop's Bible was to the Authorized, that the Vulgate was and more to the Douay. And yet with a strange inconsistency both then and since, the Rhemists have been severely criticised for abandoning and not going back to the Hebrew and Greek. As they themselves tell us, the original texts were used, and largely used, as their

¹ *The Bible Educator*, vol. iv., p. 362.

² *History of the English Bible*.

translation abundantly testifies. Those who are erroneously condemnatory forget how loud they can be in praise of the so-called Wickliffe Bible, though it is almost certain that the 'original verities' were not consulted in the making of that version. They sing the beauties of the Authorized, 'the well of English undefiled,' and for the moment it is forgotten that the Douay principle was adopted by its editors if only the Bishops' Bible be substituted for the Vulgate.¹ Much, no doubt, of past criticism has been due to prejudice, but lately textual critics are coming to recognise the fact that, though the Vulgate is a Latin text, it represents a Greek one, and for all practical purposes may be regarded as such.

The Latin translation [to quote from a writer in the *Bible Educator*²] being derived from manuscripts more ancient than any we now possess, is frequently a witness of the highest value in regard to the Greek text that was current in the earliest times, and its testimony is in many cases confirmed by Greek manuscripts which have been discovered or examined since the sixteenth century.

It should be remembered [writes Mombert³]¹—not at all for the most part appreciative in his remarks on the Rheims—that the Latin of the New Testament is of a very ancient date, and that many of its readings, being derived from early documents, are of critical value and in perfect agreement with the most authentic manuscripts.

Their next principle was to be a still further refutation of the manner of action of the early Reformers. Their translation would be, they resolved, whatever else might be its faults, faithful and literal and impartial.

In this our translation [they write in their preface], because we wish to be most sincere as becometh a Catholic translation, we are very precise. . . . We have used no partialitie for the disadvantage of our adversaries, keeping ourselves as near as possible to our text, to the very words and phrases, acknowledging with St. Jerome that in other writings it is enough to give in translation sense for sense, but that in Scripture, lest we miss the sense, we must keep the very words.

¹ Paterson Smyth, *How We Got Our Bible*, p. 109.

² *Bible Educator*, vol. iv., p. 362.

³ *English Versions*, xii. 335.

Good intentions they most certainly had; and how faithfully they fulfilled them even the most cursory examination of their work will amply prove. Whatever be its shortcomings—and it is not perfect; what is?—it assuredly is not wanting in fidelity and accuracy; nor has anyone ever denied these qualities to it. At times, indeed, their principles they may have strained and pushed to extremes, and the result to have been in places hard and unfamiliar latinisms. But, however easy to find fault, it is extremely difficult to find a way out of the skilful arguments they offer in defence of their principle.

'If,' they ask,¹ 'such words as "Raca," "Hosanna," and "Belial" be retained, why not "Corbona"?' If Sabbath is kept for the seventh day, why not Parasceue for the Sabbath eve? If Pentecost is a proper word and seemeth not strange, why should not Pasch and Azymes be also retained, seeing that they also were solemn feasts, as Pentecost was? If "proselyte" and "phylacteries" be allowed, why not "neophyte" and "didragmes." . . . And therefore it is we say, "depositum," "he exinanited himself," "you have reflowered."

Strange and stiff they well knew these words to be, but they were retained not without a purpose. As they quaintly remark, their fathers kept the faith as long as they kept to the words; and it was thought better to offend against the rules of grammar than to risk the sense of God's Word for the sake of a fine sentence. Besides, they expected that, as time went on, many of these words and phrases would become familiar, and what was now stiff and strange would become popular. Rather a presumptuous hope, it may be said, but not so foolish when we remember that a considerable number of these Anglicised latinisms were received and adopted by King James's translators, and are current English at the present day.²

A literature quite unique, and certainly not tolerant in spirit, is gathered around the early history of the Rheims and Douay. Some, as Cartwright and Fulke, were especially selected and handsomely remunerated to assist in the work of its refutation; others spontaneously, like Bulkley and Whitaker, took up their pens against it. Catholics, too, very

¹ *Preface to New Testament*, 1382.

² *The Month*, June, 1897

few in number, and for the most part back in the early days, were inclined at times to undervalue and minimize its work. William Blundell, writing in the seventeenth century, says: 'the Rheims Testament is bad English. I heard that Sir Toby Mathew, reading the title page, "The New Testament, &c., faithfully translated into English," said it was a lie, for it was not English.'¹ And a well-known nobleman once went so far as to style it 'the obscure work of a few well-meaning divines.'

Textual critics, however, especially those who have laboured in the department of English Bibliography—men such as Eadie and Moulton, Mombert and Westcott—are now showing forth how foolish the bigotry of early days could make itself, and are only too willing to pay tribute to the merits of our Catholic version. One great quality all concede it to have, and one rarely to be found in its day, and that is its fidelity to the text it professed to translate.

The translation [writes Dr. Moulton,² to confine ourselves to non-Catholic authorities] is literal, and, as a rule, if not always, scrupulously faithful and exact. . . . Only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work.

Sometimes, indeed, the translators, in their anxiety to be faithful, may have pushed their principles too far, and the result may have been stiff and strange expressions; but even with this fault their strict fidelity and adherence to the Latin text has not been without advantage.

The spirit of fidelity to the letter [writes so capable a critic as Dr. Westcott³] often led them to keep the phrase of the original where other translators had unnecessarily abandoned it. They frequently reproduced with force the original Greek, and even whilst many unpleasant roughnesses occur, there can be no doubt that the version gains, on the whole, by the faithfulness with which they endeavoured to keep the original form of the Sacred writings.

Much, indeed, has been written on these roughnesses, perhaps the only fault to be found in the Rheims and Douay. But we should not forget that language is never an invariable quantity, and what may read stiff and strange to us

¹ Gibson, *Crosby Records*, p. 198.

² *History of the English Bible*, pp. 185-188.

³ *Dublin Review*, 1881.

may very easily have been quite intelligible to their contemporaries. Besides, the number of strange words and unfamiliar latinisms is, all things considered, comparatively small. Page after page may be read without encountering a single instance; and when they are to be met with, are mostly always intelligible, and the result, not of incapacity, but of principles deliberately adopted, and intelligently applied. The reasons for their retention we have already hinted at; and Martin and his companions were noted Oxford scholars, who had received and profited by the best training of their day. Perhaps no greater praise can be given to our version than when we say, that to it more than to any other cause must be attributed the appearance of the Authorized Version. The Rheims Testament, as Dr. Westcott observes, showed the need there was for a revision of the Bishops' Bible; and how highly King James's translators thought of it is patent from the large and frequent use they made of the Douay men's translation. Dr. Moulton¹ says that the Rheims Testament has left its mark on every page of the Authorised; and Mombert² adds that it were well if they had imitated it still more in the uniformity of its readings. By their rule King James's men were made to take the Bishops' Bible as their basis, and to depart from it only where necessary, using, if possible, in correction Tyndale's, and Coverdale's, and the Genevan. Yet very little trace of any or all of these versions is to be found in the result of their labours. 'On the other hand,' says the preface to the Revised Version of 1885, 'their work shows evident traces of influence of a version not specified in the rules, the Rhemish versions made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek original.' With such recommendations in its favour, and from sources not at all likely to be prejudiced, there is no need, surely, to be ashamed of our old and historic Bible, 'wrought in the days of martyrs, prized by heroic confessors, and read by Catholics oftentimes at the risk of life, liberty, and property.'

THOMAS J. BUTLER.

¹ *History of the English Bible*, p. 207.

² *English Versions*, p. 307.

ALLELUIA'S THOUGHT SEQUENCE

II.—THE SEQUENCE

Sit nomen Domini benedictum
Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum,
A solis ortu usque ad occasum
Laudibile nomen Domini.

TOWARDS the end of the ninth century there gradually spread throughout the Churches of Northern Europe a liturgical usage which soon became universal, and—whatever may have been the immediate cause of its origin—after a time assumed, in the minds of the Churchmen of the day, a highly mystical character. This was the custom of prolonging, and then singing to musical notes, the final vowel of the Alleluia, chanted between the Epistle and the Gospel. It was from the first called ‘Jubilatio,’ understood, in St. Augustine’s sense, as a wordless self-utterance of joy.¹ At first this ‘Jubilatio’ was little else than a joyous singing forth of the final ‘a’ *ad libitum magistri choralis*, in which not the choir only, but all those of the congregation who desired to do so, could join. After a while, we are told, ‘exercising the skill of the monastic musicians,’ it gave rise to a distinct form of musical composition—a kind of wordless cantata, quite a ‘song without words.’ This came to be generally known by the name of Neume, more correctly written *Pneume*, from the Greek word *Pneuma* (*spiritus*), the whole being supposed to be the spirit’s natural self-song of joy, inspired by the thought of the truth implied in the affix of the mystical acclamation, as some explain; or, as others say, merely because it was a natural, joyous *forth-breathing* series of sounds (*spiritus se spirans*). Both senses evidently fitted; it was physically one thing, and ideally represented the other. But, musically regarded, this *Pneume*, though the word has been rendered ‘air,’ was distinctly not an ‘air,’ in our sense

¹ ‘Sonus quidem est laetitiae sine verbis.’—(Aug. in Psal. xcix., n. 4.)

of the word. It was not a tune; it was a sequence of musical phrases, each complete in itself; yet, as an ordered series, making a musical whole *sui generis*. Either because it was such a sequence, or because it was 'cantus Alleluia *sequens*,' possibly somewhat for both reasons, it came to be simply called 'Sequentia.' *Sequitur Jubilatio quam Sequentiam vocant*, says the Roman *Ordo*. Amalaire, Etienne d'Autun, and Rupert, notes Lebrun, remark that this 'Jubilatio' recalls the mystic spirit-song of the blessed in heaven, 'where we shall need words no more, where thought alone shall declare what is in the soul.' Most ancient writers refer to it in the same mystical strain. After a time it was thought advisable to put words to some of these pneumes or sequences for solemn occasions; the words expressing, generally in popular style, the special spirit of the festival or holy season.¹ For these lyrical effusions, as distinguished from hymns, being first written neither in regular metre nor rhyme, though with an ordered rhythm of their own, just to suit the notes of each 'Pneume,' the name of 'Prose' was very generally adopted. Ultimately that of 'Sequence' came to be reserved for them, while the name of 'Pneume' was retained for the musical compositions to which they owed their origin. Of those worded Sequences, there was one specially known as '*Sequentia Alleluistica*.' It was that of Blessed Notker,² successively calling on all forms of created Nature to join in the sacred acclaim, and commencing: *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Allelu'ia!*

Now, what I propose to bring out in this article, what I have called 'Alleluia's Thought-sequence,' and, at the end

¹ There are several easily accessible and well-edited collections of them, such as that of Neale, Moore, Daniel, and others. The latest and best is that published by Dr. Joseph Kehrein: *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*. Mainz, 1873.

² 'Blessed Notker'—a monk of St Gall (ninth century), the principal and one of the first, if not quite the first writer of 'sequences.' He was beatified by Pope Julius II., in 1573. In French and English biographical dictionaries he is called simply Notker or St. Notker; in French dictionaries usually in the latter way. But it appears that he was never formally canonized, though there was a regular office in his honour at St. Gall's.—Conf. *Lebensbild des heiligen Notker von St. Gallen*, by G. Meyer von Knonau. Zurich, 1877.

of my last article, explained as to be 'Reason's sequence of Divine names,' in reality is *The 'Alleluiatic Sequence' par excellence*. It is so as being thought's own, through the thought of the word's affix successively declaring all that affix really imports; thus giving, as I said, reflecting reason's own 'Allel' to 'IA,' proclaiming how 'He Who Is'—The Absolute or Being-absolutely—as being so, must logically be said to be in regard to all else, so, according to reason's order, should successively be named.

This self-formed, logical sequence of Divine thought-terms I now proceed to unfold. I intend to do so very briefly, considering the complex character of the subject. I wish to suggest general lines of thought and reading, in furtherance of my view, rather than to attempt anything like an exhaustive treatment of even one phase of it. I hope, however, as I go on, to open vistas into what I conceive to be its doctrinal import in the orders of reason and of revelation, especially in regard to man's apprehension of that truth of truths which is their mean, which when all is said, lies at the heart of every meaning in any way worth minding.

It being here a question of terming thought's own sovereign Term, we may proceed by way of pure reason, which in this case would be that of *a priori* synthetic assertion, declaring what 'being absolutely,' as so being essentially imports; or we may proceed analytico-synthetically through self-reflection's rational experience. The latter way I select; the former, however, it may be remarked, I have already suggested, indeed, in a manner lined out on page 505 of my last article. On a general subject of this kind the object of a magazine article as distinct from professional work I take to be rather to interest than to teach, to suggest and stimulate rather than to satisfy personal inquiry. As, then, I do not mean these pages to be more than suggestive, I leave the outline at the end of my last article stand for its method's form of suggestion, and proceed, as I say, through experience: that of one's own spiritual existence self-manifesting through logical reflection.

I.

Evidently, first of all, reflection thus gives for successive data as distinct notes through *being's* ascending scale of perfections or superior modes of *existence* or ways of being *in act*:—I here now *am* (*in act*) sensibly indeed in the act of other than I, yet am (1) really *substantial* being; (2) truly *subsisting* (an individual or complete self);¹ (3) *acting* forth my nature's act; more, one (4) actually *living*; more still, (5) *understanding*; furthermore (6), *willing-well*, with all in the way of act that essentially implies; not, indeed, so acting perfectly even for such as I, and, as imperfectly not permanently, not even for long continuously, since human life naturally proceeds through enforced periods of unconsciousness, and through consciousness itself by ever-varying modes of faint and failing moral action; well-willing, then, I say, but, even for such as I, far from perfectly or constantly, still (7) naturally tending, wishing, wanting to be made so *for ever*. This is rational life's first, simplest, most natural longing when at rest: to be always and all-ways good as wholly well-willing for ever—which is essentially good-will's as it is love's self-generated and self-resting thought—for ever and ever!

Thereupon, through its first practical principle, the principle of causality, reason's direct datum is the truth of One there in the nature of things essentially well-willing or all-righteous in act, through whose act others become so and may be made so for ever. That is the truth of the absolutely Everlasting Will, since the essence of righteousness, as universal rectitude or re-actitude, is simply the conformity of present act, or actual mode of being, with that of will absolutely everlasting. So Tennyson well said of the man of real insight:—

He saw through life and death, through good and ill;
He saw through his own soul.
The marvel of the Everlasting Will,
An open scroll
Before him lay.

The marvel is precisely what has been noticed: that

¹ In the scholastic sense of *suppositum*.

Everlasting Will logically self-reveals at the summit of life's thought-terming, at the summit of the moral order, as being all that the One Who is all that, absolutely speaking, there ever need be is finally recognised as absolutely being all that good wills, at their highest, and truest, and best, naturally wish to be in act all at one with for ever. For, be what may thought's true theory of knowledge determining how we come to know or may logically prove *that* there always must be, clearly there is, in reality, no reason *why* there always must be life, or truth, or love with all it imports of liberty and right—no reason why anything of the kind should be eternally even possible for any being—except because it is all what the One that *absolutely* is, and so *must* be, must always be. A glance of thought's *processus* here will suffice. When treating of those synthetic judgments¹ whose terms as reason's own are those of reflection's data above enumerated, I remarked that, while there is logical thought-sequence from term to term of perfection descending, there is none ascending the series for being in general; and precisely on this account I held that propositions so formed, though expressing essential truths, are all synthetic. For instance, taking as test-term that of 'thinking,' this being given in will's natural act of loving, I observed that, while one thinking is evidently, as such, a living being, and as a living being a being acting, one acting is not necessarily living, nor is one living, as such, necessarily thinking or able to think; so on to the end. Similarly, proceeding from the beginning, I noticed that actual being, as such, is not necessarily substantial, nor the substantial subsisting. In short, I observed there is no pure logical sequence, no sequence from notion of one term as subject to a necessary attribution of the following term as predicate, no pure thought-sequence ascending the series for being generally. But, I now observe, there is such sequence for being-absolutely. Being no way term-wise in or acted by the act of another is manifestly *eo ipso* (1) *substantial*, not accidental

¹ Reason's Synthetic Judgments, I. E. RECORD, 1897.

reality (*non eus in alio tanquam in subjecto*) ; (2) as absolutely substantial *subsists* ; (3) as absolutely subsisting *acts*, is not merely acted, or naturally apt to act in the way of real perfection ; (4) as thus absolutely acting acts self, that is, *lives* ; (5) as absolutely living or acting self acts through self (*per se agit*), is a personal, conscious, *thinking* agent ; (6) as thus again absolutely acting, through self, wholly self-determines, or *wills* (*per se agit se agere*) ; and (7) finally, as thus self-determining or willing absolutely is so everlasting—is will absolutely everlasting as to actuality and action, since naught can pass from potency to act, from act to act, or from act-term to act-term, in any way, except through the act of another.

II.

Here, then, for reflection's reply to Allelu-ia's acclaiming call, giving Reason's own sequence of Divine names, the question becomes: What must the actually Absolute (*Ia*) be successively said to be in regard to *all others* as (1) the absolutely substantial or fundamental Reality, (2) absolutely subsisting, (3) acting (4) living, (5) knowing, (6) willing, and (7) act-wise, absolutely everlasting? This is the problem of Alleluia's thought-sequence.

Now, with regard to the first thought-term of the series, taking *substance* in the concrete as ontologically meaning active force, or 'power,' and thus regarding the causation of the totality of a thing's substance as its absolute causation (*non ex aliquo precedente*) so to be termed 'Creation,' manifestly for Absolute Substance, for the absolutely substantial or fundamental Reality, reason's proper name would be THE CREATOR, as signifying The Power or The Good in the first instance, that is, GOD in the sense of Absolutely First Cause. Similarly, a little thinking out of the fundamental notion of *subsistence* will suffice to make it evident that reason's proper name for (2) Absolute Self or One absolutely subsisting is The Uncreated—the SELF-BEING; so (3) for Absolute Agent, or One absolutely acting, it is Being beyond the possibility of subjection in any way to the act of aught else, the Infinite—THE MOST HIGH ; (4) for

Absolute Life, The One absolutely living or acting self, it is the Supreme or All-over—THE LORD, the One to whose act all others that may be must be subjected; (5) for the One absolutely Knowing, or Absolute Intelligence, it is—THE ALL-SEEING; for (6) Absolute Will, or the One absolutely willing, it is—THE ALL-MIGHTY, as signifying Will all-powerful for good in the second instance, or in regard to the existing, as 'Creator' meant All-powerful for good in first instance, or in regard to the purely possible; finally (7) for the One absolutely Everlasting viewed in regard to all others, reason's proper name is clearly the Timeless, the Interminable—THE ETERNAL, and as such, Self-source of righteousness or universal rectitude for all agents through time.

That leaves for logical sequence of names giving thought-wise reflecting reason's reply to Allelu-ia's call for All-praise to The Absolute ('Ia'): (1) Absolutely First Cause—THE CREATOR; (2) THE UNCREATED OR SELF-BEING; (3) THE MOST HIGH, the One that can have naught over; (4) THE LORD, the One that, in regard to all others there may be, must be all-over; (5) THE ALL-SEEING; (6) THE ALL-MIGHTY; (7) THE ETERNAL—Whose it is act-wise to determine all creatures through time aright and for ever.

Upon these seven logically consequent terms it must be noticed that they are given as names, and should consequently, be taken in their nominal meaning, not merely in the verbal sense which is so generally a noun's first supposition in English. Thus THE CREATOR there means not merely the One that has created, or now is creating, but the One whose it is to create, the subject or principle of action to whose free will all creation, possible or actual, is to be attributed. Similarly, there, THE MOST HIGH, or the Infinite, does not mean merely the One that has actually no superior, naught over, or that is not actually bounded, but the One that could not be so, the One so absolutely acting that naught could be in act whereby such a one could be ever bounded. In short, as logically consequent names, these are all terms of essentiality; while THE ABSOLUTE ('Ia') as a fore-name (prenomen) come of real though but

reasoning *knowledge*, is a term of actuality, signifying, as I put it in my first article, the One there now in act logically known as Being no way term-wise in or acted by the act of aught else, and accordingly to be positively first thought of as the One by whose act all else is being naturally acted. Thus, logically regarded as a term of real denotation it designates the One now known to us as the Unseen Agent, whose act is one way or another determining all others aright—including ourselves, and all that we may through any form of natural experience immediately or directly perceive. Then, preserving that thought of actuality, as proceeding from real knowledge, and continuing through the principle of causation by still verbal forms of expression, the logical truth of our sequence may be directly presented, quite independently of the rational *rapprochement* hitherto observed, thus: The One there in act no way acted by the act of another, and, therefore, absolutely self-acted ('Ia'), as being so must be said to be, in regard to every possible other that may be.¹ He (1) Whose it is in the first instance to absolutely cause or *make be*; but (2) Who cannot in any sense have been caused or *made be*; or (3) as acting be ever in any way *subject* to the act of another; while (4) all others in act must in every way be *subjected* to His; Whose act (5), moreover, *must be* always all-wholly self-representing, that of one through self-knowledge *all-knowing*; yet Who (6) *may be* in regard to all others, in act just as *He freely wills* or self-determines to be; while (7) what His free will does thus self-determine to, He is—albeit freely—absolutely *self-determined* to *from and unto everlasting*: which, as His last, for us creatures living time's way is naturally His life's sovereign mystery.

III.

That is all we made for; reason's full self-forming sequence of Divine Names, term for term corresponding to those of Alleluia's thought-sequence, as these do to those of reflection's self-data: terms that in themselves represent

¹ 'He'—being personal as thoroughly self-acted and supremely personal as absolutely self-acted. Conf. Summa S. Thomas, Pars I^a, Quest. xiii., 'De nominibus Dei.'

all the categories of essential truth, the constituent rays of reason's light, making time's way the notes of thought's mystic gamut—*notæ notarum*—all that really go to make the music of the human mind as being our spirit's natural self-echoes of the word that enlightens every man coming into this world.

But the point I desire here particularly to note, and mainly in elucidation of which I have written the foregoing pages, is that this rationally self-formed sequence of Divine thought-terms gives those of all the Hebrew Scripture Names for God, *and in the exact order of each one's first appearance*. Thus we have, as the reader may easily verify for himself: (1) Genesis i. 1, *El'ohim*, the Creator; (2) Genesis ii. 4, *Iâvâ* (Jehovah), the Uncreated or Self-being; (3) Genesis xiv. 18, *El 'Elion*, the Most High; (4) Genesis xv. 2, *Adonai*, the Lord, or the One All-over; (5) Genesis xvi. 13, *El 'Roi*, the All-seeing; (6) Genesis xvii. 1 *El 'Shaddai*, the All-mighty; (7) Genesis xxi. 33, *El 'Olam*, the Eternal. After that there is no thought-term formally presented as Divine Name throughout the Book of Genesis, or anywhere else in Holy Writ, till we come to the names of the Man-God Himself: whose first-given name, *Immanu'el*, be it noted, is formed from *El* the primitive of first of the above series (*El'ohim*); while His second, *Ie'shua* (Je'sus) is from *Ia*, the primitive of the second, of *Ia'va* (Je'hovah).¹ This remarkable, and, as far as I know, hitherto unnoticed correspondence of the sequence of Divine Names in the order of written revelation with that of reason

¹ 'Iava.'—In addition to the reasons given in my last article for adopting this form of transcription and consequent pronunciation of the Divine Name revealed to Moses, and which some learned friends found rather 'singular,' I would here add Dr. Smith's remark (*Bible Dictionary*): 'Jahveh or Yahveh has been very generally adopted by modern scholars. But, perhaps, *Jahvah* has a better claim'—that, of course, according to the continental pronunciation of those modern scholars, would be *Iahvah* or *Yahvah*. Now, not for purely philological reasons only, but in accordance with the most recent discoveries of archæologists in regard to earliest forms of Semitic names, particularly those made by recent American explorers in the East, under the direction of Professor Hilprecht, Pinches distinctly adopts the pronunciation *Yahvah*. This, it will be seen, is precisely the one I adopted. The transcription only I consider faulty in that it presents six letters, while the original has only four, is essentially tetragrammatic, and as 'the sacred *tetragrammaton*' is traditionally held to be pregnant with mystic meaning. Moreover the two letters added are

as based on reflection's self-data, I may take up for distinct treatment in a future article.

For the present, I conclude with accentuating its last thought-term, that of *El 'Olam* (the essentially Eternal), as term-thought of Alleluia's thought-sequence, taking that sacred acclamation in the fulness of its sense to reflecting reason as meaning: All-hail to the actually Absolute as the absolutely Everlasting Will and as such the One All-righteous, so all-righting for ever—*ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum!* This, in truth, is the formal reason of its being at once universal and paschal, the universal acclaim and the paschal or pass-over ovation. The acclaim is to the actually Absolute; the ovation, 'for ever!' is to Him as Will absolutely Everlasting with all of *right* that implies and act-wise *de facto* for ever imports. Thus it is seen to be the kind of acclamation and form of ovation 'that,' says, Calmet, 'grammarians cannot satisfactorily explain;' for, beyond time-thought words, with their tenses and accidents, it passes to the thought of life absolutely timeless. We may rest for the present in the so far satisfactory truth of its being thus Creation's paschal acclaim through time, the call of all good wills there to each and of each there to all for All-glory to the ever-living, all-ruling Creator of all as always all-ruling rightly; universal cry thus all at once of joy, and praise, and thanksgiving, not alone for having through His act as creatures been brought to be, but also and particularly for being thereby continuously acted or constantly treated as they are in view of all there is to be on the whole and for ever.

Thus it shows throughout the Psalter,¹ thus in the

quite useless for the proper pronunciation. Then, in reply to the charge so frequently made, in various forms, that 'the most ancient and traditionally most sacred of all terms for the Deity is never once heard in the liturgy of Rome,' recalling all said in this connection in my first article, by way of synthetic remark I here note that the primitive or formative principle of *la'va* (Jehovah) is the acclaiming affix of Allelu'ia, and that this affix, in turn, is the proclaiming prefix of *Ie'shua* (Je'su)—as a matter of fact, pronounced *Ie'sus* in the living language of the liturgy of Rome).

¹ Note, especially, the Alleluistic psalms in the Paschal 'Allel with their stirring responses ending, in 'for ever!' in reply to Alleluia's acclaim. Note also the last words of the Psalter: 'Let every spirit (or everything that breathes) praise forth the Lord (the term here in the Hebrew text is *Ia*):

Apocalypse,¹ thus in the Church's earliest versicles, antiphons and hymns; and thus, as I elsewhere brought out in detail,² it was taken up by the early Christians of every class; always as voicing the service of the universe, as wording through time the very sense of the rhythm of things. So through all ways of things it was held to be right that men of good will should hear it. And so they heard it, not only through the Church's words, through her seven canonical hours of Divine service,³ as I elsewhere noted, but, as I would here now note, through the ceaseless word of their own lives and that of this mysterious world of sense through whose cosmic act human life is being borne. They heard it through the rhythmic throbbing of their hearts, and all the sounds, indeed, all the forms and phases of nature's energizing around them. They heard it in the morning chorus of the birds, and the other cheery voices of earth's awakening life. It was for them the word of the rising sun, of the wind through the trees, of rivers on their way to the sea, and of the many-voiced sea itself. 'Alleluia' was to them literally what the waves are saying all day long—what all things on earth are saying 'from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.' Then, 'when the sun goes down, and the stars come out, far over the summer sea,' whence once more to sight 'the heavens are telling the glory of God,' still would 'Alleluia' be to those spiritual-minded men what the planets and the constellations as they shine are singing in harmony with 'the choirs on high'—*cœlestes*

Alleluia!' Giving to 'Ia' the literal translation of *Adonai* (Lord) in this and similar texts naturally somewhat detracts from the literal appositeness of the original; though, of course, the doctrinal sense is not in the least affective, as the denotation is absolutely the same for both terms.

¹ 'Alleluia! Salvation and glory and power to our God, for true and righteous are His judgments.' . . . And again—'They adored God sitting on the throne, saying: Amen (*so be it*, i.e., as Thou dost rule): Alleluia!' Finally—'Alleluia! for the Lord our God the Almighty reigneth.' (Apoc. xix. 1-5.)

² See 'Alleluia's Story' in *Dublin Review*, and 'Alleluia as Christian Acclaim' in *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 1897. Compare earliest known Eastern liturgies, notably those of St. Mark and St. James.

³ In reference to that continuous service of Divine praise, recall the prophetic utterance of Psalm ci.: 'Be this written unto another generation: the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord. But here again note the term thus translated, as though it were *Adonai*, in the Hebrew text is *Ia*.

chori qui cantant in altum. So sang Blessed Notker a thousand years ago in Europe's then chief school of sacred music and song, in the monastery founded two hundred years before by the Irish foreign missionary, St. Gall. So, after all those years, with the selfsame faith as his, while we look on what Blessed Notker looked on, as his did may our spirits hear through the glory of the summer night—

The planets glittering on their heavenly way,
The shining constellations joining say :
Allelu'ia!

T. J. O'MAHONY.

STRAFFORD AND HIS CENSORS

AMONG the many 'educated' persons who know a little about the history of England, and nothing, or next to nothing, about the history of Ireland, the impression, I apprehend, is pretty general that the policy pursued by Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, marks an epoch of exceptional character in the English administration of Irish affairs. But this is altogether a mistake. I have no intention of putting myself forward as an admirer of Wentworth, or as an apologist for his infamous conduct on either side of the Channel. On the contrary, I would say that the fall of his head was but poor atonement for one hundredth part of the enormities perpetrated by him in connection with the county Galway alone. What I would insist upon is, that for every atrocity which may be laid to his charge he had ample precedent in the action of his predecessors; and among those who followed him, and decried his memory, he found imitators who far surpassed him in heaping wrongs upon the people of Ireland, including under that designation not merely the ancient inhabitants, but the descendants of the earlier English settlers. And among all the lord-deputies who scourged the race, he is, perhaps, the only one who can claim to have done anything to benefit posterity as a sort of

set-off against a course of crime and oppression. The prosperity of Ulster—or of that north-east corner of it which loyalist orators and writers parade as Ulster—is, as is well-known, due in no small degree to the efforts made by Wentworth to improve the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen in that particular quarter. It would be easy enough to show that many chief governors of Ireland went as far as they could in the direction of perpetrating the same crimes; while, on the other hand, they have done nothing for Ireland beyond giving their worthless names to a street or a square in Dublin city. My purpose at present is, however, to institute some comparison between this governor-general of Ireland and the governors who brought him to the block; and I shall fail very much in making good my purpose, if it does not appear that, bad as Strafford was, he was far out-done in cruelty and oppression by the godly race who pursued him to death, and then took up his work in Ireland. With this object in view, I shall confine myself, in the main, to an examination of the behaviour of the accused and of his accusers, in reference to the locality which furnished the chief grounds of complaint against his Irish administration. I cannot help thinking, that if it had not served the interests of the Parliamentary party in England to prosecute so able and prominent a royalist, the readers of school and college histories of England would have heard little of Strafford's career in Ireland. But when it became necessary to fish up evidence against him, the people of England learned something about his treatment of the Galway jurors, although very few of these people ever learned that the same treatment of jurors was not then new in Ireland, and was practised in the same country long after Black Tom's bones had mingled with the dust.

Among the grievances voted 'real' by the Commons in reference to Strafford's administration, the following is supposed to refer to the Galway case in particular:—

That jurors who gave their verdict according to their consciences were censured in the Castle chamber in great fines, sometimes pilloried with loss of ears, and bored through the

tongue, and sometimes marked on the forehead with an iron, with other infamous punishments.

Such conduct on the part of a ruler could not be stigmatized too severely. And would to heaven it were of only one ruler of Ireland that such complaint could be made !

In January, 1631, Viscount Wentworth was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland. In 1639 he became earl, and was invested with the title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a title which had not been borne by any predecessor since the time of Essex. He had well earned such marks of favour from his royal master, just as he had well earned the further distinction which awaited him on the 12th of March, 1641. when he laid his head upon the block, preaching, like Wolsey, an impressive sermon to over-zealous ministers who would serve their sovereign by defying the God of Justice.

In 1634 the lord-deputy visited Galway. During his stay he was the guest of Sir Richard Blake (the ancestor of the present Lord Wallscourt), whose name is conspicuous in the contemporary history of Connaught. The deputy expressed himself much satisfied with the highly finished state and opulent appearance of the town. At this time Galway took rank, not merely as the second city of Ireland, but, according to a statement published under the Commonwealth, in commercial importance it came next to London itself. And even in the quaint and sadly ruined town of the present day, the most casual observer cannot fail to discover abundant evidence of the former greatness and splendour of the western capital.

The stately citizens of Galway could hardly have imagined what this affectionate admiration had in store for them. But they were not long to remain in the dark. In the very next year Wentworth had matured his plan for enabling the king to rule without aid or encumbrance from parliament. The able and despotic minister had made the discovery that the last titles of the Connaught proprietors contained a flaw which could be worked into a rich harvest for the crown. 'It is a maxim in law,' says Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, 'that no one can profit by his own fraud or

negligence.' But, as this accomplished writer observes, such maxims do not bind despots when they see their way to work out their own selfish ends. It appeared that owing to the ignorance, or negligence, or the fraud of the officials, the title deeds procured by the Connaught proprietors in the time of James I. had not been duly registered in the chancery, although from no fault of the proprietors themselves, they having taken the necessary steps, and paid the required fees. 'Discoverers with eagle eyes, piercing into the grants made to them under the commission of James, took advantage of the persons employed in passing the patents.' The king connived at the minister's project, although the proprietors had bought off any claim the king could advance as derived through the De Burgos, whose daughter and heiress, Lionel, son of Edward III., had married. In spite of all this, Wentworth held that the whole of Connaught was vested in the Crown, and at its disposal. He, therefore, made the generous proposal, that on a voluntary surrender of the whole the alleged proprietors would be secured in one-half of their respective holdings.

To give proper effect to these views the deputy, on 15th June, 1635, caused separate commissions to issue, directed to the commissioners who were to inquire, by the oaths of a jury, what title the king, or any of his progenitors, had to every county in the province of Connaught. Leitrim surrendered without a trial, the futility of opposition or defence before a court of Wentworth's appointing being manifest from the start. The first trial was held at Boyle, in county Roscommon, on 10th July following, when the jury found the king's title 'without scruple.' This servile example was followed in Sligo, on the 29th of same month, and in Ballinrobe, county Mayo, on the 31st. In four of the five counties, the deputy and his commissioners had it for a walk over. It was, in reality, a royal progress. But the progress came to a memorable stop when the commissioners came to hold inquiry for the county Galway.

The trial came on at Portumna Castle. As with the object of awing the jurors into compliance, the lord-deputy himself had a seat on the bench. Yet they remained firm, and found against the king's title.

Enraged at the finding, the lord-deputy at once put the sheriff, Mr. Martin Darcy of Kiltulla, and the jurors, under arrest. He had them brought close prisoners to Dublin, where they were 'tried' before himself in the Castle chamber.

He fined the sheriff £1,000 to his Majesty, the jurors in £4,000 each; all were to be imprisoned until the fines should be paid, and until they should acknowledge their offence in court upon their knees. The jurors petitioned to be discharged, but were refused except upon condition of their making a public acknowledgment that they committed not only an error in judgment, but even perjury in their verdict—terms which they disdainfully rejected. The sheriff died in prison, owing to severe treatment, and the jurors were most cruelly used; finally, at the instance of the Earl of Clanrickarde, the fines were reduced, and themselves released after suffering all the rigors of confinement.¹

The same writer prints a letter which the lord-deputy wrote from London to Christopher Wandsworth, Esq., Master of the Rolls, and dated 25th July, 1636, expressing himself in this callous manner about the sad death of the sheriff:—

I am full of belief they will lay Darcye the sheriff's death to me. My arrows are cruel that wound so mortally; but *I should be more sorry the king should lose his fine*; therefore, I pray you consult it thorowly with the judges.

Here there is no affectation of grief, nor does the despotic deputy pretend to 'seek the Lord,' or to make the God of heaven and earth a party to the villainy, as his accusers would have done. 'The king's fine' is the object, and woe to him who stands in the way! That is Wentworth's avowed policy, and to carry it out, let men and principles of law alike go down.

Thus determined to carry his point, Wentworth caused two new commissions to issue: one to find the king's title to the county, the other to the 'county of the town of Galway;' for, since 1620, Galway had, as Drogheda had previously, been constituted a separate county. He paved the way for a more satisfactory finding than he had been able to get at Portumna.

¹ Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 105, *et seq.* Dublin, 1820.

Some further particulars of the final trial may be interesting: they are from Hardiman:—

Lord Ranelagh, President of Connaught.
The Archbishop of Tuam.
Robert, Bishop of Elphin.
Sir Charles Coote.
James Barry, 2nd Baron of Exchequer.
James Donnellan, Chief Justice of Connaught.
Sir Francis Willoughby.
Sir Edward Povey.
Anthony Dopping, Esquire.

Sir Dominick Browne, of Galway, Knight.
Nicholas Lynch Fitz-Marcus,¹ Alderman.
Geoffrey Martin, ,,
George Martin, ,,
Marcus Lynch Fitz-Christopher, ,,
John Bodkin Fitz-Dominic, ,,
Francis Blake Fitz-Valentine, Esquire.
Nicholas Blake Fitz-Robert, ,,

¹ It is rather curious that, of the eighteen names, as many as fourteen have the prefix *Fitz* in the agnomen. Thus, the second on the list means simply 'Nicholas Lynch, son of Marcus.' The nomenclature was, no doubt, adopted to avoid the confusion arising from several individuals, in the same town or locality, bearing the same Christian name and surname. Not more than one or two of these combinations remain in use.

John Blake Fitz-Nicholas,	Burgess.
Walter Blake Fitz-Arthur,	„
Edmond Kirwan Fitz-Patrick	„
Alex. Browne Fitz-Dominic,	„
Michael Lynch Fitz-Stephen,	„
Nicholas Blake Fitz-Anthony,	„
Walter Browne Fitz-Thomas,	„
Stephen Martin Fitz-Francis	„
Jasper Ffrench Fitz-Andrew,	„
Thomas Butler,	„

The late Mr. John P. Prendergast says :—

More unscrupulous than James I. who took a-fourth from the native Irish, Strafford resolved to take one-half of the lands of the old English of Connaught with the intention of founding there 'a noble English plantation.' And when Lord Holland, in the Privy Council in England, declared that taking so much might induce them to call the Irish regiments out of Flanders, Lord Strafford answered that, if taking one-half should move that country to rebellion, the taking one-third or one-fourth would hardly ensure the Crown their allegiance; and if they were so rotten and unsound at heart, wisdom would counsel to weaken them, and line them thoroughly with Protestants as guards upon them

His despotic proceedings in the confiscation of Connaught was made one of the grounds of his impeachment; but the managers for the Parliament abandoned it. It had served its purpose by swelling the train of the earl's accusers; and in their declaration concerning the rise and progress of the Irish Rebellion, the Commons of England made it a ground of complaint against the King that he had allowed the Connaught proprietors to compound with him for their estates.¹

The charge of having punished jurors for giving verdicts in accordance with their conscience was but a sham on the part of his accusers. Strafford might well have retorted on them that he was only carrying out the policy of land-transfer, acted upon by the English in Ireland for almost five centuries; and, while holding the position of chief governor, it was no more than his duty to carry out the established canons according to the rule of 'thorough.' He could point out that within little more than half a century there had been repeated confiscations on a gigantic scale, and that the forfeited lands were made over to as many

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, Introduction, lxxiv.

bands of 'undertakers' and 'plantators.' There were people then living who could remember the Desmond clearance, when half of Munster passed to the stranger. The great sweep of Ulster in the reign of James I. was comparatively recent; and this monarch had made a precedent for the invasion of Connaught by a new race of proprietors. It was hardly necessary to cite the confiscations in Leix and Offaly in the time of Queen Mary, or any earlier enterprise at the expense of the Irish. The more recent events alone were sufficient to show that *planting and supplanting were the salient points in the English code of civilization for Ireland*. The 'Saxon land-thirst' had to be satisfied; and if the land could not be had on one pretext, it could on another pretext equally good. If the lands of the ancient natives would not suffice, why not have it from those 'degenerate English' who had become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves?' 'The victor taken captive by the vanquished' to no country is more applicable than to Ireland. Should anyone be disposed to doubt this, let him consider for a moment the necessity for such an enactment as 'The Statute of Kilkenny' (1367) which was directed against not the Irish, but the Anglo-Irish. The proprietors who suffered most by Strafford's high-handed action were mainly of the latter class. The term 'English rebels,' had come to be the designation of great Norman nobles, like the De Burgos, who had practically given up the status of feudal lords for that of Irish princes; and such proprietors had been looked upon as lawful spoil to the newest invaders from England for ages before Strafford set foot on Irish soil. Mr. Prendergast quotes (in his preface) the remarks made by one of the old English in 1644:—

Was it not the usual taunt of the late Lord Strafford and all his fawning sycophants, in their private correspondence with those of the Pale, that they were the most refractory men of the whole kingdom, and that it was more necessary (that is, for their own crooked ends) that they should be planted and supplanted than any others; [and that] where plantations might not reach, defective titles should extend.

For [both forms of procedure he had only too much

precedent in the history of Ireland since 1172; and the Defective Titles measure, as a fiscal resource, was not unknown in the history of England. The idea of 'lining' the old proprietors with Protestants was but a pretext. The authority quoted by Prendergast says that he had known many an officer and gentleman who had got maimed at Kinsale, fighting in defence of the Crown of England when the Spaniards and the Earl of Tyrone were defeated by Lord Mountjoy, to be afterwards deprived of his pension for refusing to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance in the Protestant form, though, as one of them remarked when charged with 'recusancy,' 'it was not asked of me the day of Kinsale what religion I was of.' And, on grounds equally futile, the Anglo-Irish were deprived of their estates, or of a considerable part of them, by Strafford, the real reason being that money was to be made by the transaction; and the lord-deputy well knew that his royal master would not be displeased with the means of procuring, provided the money came in sufficient supply to the treasury.

Passing over fourteen or fifteen troublous years, we come to consider what the people of Galway, in particular, and of Ireland in general, gained when Strafford's accusers came to be undisputed masters of the country.

Galway was the last walled-town to surrender to the army of Cromwell. The siege lasted nine months, and was characterized no less by the vigour of the assault than by the unflinching bravery of the defence. The inhabitants resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. But the want of provisions conquered them in the end. Two attempts to get food supplies into the town failed. About eighty men went privately out of town and seized about a hundred head of cattle, but were met by the enemy, sixty of their number were killed, and the cattle were re-captured. A more serious disappointment followed: two vessels laden with corn were pursued by two parliamentary frigates; one vessel was taken, and the other was wrecked on the rocks adjoining the Isles of Aran. But in spite of these calamities, and of the hostility of Ludlow, the inhabitants succeeded in procuring terms honourable to themselves, and

not disadvantageous had the said terms been honourably observed by the Parliament.

The conditions originally offered to Limerick by Ireton were made the basis of the articles which were finally agreed upon and signed on 5th April, 1652. By these articles the town forts and fortifications were to be delivered up on the 12th to Sir Charles Coote for the Parliament; all persons within the town were to have quarter for their lives, liberty, and persons, and six months to depart with their goods to any part of the kingdom, or beyond the seas. The same time was allowed the clergy to quit the kingdom; and all those comprised in the second article were to have an indemnity except certain specified persons who had taken part in seizing a parliamentary ship, so far back as March 19, 1641. The inhabitants were to enter into and enjoy all real estate. The Corporation charters and privileges were guaranteed, &c. Coote was to procure the ratification of the articles within twenty days. Sir Valentine Blake, Sir Oliver Ffrench, John Blake, and Dominic Blake were to be delivered as hostages. The new castle at Tirrelan, on the east bank of the Corrib river, and the fort on Mutton Island, where the lighthouse now stands, were to be surrendered by noon the following day.

Sir Charles Coote transmitted the particulars to the Dublin Commissioners of the Parliament for their approval. His dispatches arrived at the Castle on the 11th April. So great was the importance attached to the matter that, although it was midnight, the Council was immediately summoned. *The articles were considered too favourable to the people of Galway.* The result of the conference was despatched back on the same night with the object of preventing the completion of the treaty. But ere the countermand could speed over the hundred miles (Irish) between Dublin and Galway, all preliminaries had been arranged, and the town given up on the 12th, when Colonel Peter Stubbers marched in with two companies of foot.

From the moment the articles were signed [says Hardiman], it was resolved to violate them. Coote informed the Commissioners, that if the Parliament ordered that no Papist should

be permitted to reside in any garrison in Ireland, he was sure the inhabitants of Galway would declare themselves bound by such a law, and that they would not insist on the articles! By these and similar contrivances they were gradually evaded.

They would not insist on the articles, forsooth! Coote evidently meant that he would take good care that the inhabitants would not derive any advantages from the articles which had cost them so much. The suggestion is that Parliament should set aside not only the Galway articles, but all previous conventions since the surrender of the Leinster army on 12th May, 1650, and, as will appear, the hint was not lost on either the Commissioners or the Parliament. By the Kilkenny (or Leinster) articles the confederates, on submitting, were led by Ludlow to expect 'such remnant of their estates as would make their lives comfortable among the English.' But all these stipulations were, it would appear, simply intended to induce the Irish to surrender and disarm, and this accomplished, the function of the treaties was discharged.

In his essay on Clive, Lord Macaulay expatiates on the confidence which the British officers' yea or nay inspires among the dusky Orientals. But the British commanders' solemn treaties with their brethren and kinsfolk in Ireland were set aside without shame or remorse. On the contrary, the treaty-breakers took credit to themselves for thereby promoting the glory of the Lord of Hosts!

Colonel Stubbers, who was appointed military governor of Galway, proved himself the scourge not only of the town but of the surrounding country.

Under the pretence of taking up vagrants and idle persons, he made frequent night excursions with armed troops into the country, and in this way seized over a thousand persons, without discrimination of rank or condition, whom he transported to the West Indies, and there had sold as slaves. But the town was the great scene of persecution. Immediately after the surrender, a contribution amounting to four hundred pounds weekly was imposed contrary to the articles, which terminated in the total ruin of the inhabitants. The excessive charge was exacted with the utmost severity. An author [Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, and *Vita Kirovani*], who was then in the town, relates that unless it was paid to the last farthing at a certain hour every

Saturday, of which notice was given by beat of drum, or sounding of trumpet, the soldiers rushed to the houses of the inhabitants, and with their muskets pointed to the breasts of the inmates threatened them with immediate death unless they paid whatever they thought proper to demand; and when, from the continual payment, the townspeople were unable any longer to discharge it, such articles of household furniture as the soldiery could find, even to the clothes of the women, were seized, and sold in the market-place for whatever they would bring; so that, according to this author, the return of Saturday, being the period of payment, and visitation, seemed to the inhabitants to realize the idea formed of the Day of Judgment, the sound of the trumpet striking them with almost equal terror.¹

Hardiman says, that upwards of fifty of the Catholic clergy (*i.e.* of Galway and vicinity) were shipped to the Isles of Aran and Bophin (Innisboffin), until they could be transported to the West Indies; 'and being allowed but twopence a day each for their support they were nearly famished.' However, Prendergast² quotes a Treasury warrant, dated 3rd July, 1657:—

To Col. Thos. Sadlier, Governor of Galway, the sum of £100, upon account, to be by him issued *as he shall conceive meet* for the maintenance of such Popish priests as are, or shall be confined in the Island of Buffin, after the allowance of sixpence *per diem* each. And for building of cabbins and other necessary accommodation for them.

But this was at a later period, when priests had been transferred from various jails to the islands of Aran and Innisboffin, which had come to be regarded as a penal settlement for such malignants, the cost of transportation beyond the seas having been found burdensome. It need hardly be added, that the nuns fled from the convents, and that convents, monasteries, and churches were converted to secular uses. Even the great church of St. Nicholas, which had for almost a century prior to 1641 been in the hands of the Protestants, did not escape desecration.

It also appears [adds Hardiman], that the very men who were hourly violating all the laws of religion and humanity, with their usual consistency of character now considered it necessary

¹ Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 134, &c.

² Page 162.

to erect a meeting-house *for the service of God*, the expenses of which they took care should be defrayed by applotment on the Catholic inhabitants.¹

As if the said Catholic inhabitants had not been already sufficiently burdened by the weekly contribution in support of their unwelcome guests, the 'saintly' garrison!

For so far, there was no general or direct expulsion of the inhabitants; but as many as could sought escape from what had become the house of bondage, and the burdens thereby thrown on those who remained were all the more oppressive. But the time was coming when the Parliament, in open defiance of articles and stipulations—and moved, of course, by the spirit of the Lord—resolved on the total extirpation of the Irish nation, including the Anglo-Irish who had not shown a 'constant good affection' towards his Highness and the Parliament. Under the Leinster articles as many as forty thousand swordsmen left Ireland to take service under the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the Prince de Condé. Many of the gentry and leaders, including the clergy, had sought asylum under strange skies. The Irish, being now disarmed and helpless, the Parliament on 26th September, 1653, passed an act for the new planting of Ireland with English.

The Government reserved for themselves all the towns, all the church lands and tithes, for the abolished archbishops, bishops, deans, and other officers belonging to the hierarchy. In those days the 'Church of Christ' sat in Chichester House, on College-green. They reserved also for themselves the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork. Out of the lands and tithes thus reserved, the Government were to satisfy public debts, private favourites, eminent friends of the republican cause in Parliament, regicides, and the most active of the rebels, not being of the army. They next made provision for the adventurers [*i.e.* the capitalists who had advanced money to the Parliament in anticipation of extensive forfeitures in Ireland].

The amount due to the adventurers was £360,000. This they divided into three lots, of which £110,000 was to be satisfied in Munster, £205,000 in Leinster, and £45,000 in Ulster, and the moiety of ten counties were charged with their payments:—Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary in Munster; Meath,

Westmeath, King's and Queen's Counties in Leinster; and Antrim, Down, and Armagh in Ulster. . . . The rest of Ireland, except Connaught, was to be set out among the officers and soldiers, for their arrears, amounting to £1,550,000, and to satisfy debts of money or provisions due for supplies advanced to the army of the Commonwealth, amounting to £1,750,000. Connaught was by the Parliament reserved, and appointed for the habitation of the Irish nation; and all English and Protestants having lands there, who should desire to move out of Connaught into the provinces inhabited by the English, were to receive estates in the English parts, of equal value in exchange.

It might be imagined [says the same author] that this fearful sentence was a penalty upon the supposed blood-thirstiness of the Irish. But for blood, death, not banishment, was the punishment; and the class most likely to be guilty of blood—the ploughmen, labourers, and others of the lower order of the people—were excepted from transplantation. The nobility and gentry of ancient descent, proprietors of landed estates, were incapable of murder or massacre; but it was they who were particularly required to transplant. Their properties were wanted for the new English planters.

Three reasons were assigned for excepting the 'toilers': first, they were useful to the English as earth-tillers and herdsmen; secondly, deprived of their priests and gentry, and living amongst the English, it was hoped they would become Protestants; and thirdly, the gentry, without their aid, must work for themselves and their families: if they did not work they should die; and, if they did work, they should, in time, turn into common peasants.³ But it is known that the county Tipperary was made so desolate by the Transplantation, that it was found necessary to bring back four peasants from Connaught to point out boundaries of estates to Petty's surveyors.

For such a scene of desolation as the cities and towns of Ireland presented at this period, recourse must be had to the records of antiquity; and there in the ruined state of the towns of Sicily, when rescued by Timoleon from the tyranny of the Carthaginians, there is to be found a parallel. Syracuse when taken was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. So little frequented was the market-place that it produced grass

¹ Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 23-25.

² Pages 27, 28.

³ Morison's *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, p. 25.

enough for the horses to pasture on, and for the grooms to lie in by them as they grazed. The other cities were deserts full of deer and wild boars; and such as had this use for it hunted them in the suburbs round the walls. And such was the case in Ireland. On the 20th December, 1652, a public hunt by the assembled inhabitants of the barony of Castleknock was ordered by the State by [reason of] the numerous wolves lying in the wood of the Ward, only six miles north of Dublin.¹

Such was the desolation wrought by the war which had raged from 1641, when the 'saints of God' came to the conclusion that the idolatrous nation ought to be wiped out, at any rate, from three of the four provinces, and, as will appear, from a considerable section of the remaining province.

Galway town was reserved 'for the Government.' In fact, it was appropriated by the leading men among the successful invaders. For instance, the valuable salmon fishery of the Corrib, formerly an appanage of the Franciscan monastery, was let to Paul Dod at the nominal rent of ten shillings *per annum*.

So far back as 14th July, 1643, the Parliament proposed this and other towns for sale to English and foreign merchants at the following rates:—

Galway,	with 10,000 acres,	for	£7,500 fine and	£520	rent.
Limerick,	„ 12,000 „ „	30,000 „	£625	„	„
Waterford,	„ 1,500 „ „	30,000 „	£625	„	„
Wexford	„ 6,000 „ „	5,000 „	£156 4s. 4d.	„	„

But the moneyed men did not see their way to purchase and pay for the bear's skin while the bear was still at large. The proposals, accordingly, fell through.

Upon a petition from 'the English Protestant inhabitants of Galway'—most of them recent arrivals, it may be presumed—an order was made by the Council of State, on the 25th October, 1654, that the mayor and other chief officers should be 'English' and 'Protestant;' and in case the then mayor and other chief officers were 'Irish' or 'Papists,' that they should be removed.

This order was immediately carried into execution.

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 143, 144.

The Mayor, Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose (whose beautiful marble residence, known as Lynch's Castle, still stands in Shop-street), was deposed from office; as were John Blake, the Recorder, the Sheriffs Richard Lynch and Anthony Ffrench Fitz-Peter. In their places were appointed Colonel Peter Stubbers, the military governor, to be mayor, Paul Dod and Marcus Lynch Fitz-Thomas, to be sheriffs. Hardiman says that, according to tradition, the individual last named was the only one who, at the time, changed his religion and his principles, and joined the common enemy of both; in consequence of which all communication was denied him by his friends for the rest of his life, and he is said to have died of a broken heart, occasioned by remorse and shame for his apostacy.

The next move was to banish all the native inhabitants out of the town, and to supply their place by an English colony. Accordingly an order, dated 30th October, 1655, of the lord-deputy and council to this effect, was carried out by Sir Charles Coote, the Lord-president of Connaught, with unrelenting severity. The wretched inhabitants, without distinction of rank or sex—except a few oppressed by sickness and years—were driven out of the town in the midst of winter (still the favourite season for 'eviction'). The winter was an unusually severe one. The poor wretches, many of whom had been used to elegance and comfort, were forced to take shelter by the ditches and in the cabins of the poor peasantry, without fire or sufficient clothing; in consequence of which many fell victims to privation and the inclemency of the season. The town presented the appearance of a military camp, and rapidly began to decay. We know that in Cork city it had been the practice of the soldiery to dismantle unoccupied houses to obtain fire-wood; and we may well suppose that similar practices prevailed in Galway in those days of affliction. For the effective manner in which he carried out the order, Coote received the thanks of the Council, but was cautioned to take care that the few so dispensed with should be removed as soon as the season would permit! When the Government offered Galway, on certain terms, to the city of Gloucester, it was

held out as an inducement 'for that noe Irish are permitted to live in the city or within three miles thereof.'

We need hardly pause to reflect on the calamity it was to the proud representatives of the Fourteen Families whose ancestors had been in occupation since the twelfth century, to be hunted out to make room for the canaille that had suddenly risen to power. As Mr. Blake-Forster, quoting from the Corporation Book of the time, remarks, in his *Struggle for the Crown*:—'Cromwell's followers, who were all cobblers, butchers, bakers, soldiers, and mechanics, were made free of the Corporation, while the former, respectable natives and gentry, were turned out of the town.' One instance mentioned by the same writer is worth quoting. In a picturesque situation on the east bank of the Corrib river, just where it issues from the great lake of the same name, stands Menlo Castle. At the time of the Cromwellian Settlement this beautiful castle was in the possession of Sir Valentine Blake, as it still is in possession of his descendant. But the distinguished owner was for a time displaced to make way for a Cromwellian apostle, named John Mathews, originally a weaver; this Mathews, and another canting hypocrite named John Camel, were sheriffs of Galway in 1655, the mayor being Lieut.-Col. Humphrey Hurd. At the Restoration Jack Mathews fled from Menlo, Sir Valentine Blake resumed possession, while his retainers celebrated the event by making a great bonfire in front of the castle, and piling on it all the tracts and prayer-books accumulated by Mathews in furtherance of his mission.

Many of the Cromwellians took the King's return as the signal for a stampede. But others, wiser in their generation, stood their ground, and, in spite of Charles II.'s Act of Settlement and the special orders issued to give up possession to the ancient owners, retained their allotments in the town of Galway, and some of them, as the Eyre family, remained prominent in the history of the town into the present century.

I can give only a hasty glance at the general condition of Connaught under the operation of the Transplantation scheme. It is to be borne in mind that the Irish of three

provinces were to be dumped upon a locality already occupied to, perhaps, the full extent of its capabilities. We may take it that the parts of Connaught really worth occupying were already occupied; and there would be very little welcome for the new-comers. Two counties, Leitrim and Sligo, with a good slice of Mayo, the richest bit in it, were reserved for the soldiery. A border all round the province (which was made to include the county Clare), four miles wide, was also reserved; but this border was eventually reduced to one mile. There were choice morsels reserved for particular favourites. Thus, 'the Lord Henry Cromwell,' got Portumna Castle, the seat of the earls of Clanrickarde, with 6,000 acres adjoining. The barony of Clare-Galway, in county Galway, was reserved for the Government. 'Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Sadlier, Major Ormsby, and others, did not think it beneath them to still further diminish the fund of land for the support of the exiled Irish nation, and got grants in Connaught.' We may well suppose that not many of the 'English' and 'Protestant' proprietors already in Connaught, voluntarily gave up the bird in the hand for the bird in the bush, to take part in the scrimmage with the soldiery and adventurers who laid claim to the other three provinces. The Transplantation scheme, which had been made to look as fair as possible on paper, became wholly impracticable. Proprietors who had been promised lands as good as they left were sent, after many delays, to the bogs and bleak mountains. The affecting case of Lord Viscount Roche may be cited as an example of the cruel injustice of the scheme; 'his whole case well illustrates the misery of Ireland.'

In the first place, the Viscountess Roche was hanged soon after the surrender of 1652, on a charge of murder, the only evidence against her being that of an infamous character, while it could be proved that the accused was twenty miles off at the time. Then, in 1654, Lord Roche was dispossessed of his whole estate, having (as set forth in his petition, which Prendergast prints ¹) the charge of four young

daughters unpreferred, to whose misery was added the loss of their mother by an unjust and illegal proceeding, for whose innocence he appealed to the best Protestant gentry and nobility in the county of Cork. The noble petitioner and his daughters were destitute of all manner of subsistence (except what alms some good Christians, in charity, gave them); the consequence was that one of the daughters fell sick and died 'for want of requisite accommodation either for her cure or diet.' After ten months' attendance on those in authority, all the succour he got was an order to the Loughrea Commissioners to set him out some lands *De Bene Esse* (i.e., provisionally). With this order he was necessitated to travel on foot from Dublin to Connaught, where he spent six months in attendance on the Commissioners at Athlone and Loughrea, and in these attendances, and in the prosecution, ran himself £100 in debt. Yet at last he had but an assignment in 'the Owles' (*Tír-an-Umwal*), among the Nephin Beg Mountains in Mayo, and part in the remotest part of Thomond, all waste and unprofitable; and from these he was evicted before he could receive any manner of profit, by others to whom the Commissioners had disposed of the same by final settlements, both before and after.

And not less touching is the story of the three daughters of Jordan Roche, of Limerick, 'reduced from a landed estate of £2,000 a year to nothing to live on but what they could earn by their needles, and washing and wringing.' No wonder it was found necessary to encourage transplantation by hanging. In April, 1655, Mr. Edward Hetherington was hanged in Dublin, with placards on his breast and back 'for not transplanting.' The officers were 'tender of hanging any of the Irish proprietors *but leading men*; and so they resolved to seize and fill the jails, by which this bloody people will know *that they* (the officers) *are not degenerated from English principles*.'¹ 'Yet we shall make no scruple,' the document proceeds, 'of sending them to the West Indies, where they will serve as planters, and help to plant the plantation that General Venables, it is hoped, hath reduced.' No wonder that people went mad and committed

¹ Document, dated March 4th, 1644-5, quoted by Prendergast on p. 52.

suicide; that many took to the hills, and the woods, adopting such a course of reprisal as elsewhere had been glorified by the genius of Walter Scott—'To spoil the spoiler, and from the robber rend the prey.'¹

Had the Cromwellian regime lasted a few years longer, it is possible that the Lord would have moved men in high places to remove the idolatrous proprietors from Connaught also, and send them to the West Indies, where, according to the Lord Henry Cromwell, they could 'learn some Christian duty.' Yet, as a missionary enterprise, the Cromwellian settlement was a huge abortion. It was fondly hoped that the farm-labourers, and artisans not transplanted, would very soon become absorbed in the general Protestantism of the three 'English' provinces. But what was the result? Let Primate Boulter answer. Writing from Dublin on 13th February, 1727, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace says: 'There are, probably, in this kingdom *five Papists, at least, to one Protestant.*' Again, on 7th March, 1727, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Dr. Boulter writes:—

We have in this kingdom but about six hundred incumbents, and, I fear, three thousand popish priests, and the bulk of our clergy have neither parsonage, houses, nor glebes; and yet till we can get more churches or chapels, and more resident clergymen instead of getting ground from the papists we must lose to them, as we do in many places, *the descendants of many of Cromwell's officers and soldiers being gone off to Popery.*

What a confession to be made seventy-four years after the passing of the Act for planting more than three-fourths of Ireland with anti-Popish and anti-Irish settlers! The Papists still *five to one* after the Cromwellian plantations, the Williamite plantations, and over a quarter of a century of the most grinding and oppressive legislation the world has witnessed since the days of Nero or Domitian! Nor can it be pleaded, that the work of Cromwell was undone by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation of Charles II. Under these Acts a few of the old proprietors were restored, but the Court of Claims had proceeded but a little way when

¹ As Sir Charles Gavan Duffy points out in his *Bird's-eye view of Irish History*.

its operation was brought to a full stop by the outbreak of the 'Phanatic Plot' of 1663, the Cromwellian officers conspiring to overthrow the Government because of the proceedings of that court. Indeed it was not difficult to defeat the claims of the Irish ex-proprietors. The one thing in the career of Cromwell which gave satisfaction to the English royalists was his wholesale confiscation of the Irish royalist property; the arch-Regicide merely did on a large scale, and with a bolder hand, what they would themselves have done towards the Irish supporters of the King, on the first available opportunity. The worst things that Cromwell did in Ireland assured him of pardon for the crimes he committed in England.

We may take it, then, that the Cromwellian settlement of the land was not materially interfered with by the legislation of Charles II.; and the legislation of James II. came to nothing. The legislation of William III. was to uphold and extend the land system of Cromwell. Then followed, in natural sequence, the penal legislation of William III., Anne, and the first two Georges. Just as one lie requires another lie to back it up—as one villainy requires a deeper villainy to follow at its tail—so did the plantations of the seventeenth century render necessary the hideous penal laws of the eighteenth. And the Carthaginian policy of these two centuries in particular was sufficient to sow the land with dragons' teeth for the legislators and rulers of later days.

It is, therefore, a mistake, I submit, to charge Strafford with having done anything extraordinary in Ireland as compared either with what preceded or what followed his time. He worked on the same lines as others had done, and he had ample precedent for all his acts without going back farther than the reign of James I. In Michaelmas term, 1616, the jurors who were imprisoned for refusing to find verdicts against their fellow-Catholics *were packed in jail like herrings in a barrel*; their fines reached to £16,000, which, instead of going to the poor of the parishes, went to private favourites. Those of the county Cavan alone were fined £8,000.¹ And as regards the proprietors who are

¹ *Analecta de Rebus Catholicis in Hibernia*, p. 59. Dublin, 1617.

turned out of house and home it matters little whether the 'transplantation' is the act of a despotic ruler in whose appointment they have no voice, or of an equally despotic parliament in which they have no adequate representation. The despot finds a flaw in a title deed, the parliament raises a cry of 'rebellion,' or 'idolatry.' In both cases the real crime is that the despised race has lands and tenements which would make eligible holdings for the 'well-affected' of the 'superior' race.

THOMAS FITZPATRICK.

THE GOSPELS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

III.

WE have shown that the words of Papias regarding the Gospel of St. Matthew are naturally to be understood of our present first Gospel, and that Eusebius, with the complete work of Papias before him, understood them in this sense. We shall now proceed to show that there is nothing in his reference to the Gospel of St. Mark to preclude the belief that he speaks of our present second Gospel. And let it be remembered that the burden of proof rests not upon us but upon our adversaries. When we find the fathers, at the end of the second century, unanimous in accepting our four Gospels in their present form as inspired and apostolic; unanimous, too, *in appealing to the tradition of earlier times* in favour of this belief, it is clear that the words of an earlier writer like Papias ought to be interpreted in accordance with this later belief, unless it can be proved that they are incapable of bearing such an interpretation. Hence it is only necessary for us to show that Papias' words *can* refer to our present Matthew and Mark; for if they can, then by every law of interpretation it is of these they ought to be understood.

But, we are told, they cannot refer to our present Gospel

of St. Mark, because the work of which Papias speaks was deficient in orderly arrangement: 'And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order what was either said or done by Christ.'¹ This is a fine example of what a slender foundation suffices the 'higher critics' when they want to build a theory destructive of the Gospels and meant to be destructive of Christianity.

Because Papias quotes an Elder who said that Mark did not record the words and deeds of Christ in order, we are to believe that our present Mark was not then in existence; that the Gospel of Mark known to Papias was quite different from the work of the same name everywhere received throughout the Christian world at the end of the second century; that the earlier work somehow disappeared completely or changed its name within less than fifty years, and that the change took place so secretly that Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius had no suspicion it had taken place, and understood Papias to speak of our present St. Mark.² And all this we are asked to believe because Rationalists assure us that the Elder quoted by Papias could not justly have spoken of our present St. Mark as wanting in order. Surely, even if this were true, it would be more reasonable to conclude that the Elder was mistaken in his criticism than to accept a theory involving all the improbabilities we have just mentioned. But is it a fact that the Elder could not justly speak as he did concerning our present St. Mark? In other words, is the order of that Gospel so perfect that his words cannot apply to it? When the question is stated in this way, the answer is obvious. The order in our present Mark differs in many instances from that in Luke and John, and if we suppose that the Elder preferred the order of either of the latter, this supposition is quite sufficient to explain his language.

¹ For the remainder of the quotation from Papias, see I. E. RECORD for May, p. 437.

² Iren. iii. 1. 1.; Clem., apud Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 15, vi. 14; Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 5; Orig., apud Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 25, ii. 15; Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 15; Demonst. Evang., iii. h.

And he might naturally prefer the order of St. Luke's Gospel, because in the beginning of the book St. Luke says, that it is his intention to write in order.¹ This view, that Papias or the Elder had the Gospel of St. Luke before his mind, is the one adopted by Salmon. But, though it enables us to explain the language of Papias, I cannot think it is the correct view; and my reason is this: Papias evidently accounts for the want of order in Mark by the fact that he was not an immediate disciple of Christ, but had to depend for his knowledge on the preaching of Peter, while Peter's preaching was regulated by the needs of his hearers, and gave neither a complete nor orderly account of our Lord's life. Now this same reason might be put forward for a want of order in St. Luke, who was not an immediate disciple of Christ any more than Mark, but a follower of Paul, who, as well as Peter, would, no doubt, regulate his preaching by the needs of his hearers. It is true, it may be said that this presumption against the observance of chronological order in St. Luke is removed by the clear statement of the Evangelist, that he undertakes to write in order. We are not prepared to deny this; but we hold that, if Papias or the Elder had held the correct order of the Gospel narrative to be that of St. Luke, he would never have accounted for the want of order in St. Mark on the ground that Mark was not an immediate disciple of Christ.

What the correct order was, in the view of Papias or the Elder, cannot be said with certainty. Whether it was the order of the Fourth Gospel or of the First, or some order different in some points from that of any of our Gospels, and known to him by tradition, may never, perhaps, be clearly proved. But, at all events, it has long been generally agreed by harmonists that the order of our present St. Mark is not perfect; and so we may well believe it is of our present Mark that Papias speaks.

I cannot pass from Papias without calling attention to a conclusion which Rationalists seek to draw from the words

¹ γράψαι καθεξῆς, L. i. 3.

of his Preface quoted by Eusebius. Papias is explaining what the plan of his work will be, and he says that along with his interpretations he will give a place to traditions gathered in time past from the Elders. 'For,' he continues, 'I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.'¹ From this it has been inferred that, if Papias was acquainted with any written accounts of our Lord's life, he set no value on them in comparison with tradition, and that his object in writing his book was to compile, with the aid of tradition, a more reliable account of our Lord's life than any that was in existence. Thus the author of *Supernatural Religion*,² after quoting the Preface of Papias, says :—

It is clear from this that, even if Papias knew any of our Gospels, he attached little or no importance to them, and that he knew absolutely nothing of Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament. His work was evidently intended to furnish a more complete collection of the discourses of Jesus from oral tradition than any previously existing, with his own expositions; and this is plainly indicated by his own words, and by the title of his work, Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις.³

And, again, in another passage, the same writer asserts :—'Whatever books Papias knew, however, it is certain, from his own express declaration, that he ascribed little importance to them, and preferred tradition as a more reliable source of information regarding evangelical history.'⁴

Now, it is not difficult to show that this writer, and all who hold the same view, completely misunderstand the design of Papias. On the face of it, indeed, it is absurd to suppose that Papias, who tells us that SS. Matthew and Mark left written records about Jesus, and who three times insists on the accuracy of Mark's record, set no value on these writings, or that he valued them less than oral traditions handed down from the same St. Matthew, or other Apostles.

¹ See the whole passage in the I. E. RECORD of May, p. 436.

² Vols. i. and ii. of this work were published in 1874, and vol. iii. in 1877. The work ran through many editions, and attracted much attention; but its dishonest and unscholarly character was ably exposed by Lightfoot

³ Second ed., vol. i., p. 435.

⁴ S. R., vol. i., p. 484.

Papias, indeed, should be strangely constituted if he preferred traditions claiming to represent the views of Matthew or Mark to their own carefully-written records. As a matter of fact, the title of Papias' work (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησεις) shows that it was a commentary or interpretation. The primary and obvious meaning of ἐξήγησις is 'interpretation;' and that this is the meaning here is proved by what Papias says in his preface:—'But I will not scruple also to give a place along with my *interpretations* (συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις) to all that I learned carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders.' Here he uses the unambiguous word ἐρμηνείαις, which can mean nothing but interpretations, and signifies that he will illustrate his interpretations from tradition. But interpretations suppose something that is to be interpreted, and the words we have just quoted from the preface of Papias prove that what he undertook to interpret was not tradition, but something distinct from it:—'But I will not scruple *also* to give a place *along with my interpretations* to all that I learned carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders.' Hence, the words of Papias imply (a) a text, (b) interpretations, which were to explain the text, (c) oral traditions which were to illustrate and enforce the interpretations. We are now in a position to understand what Papias means in this passage where he is said to disparage all written records of our Lord's life and words. We have shown that he must have used a text, which he intended to interpret, and which there is no reason to doubt was identical with one or more of our Gospels. It cannot be that he includes his text among the books to which he prefers tradition, and the obvious and necessary conclusion is that he refers to books already written for the purpose of explaining or illustrating the Gospel narrative. To all such works he prefers tradition, but to suppose that he prefers it to the text on which he was commenting, is to suppose an absurdity. The works to which Papias refers are, probably, Gnostic writings, many of which must have already appeared in his time; and it is likely enough that his sarcastic reference in his preface to those 'who have so very much to say' may be an allusion,

as Lightfoot supposes, to the elaborate work, in twenty-four books, of the heretic Basilides on 'The Gospel.'

It follows, then, from all we have said, that there is no solid ground for doubting that Papias speaks of our present Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and we may safely acquiesce in the view of Eusebius, who had the complete work of Papias on which to base his judgment, that it is of our present Gospels he speaks. Regarding the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, we have shown¹ that we ought not to conclude, because Eusebius preserves no reference of Papias to them, that Papias did not receive them. The scope of Eusebius forbids such a conclusion; while his ordinary practice of noting opinions that were peculiar, warrants us in concluding from his silence, that Papias was not peculiar in his attitude towards the Gospels, but, like the rest of the Catholic world, knew and received all four.

Our next witness is Aristides, an Athenian philosopher, whose *Apology*, long thought to have been lost for ever, has been recently discovered.² Eusebius refers to the work: 'Aristides also, a man faithfully devoted to the religion we profess, like Quadratus, has left to posterity a defence of the faith addressed to Hadrian. This work is also preserved by a great number, even to the present day.'³ And in his *Chronicon*, at the year 125, the same writer says, that Aristides presented his *Apology* to Hadrian when the latter visited Athens, in the eighth year of his reign, that is, in 125 A.D.

The evidence afforded by this very ancient work in favour of the Gospels is less than we might desire; still it is of great importance, and worthy of notice. Aristides does not mention any of the Evangelists as having written a Gospel, nor does he quote any of the Gospels, but he does refer

¹ I. E. RECORD for May, p. 439.

² In 1889, Professor Rendel Harris of Cambridge discovered the Syriac manuscript containing the *Apology* in the library of the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. Soon after, Professor Robinson, also of Cambridge, on reading the translation of the Syriac Version, discovered that the original Greek text of the *Apology* is incorporated in an early Christian romance, *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*.

³ Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 3.

the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, to a *written* Gospel current among Christians, and the brief summary of Christian doctrine that he gives is in entire accordance with the teaching of the four Gospels.

The Christians [he tells the Emperor] trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. And He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the Son of the Most High God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men. And being born of a pure virgin, unbegotten and immaculate, He assumed flesh, and revealed Himself among men, that He might recall them to Himself from their wandering after many gods. And having accomplished His wonderful dispensation, by a voluntary choice, He tasted death on the cross, fulfilling an august dispensation. And after three days He came to life again, and ascended into heaven. And if you would read, O King, you may know the glory of His presence from *the holy Gospel writing*, as it is called among themselves (ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς ἔξεστὶ σοι γινῶναι).¹

From this passage it is undeniably clear that Aristides was acquainted with a Gospel history which was already committed to writing; equally clear, too, that this history was substantially the same as our four Gospels; teaching, like them, the Divinity of Christ, His Incarnation, and birth of a virgin His voluntary, yet fore-ordained death, His resurrection from the dead, and His ascension into heaven. What, then, would Rationalists gain even if it could be shown, which it cannot, that Aristides used some other Gospel different from any of our four? Would it not still be unquestionable that the faith of Christians in the year 125 A.D. was the same as ours: that the great fundamental truths of Christianity, which Rationalists deny, were then as fully recognised and as firmly believed by Christians as they are now?

The same sort of evidence, confirming the substance of our Gospel history, is afforded by another recently discovered manuscript containing a fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. In 1885, the French Archæological Mission, Cairo, found the fragment in a grave at Akhmîm (Panopolis), in Upper Egypt. The date of the original is not quite

¹ Greek text of the *Apol.*, ch. xv. In the Syriac Version the passage stands in ch. ii.

certain, though all are agreed that it is very early, and Harnack places it in the first quarter of the second century.¹ The fragment treats only of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and though there are many minor points of difference between it and our Gospels, yet, on the great important facts it confirms the Gospel history. Thus it refers to Christ as the Lord; it represents the Jews as saying while they scourged Him, 'With this honour let us honour the Son of God;' it mentions that Christ was crucified between two malefactors, that at His crucifixion darkness came (over all Judea); that He died on the cross; that He was buried; that He rose from the dead; and that an angel appeared to Magdalen and her friends, saying: 'Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone.' Evidently the 'myths and legends,' on which the Christian religion is based, had been developed at a very early date!

We may next refer to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a work commonly referred to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.² The work in its present form contains four distinct references to a then existing Gospel text (chaps. viii., xi., xv.). Even if we admit that these references were inserted by a later hand, there still remain as unquestionably belonging to the original work, striking coincidences of language with peculiarities of St. Matthew and St. Luke.³

It is worthy of note, too, that it speaks of Christian baptism, which, it declares, was to be administered *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, of fasting and prayer, and of the Blessed Eucharist, in regard to which it enjoins:—

Let no one eat or drink of this Eucharistic Thanksgiving, but they that have been baptized in the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord hath said: 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'⁴

¹ It was in circulation in the time of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, (190-203), who said that most of it belonged to the genuine teaching of the Saviour, but some things were additions. (Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 12, 2.)

² Hilgenfeld, a leading German Rationalist, dates it 97 A.D.

³ See, e.g., iii. 7; i. 3, 4, 5; vii. 1; viii. 2; xi. 7; xiii. 1.

⁴ Chap. ix., compare St. Matt. vii. 6.

And we commend to Rationalists the thanksgiving prescribed to be offered after the reception of the Holy Eucharist :—

We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory, for ever and ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks unto Thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son.

It is, indeed, possible to cavil here, just as it is in regard to almost any extract, however clear; but the obvious meaning of this passage implies belief in the Divinity of Christ, and in the sacramental efficacy of the Blessed Eucharist.

We next proceed to consider briefly the character of the evidence derived from the Apostolic fathers, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas. They represent the generation immediately succeeding the Apostles, and they speak for widely separated parts of the early Church. The first thing that must strike anyone who reads their works is the identity of their teaching with that of the Gospels regarding all the great truths of the Christian faith. In this way they vouch unconsciously for the truth of the Gospel history, and prove that from the very beginning, and not merely from the middle of the second century, as Baur and his followers would have us believe, the great fundamental truths of the Christian faith were everywhere accepted. The Gospel they accepted is one with the Gospel of the four Evangelists.

To bring this point home to the reader in all its force, let me sum up the teaching of the Apostolic fathers. They tell us that Christ, the Word, the Lord and Creator of the world, who was with the Father before all time,¹ humbled Himself, and came down from heaven, and was born of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David according to the flesh,

¹ Ignat. Ad. Rom. inscr., c. iii; Ad. Ephes. inscr.; Ad Magnes. viii.; Barn. v.; Ign. Ad Magnes. vi.

and that a star of surpassing brightness appeared at His birth.¹ They tell us that He was baptized by the Baptist, to fulfil all righteousness, and that then He invited not the just but sinners to come unto Him.² That under Herod and Pilate He was crucified after He had been offered vinegar and gall to drink.³ That on the first day of the week He rose from the dead, the first-fruits of the grave, and that many prophets were raised by Him for whom they had waited. That after His resurrection He appeared to His disciples, and ate with them, and showed them that He was not an incorporeal spirit.⁴ That, finally, He ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, whence He shall one day come to judge the living and the dead.⁵

Such, in their own words, is the Gospel of the Apostolic fathers; such was the faith of four widely different parts of the Christian Church at the end of the first century. Christ's Divinity, His incarnation, and death, and resurrection were then, as now, the firm foundation of the faith, the sure anchor of the hope of Christians. Thus at a time when, according to Baur, the Petrine and Pauline factions had not yet united together to form the Christian Church, when, according to Strauss, the myths and legends now clustering round the personality of Christ had not yet had time to develop, we find in Antioch and Alexandria, in Smyrna and Rome, the same Divine Christ, the same Christian faith, that is portrayed in the four Gospels.

Nor do the Apostolic fathers merely confirm the *substance* of the Gospel history, though this in itself were much. Their language in very many instances reflects that of the Gospels, so that there can be little doubt that they were familiar with the Gospel narratives. It is true they do not refer to any of the Evangelists by name; true also that, with one exception of which I shall speak presently,

¹ Clem. xvi.; Ign. Ad Magnes vii.; Barn. xii. Ign. Ad Smyr. i., Ad Trall. ix.: Ad Ephes. xix., xx.

² Ign. Ad Smyr. i.; Ad Rom. viii.; Barn. v.

³ Ign. Ad Magnes. xi.; Ad Trall. ix.; Ad Smyr. i., Barn. vii.

⁴ Barn. xv.; Ign. Ad Magnes. ix. Cleon. xxiv. Polyc. ii.; Ign. Ad Magnes. ix.; Ad Smyr. iii.

⁵ Barn. xv.; Polc. ii.; Barn. vii.

they do not say they are relying upon or quoting from a written Gospel rather than tradition. It must be borne in mind, however, that even when they quote the Old Testament, none of them, except Barnabas, ever refers by name to the writer whom he quotes, so that nothing can be concluded from the fact that they do not refer by name to the Evangelists. They simply weave the Old Testament, and, as it seems, the New into their narrative, without caring to name the source from which they quote, because like the writer of the *Muratorian Fragment* they believed all to be the work of the same Divine Spirit.

One or two extracts from Clement of Rome, who is held to have been the earliest of the Apostolic fathers, will show the general character of these quotations. Writing to the Corinthians, he says :—

Remember the words of Jesus our Lord, for He said : ‘ Woe unto that man ; it were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of Mine elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about him, and he cast into the sea than that he should offend one of Mine elect.’¹

And in another place he says :—

Most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spoke, teaching forbearance and long-suffering, for thus He spoke : Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy ; forgive that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown unto you. With what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured unto you.²

It is, of course, possible that Clement had learned these sayings of our Lord from tradition, and not from any written Gospel ; but when we remember that he had never preached to the Corinthians, to whom his letter was directed, and can hardly have known the extent of the oral instruction imparted to them, and that he, nevertheless, takes for granted their knowledge of the sayings, it seems natural to conclude that he was acquainted with a written record containing those sayings which he knew to be possessed also by the Corinthians. And the probability of this conclusion is greatly increased by what I am now about to mention.

¹ Clem. Rom. c. 46.

² C. 13.

In the Epistle of Barnabas, which, though not the work of the Apostle Barnabas, is admitted to date from the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, we have what, in my opinion, cannot be reasonably denied to be a clear quotation from St. Matthew. The passage occurs in the fourth chapter of the Epistle, and is as follows: 'Let us take heed lest, *as it is written* we be found many called, but few chosen.' Barnabas evidently regarded the words, 'Many called, but few chosen,' as Scripture; for he introduces them with the well-known formula of Scripture quotation: 'It is written.' Now, these words are not found in Scripture, except in St. Matthew xxii. 14; and hence it follows that some written work of St. Matthew was not only known to Barnabas, but also accepted by him as inspired Scripture. For a long time the first four chapters of Barnabas were known only in a Latin translation, and Rationalists held that the words, 'It is written,' could not have stood in the original, and must have been an interpolation of the Latin translator. But when, in 1859, Tischendorf discovered the great Sinaitic manuscript, which contains the complete Greek text of the Epistle of Barnabas, lo! it was found that the words 'As it is written,' *ὡς γέγραπται*, formed a part of the original fourth century text. Since then some of the Rationalists have suggested that the text is a quotation from the Second Book of Esdras: 'Many are created, but few shall be saved;' others pretend that it may have been taken from a lost apocryphal book; while others, I believe, have modestly accused Barnabas of a blunder, a slip of memory, in introducing the quotation by the words, 'It is written.' It is the old story, that no evidence suffices to convince men against their will.

Thus while the witness of the Apostolic fathers to the authenticity of the Gospels is meagre, it is consistent with all the other evidence that we have examined, and points in the same direction. If, then, as we have shown, our present four Gospels were everywhere known and received in the Church as authentic in the second half of the second century, received, too, because their authenticity was vouchsafed for by the tradition handed down from earlier times; if in the

year 125 A.D., Aristides was acquainted with 'The Holy Gospel Scripture;' if the language of each of the Apostolic fathers is coloured by that of the Gospels; if one of the Apostolic fathers, Barnabas, writing not later than the opening of the second century, quotes the Gospel of St. Matthew as inspired Scripture; and, finally, if the only reason why we cannot adduce still earlier evidence is because no earlier uninspired writings are known to us, it is, surely, unreasonable for Rationalists to persist in denying that the Gospels are the work of the first century, and of the men to whom the tradition of the Church has always ascribed them.

We have deliberately omitted to speak of several other heads of evidence, in favour of the authenticity of the Gospels, which would tend much to confirm our conclusions, and which we should certainly feel bound to dwell upon, if we were attempting anything like an exhaustive treatment of this subject. Thus the fact that the Gospels bear their present titles since at least the second century, affords a strong argument in support of their authenticity. Again, the oldest versions of the New Testament, namely, the Peshito Syriac, and the Old Latin, from the time of their first appearance, contained the four Gospels. Now the Peshito is held by all competent scholars to date at least from the first half of the second century, and the Old Latin cannot be later than the second half of the same century, so that these ancient versions bear witness that in the second century the four Gospels were publicly read and revered as Scripture alike in the East and West. Again, we might easily have drawn an argument from the acquaintance of early heretics such as Basilides, Valentinus, and Heracleon with our Gospels; but as it was not our object to do more than outline the most important evidence, and as we believe sufficient evidence has already been advanced to prove to any honest inquirer the authenticity of the Gospels, we shall here bring this part of our subject to a close. In a future number we hope to treat of the authority of the Gospels.

J. MACRORY, D.D.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LOGUE, APPROVING THE STATUTES OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE FOR THE CONFER- RING OF DEGREES IN THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND CANON LAW

S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide
Protocollo, N. 38,848.

Oggetto,
Sugli Statuti del Collegio
di Maynooth.

Roma, 9 Giugno, 1900.

EME. AC RME. DOMINE MI OBSME.,

Moderatores Collegii Maynoothiani litteras hortatu Hibernicorum Praesulum superiori mense Novembri Sacrae huic Congregationi dederunt quibus significarunt quomodo ad mentem Sacrae hujus Congregationis modificatum fuerit statutum de ratione studiorum in praedicto Collegio servanda. Eorum litterae, una cum statuto recenter modificato ab Emis. Patribus hujus Sacri Consilii in Plenaria Congregatione die 24 superioris mensis Maji adunatis examinatae fuerunt, eorumque mens fuit ut Eminentiae Tuae litterae darentur quibus commendaretur sollicita cura in exequendis ad amussim Sacrae Congregationis praescriptis. Quapropter hac studiorum ratione servata gradus academici conferantur per praefinitum alias septennium, quo elapso iterum Statutum exhibeatur Sacrae Congregationi, cujus erit examinare utrum ante definitivam adprobationem aliqua ulterior modificatio, quam forte utilem experientia monstraverit, introduci debeat. Hanc vero sententiam Cardinalis hujus S. Consilii Praefectus, vigore specialium facultatum a SSmo. D. N. Leone PP. XIII. ei concessarum, nomine et auctoritate Sanctitatis Suae ratam et adprobata esse declaravit. Quae dum Eminentiae Tuae significo maximo cum obsequio manus tuas humillime deosculor.

E. T.

Addictissimus Servus,

Pro Emo. Cardinali Praefecto.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*

Pro R. P. D., *Secro.,*

C. LAURENTI, *Off.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS
OF IRELAND

AT a meeting of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, held at Maynooth, on June 20th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I.

THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION

1. In view of the general elections which are believed to be imminent, we deem it our duty to express our earnest hope that Catholic electors will not support any candidate who will not expressly pledge himself in his election address to use his best exertions for the establishment of a University to which the Catholics of Ireland can repair without sacrifice of their religious convictions.

2. As certain English politicians and religious bodies are said to be already adopting means to oppose the granting of our legitimate demands in this matter of University education, we appeal to our fellow-countrymen, to our co-religionists, and to all fair-minded men in England to use their influence in counter-acting this movement, made in opposition to the just claims of Irish Catholics.

3. Furthermore, seeing that Irish Catholics are practically excluded from higher Government appointments on the plea of their want of University education, we trust that the various public bodies in Ireland will do their part towards remedying this injustice, so long as it continues, by giving the appointments in their gift to properly qualified candidates from amongst those who suffer so great a wrong from their loyal adherence to their religious principles.

II.

THE IRISH LANGUAGE

1. We strongly recommend that in the Primary Schools in all Irish-speaking districts, the instruction should be bilingual, English being taught through the medium of Irish.

2 We also regard it as most desirable that in the Primary Schools in other districts, the Irish language should be taught to children of the third and higher classes, wherever the Manager of the school deems it advisable, and the parents make no objection.

III.

THE WORK OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

We deem it our duty to repeat what we have affirmed in a Resolution of a former meeting, that the creation of a peasant proprietary, and the subdivision of the uncultivated grass lands, are amongst the most efficient means of aiding and improving agriculture in Ireland, and therefore seem to us to come within both the letter and the spirit of the Act recently passed for the express purpose of aiding and improving Irish agriculture.

Whilst we recognise that the new Department cannot be expected to adopt the policy of carrying out these measures at once on any large scale, we trust that when suitable opportunities arise, the Agricultural Board will not be excluded from the consideration and adoption of the means best calculated in their judgment to secure the realization of this wise and beneficent policy.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

✱ MICHAEL Cardinal LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✱ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert.

✱ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of } *Secretaries.*
Waterford and Lismore.

COMMUTATION OF VISITS TO THE BASILICAS

DECLARATIO S. POENITENTIARIAE CIRCA COMMUTATIONEM VISITATIONUM BASILICARUM

In Monitis, de quibus supra, num. XIX legitur: 'Qui semel illarum gratiarum particeps factus est prima vice qua Iubilaeum consecutus est, seu qua omnia praescripta opera implevit, iterum earum particeps fieri non poterit, si post primam Iubilaei acquisitionem iterum in censuras incurrerit, aut casus reservatos commiserit, vel novis votorum dispensationibus indigeat.'

Quaeritur: An inter gratias, quarum secunda vice particeps quis fieri non potest pro acquisitione Iubilaei, recenseri debeat etiam commutatio visitationum Basilicarum, ita ut qui prima vice iam fructus est, secunda vice illius commutationis particeps fieri non possit?

Sacra Poenitentia, consideratis expositis, adprobante SSmo. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, respondet:

Affirmative.

Datum Romae in S. Poenit. die 20 Februarii 1900.

REPETITION OF THE VISITS ON THE SAME DAY

DECLARATIO S. POENITENTIARIA CIRCA ITERATIONEM VISITATIONEM
IN EODEM DIE

In praedictis *Monitis*, num. xxiv legitur: 'Visitatio quatuor Basilicarum in uno die fieri debet, vel nimirum ab una ad alteram mediam noctem, vel a vespers diei praecedentis usque ad subsequents vespertina crepuscula.'

Quaeritur pro secura praxi fidelium: Utrum ille, qui ex gr. post horam diei civilis decimam quartam explevit visitationem quatuor Basilicarum, sive tenuerit computationem diei naturalis, sive ecclesiastici, possit denuo ingredi postremam Basilicam et ibi utiliter iterare statim novam visitationem cum animo perficiendi reliquas visitationes die sequenti?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, adprobante SSmo. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, respondet:

'Praecisione facta a definitione temporis, quo vesperae incipiunt, qua de re consulat probatos Auctores, quoad cetera, affirmative.'

Datum Romae in S. Poenit. die 20 Februarii 1900.

HOW OFTEN MAY THE JUBILEE BE GAINED?

UTRUM ET QUOTIES EADEM PERSONA PLURIES LUBILAEUM CONSE-
QUI POTERIT

Il sottoscritto Gaetano M. Sergio Barnabita supplica umilmente la S. Penitenzieria per le opportune dichiarazioni intorno ai seguenti quesiti:

I. Se la presente concessione di lucrare il S. Giubileo fino a due volte per chi ripeta le opere ingiunte, possa ritenersi estensibile ad un numero maggiore di volte, e anche *toties quoties*, posta la ripetizione delle medesime opere.

II. Se le persone notate nella Bolla, come le claustrali o simili, che non andando a Roma possono nondimeno in questo anno guadagnare l'Indulgenza del Giubileo, potranno fruirne anche nell'anno venturo quando sia esteso fuori di Roma.

III. Si domanda il medesimo per chi, recatosi a Roma quest'anno vi guadagni il Giubileo, se cioè potrà fruirne di nuovo quando sia estesa la grazia fuori di Roma, ripetendo le opere ingiunte.

Sacra Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, respondet:

Ad I. 'Extra Urbem illi, quibus ex Bulla *Aeterni Pastoris*

licet consequi Iubilaeum, bis tantum illud, iteratis operibus iniunctis, intra Anni Sancti decursum, consequi possunt. In Urbe vero, toties quoties.'

Ad II. et III. *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae in S. Poonit. die 17 Martii 1900.

THE SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION CONFERRED BY INADVERTENCE WITH THE OIL OF CATECHUMENS

E S. ROM. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

**DE SACRAMENTO CONFIRMATIONIS EX INADVERTENTIA COLLATO CUM
OLEO CATECHUMENORUM**

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. humiliter provolutus sequentia exponit: quum Confirmationis sacramentum in publica ecclesia cuiusdam perampli pagi pluribus centenis puerorum conferret, postquam duas tertias illorum partes confirmasset, deficiente sacro chrismate quod ipse attulerat, adhiberi debuit chrisma quod penes parochum, una cum oleo catechumenorum asservabatur. Quamvis diligentissime inquisitum fuit ut adhiberetur vas in cuius fronte scriptum erat *sacrum chrisma*, tamen, functione exacta, compertum fuit quod in dicto vase, loco s. chrismatis, asservabatur oleum catechumenorum. Infrascriptus reverenter postulat, utrum et quomodo hunc involuntarium errorem reparare debeat.

Feria IV, die 22 Novembris 1899.

In Congregatione Gen.li ab E.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis dictis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem E.mi Cardinales respondendum mandarunt: *Sileat.*

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 24 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. a SS.mo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII impertita. SS.mus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

THE ADMISSION OF NON-CATHOLIC GIRLS TO CATHOLIC
EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

CIRCA ADMISSIONEM PUELLARUM ACATHOLICARUM INTER ALUMNAS
CATHOLICAS EDUCANDAS

BEATISSIME PATER,

N. N. Superiorissa cuiusdam Instituti pro puellis educandis, ad S. V. pedes provoluta humiliter exponit quod, nuper quum requisita fuisset ut acciperet inter alumnas externas, id est inter semiconvictrices, duas puellas e familia protestanti, ipsa Ordinarium adiit, a quo data est licentia ut illae admitterentur, eo tamen pacto, ut deinde haec omnia S. Officio exponerentur.

Postea, iterum requisita ut inter semiconvictrices alteram puellam protestantem reciperet, illam, sicut duas priores, pariter admisit.

Pluries tandem, temporibus anteactis, oblatae sunt petitiones, ut puellae acatholicae, inter convictrices internas acciperentur. Quibus praemissis humiliter postulat Oratrix :

1. Utrum retinere possit inter alumnas externas seu semi convictrices, tres puellas, de quibus supra, monendo quod illarum parentes libenter amplissimas dederunt facultates ad hoc ut idem adhibeatur modus agendi cum suis puellis, qui adhibetur cum alumnis catholicis, relate ad discendum catechismum, ad ecclesiasticis caeremoniis interessendum, &c.

2. Quomodo in posterum sese gerere debeat, quoties acatholicae puellae postulabunt ut admittantur inter alumnas, sive externas sive internas.

Et Deus.

Feria IV, die 6 Decembris 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab E. mis et R. mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito antedicto supplici libello, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, re mature perpensa, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Tres alumnas iam receptas tolerari posse, modo abs’t quodvis perversionis periculum catholicarum alumnarum; qua de re sedulo a Moderatricibus advigilandum. Quoad ceteras, pro internis, negative, Pro externis, recurrant in singulis casibus, semper exceptis apostatarum filiabus.’

Sequenti vero feria V, die 7 eiusdem mensis et anni, per

facultates E.mo ac R.mo/D.no Cardinali S. Officii Secretarii tributas, SS.mus D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

THE MODE OF RECEIVING THE ABJURATION OF HERETICS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA RECEPIENDI ABIURATIONEM HAERETICORUM QUI AD FIDEM CATHOLICAM CONVERTUNTUR

Per Responsum S. Congregationis datum Episcopo Bituntino die 2 Ianuarii 1669 (quod Decretum juxta responsum a S. Officio die 21 Dec. 1895 Episcopis Borussiae datum adhuc viget) declaratum est: posse Episcopos auctoritate *ordinaria* haereticos sponte comparentes in exteriori foro absolvere 'post *abiurationem iuridice* factam.'

Diversae ultimis annis erant in hisce regionibus opiniones de huiusce clausulae vigore. Nam alii opinabantur praedictam Episcoporum ordinariam facultatem tunc tantum executioni posse mandari, quando modo iudiciali Episcopus procedit; sic ex. gr. unus ex Germaniae Ordinariis, vir in iure canonico peritissimus, litteris ad hanc Curiam missis sententiam suam esse exposuit, quod Episcopus hac ordinaria facultate uti volens debeat haereticum inducere ad abiurationem *coram Notario et duobus testibus* pronuntiandam. Quae opinio habet aliquod fundamentum in citato S. Officii Decreto, quippe quod poscit praecedere absolutioni abiurationem *iuridice* factam.

Sed eiusmodi iudicialis aut iuridica abiuratio nusquam in Germania in usu est. In regionibus acatholicis, ubi conversiones ad fidem saepius fiunt, nulla est copia Notariorum catholicorum. Accedit quod valde consultum est ut haereticis conversis *modus* abiurandi *facilis* et commodus reddatur et ut conversiones nullum strepitum vel admirationem excitent, quod fieret, si iudiciales aut iuridicae formae adhiberentur.

Hinc ubique locorum usus est, ut abiuratio erroris et fidei catholicae professio perficiatur coram parocho et uno teste, vel, si necessitas ita expostulat, coram solo parocho sed semper ita, ut abiuratio in exteriori foro compareat et probari valeat. Idcirco abiuratio non tam actus iudicialis aut *iuridicus*, sed magis actus *pastoralis* officii censi debet, sed semper validus etiam pro exteriori foro.

Quae cum ita sint, subscriptus Episcopus N. N., ut sensus citati Decreti non ansam praebeat dubiis, a Saera Inquisitionis Congregatione humillime petit, ut declaretur, num possit Episcopus *ordinaria* sua facultate absolvendi haereticos etiam tunc uti, si non fiat abiuratio in stricto sensu *iuridicia*, sed coram solo sacerdote ab Episcopo delegato, aut coram tali sacerdote et teste.

Feria IV, die 28 Martii, 1900.

In Congregatione Genesali S. R. et U Inquisitionis, ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Caedinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, omnibus rite diligenterque perpensis, iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Respondentur Episcopo ad mentem. Mens est quod abiuratio fieri potest coram quopiam ab Episcopo delegato ut notario et aliquibus personis uti testibus; et detur instructio 8 Aprilis 1786 ad Episcopum Limericem.'

Praefata instructio sic se habet: 'Non est necesse ut qui a catholica fide defecerunt, ad eamque postmodum reverti cupiunt, publicam abiurationem praemittant, sed satis est ut privatim coram paucis abiurent, dummodo tamen promissa servant, ac revera abstineant communicare cum haereticis in spiritualibus aut quidquam facere quod haeresis protestativum sit. Idem sentiendum de iis qui haeresim, in qua usque ab initio educati fuere, privatim abiurent.'

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia a SSmo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione, SSmus D. nus responsionem EEmorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Notarius.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ARMAGH. Comprising a considerable portion of the General History of Ireland. By James Stuart, A.B. Edited and continued by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1900.

FATHER COLEMAN has rendered no small service to Irish historical studies by the re-publication of Stuart's *History of Armagh*. He has not only given to the public a valuable work which had gone out of print, but he has carefully revised it and brought it up to date. He presents it to us in much finer form and type than the first edition, which was published at Newry in 1819. The advance copy with which we have been favoured is unfurnished so far with preface, introduction, appendices, or index; but all these accessories are in the printers' hands, and the completed volume will be ready for the great 'National Cathedral Bazaar,' where it will be, we have no doubt, one of the most valuable and attractive of the prizes. Mr. Stuart, the original author of the volume, was, we believe, a Presbyterian, and although his work, considering all the circumstances, was singularly fair-minded and impartial where Catholic matters were concerned, yet, as might be expected, there were many things which an outsider did not understand. In this Catholic part of the work Father Coleman has made innumerable changes, and has set it right on a great number of points to which Stuart attached but little importance. With broad-minded liberality Mr. Garstin was asked to do for the Protestant part what Father Coleman himself has done for the Catholic. The result is a history of Armagh, both civil and ecclesiastical, Catholic and Protestant. In Stuart's volume, the list of Catholic Primates breaks off at Richard O'Reilly, who died in 1818. Father Coleman gives an interesting sketch of the succeeding Catholic Primates, Dr. Curtis, Dr. Kelly, Dr. Crolly, Dr. Cullen, Dr. M'Gettigan, and Cardinal Logue: Stuart breaks off in the Protestant list at his namesake, Primate William Stuart, who was transferred from St. David's, in Wales, in 1800. Mr. Garstin has given us sketches of Archbishops George Beresford, Marcus, Beresford, Robert Knox, Samuel Gregg, and William Alexander.

It may safely be said that this splendid volume reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its re-issue. It will be a most valuable memorial of the great bazaar with which its re-publication is associated. It deals with many of the most interesting, and many of the most stirring and touching episodes in Irish history, all of which have some relation to the primatial city. The late hour at which we received the volume, and the pressing duties of the end of the scholastic year, make it impossible for us to deal with the work as fully as it deserves. We could not delay, however, some notice of a work so valuable and so suited to the time.

J. F. H.

OUTLINES OF NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY. By Rev. F. E. Gigot, S.S. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. \$1.50.

A RAPID sketch of the life of Christ, from His birth to His ascension, an account of the labours of St. Paul in spreading the Gospel, a brief glance at the preaching of SS. Peter, James, and John, and some traditional legends in connection with their intercourse with the faithful: such is a summary of contents of the volume before us. Its chief merit consists in presenting, with somewhat unusual clearness and strength, the most striking characteristics in the material condition of the times of Christ, and particularly the thoughts and temper of mind of the Jews generally, and those who were the immediate companions of the Messiah. Modern research is largely drawn on to portray the vanished civilization of those early days. But it is drawn on in no ponderous fashion. Every portion of the book is pleasant reading and light; there are no appendices, to leave on the non-scientific reader an impression of incompleteness in the text; the notes and references are judicious, and not too numerous. For these reasons it must be welcomed by those who have finished their Scriptural course, but still wish to realise and see the men and times of which they have read. Preachers will find it helpful in the same direction; teachers of Bible history in school or college can take from it some impressions that will add interest to their expositions. To others it may not be so useful. Difficulties are suggested, but not always answered; sometimes even the impression is left that no answer is forthcoming, save by

abandoning what is vaguely termed the strict idea of inspiration. The author often presumes on the reader's full acquaintance with Christ's history, and occasionally recalls, by a mere reference, events that bear upon his argument or illustration. Written, as it has been, for the above-mentioned classes, such drawbacks are limitations rather than defects, and tell how strictly the author framed and adhered to his original design.

The part of the volume dealing with St. Paul's history could scarcely be expected to surpass, even in vividness, the simple narration of the Acts. Here, however, as in the preceding divisions, the conclusions and discoveries of Biblical scholars add the air of life, which is so much sought for by our realistic age.

The remaining chapters on the three favourite Apostles are necessarily most meagre, but the author ekes them out well, with some pictures of the general condition of the Church in those days.

Two maps, specially prepared for the volume, contribute materially to its helpfulness.

P. T.

THE CATHOLIC CREED. By the Very Rev. J. Proctor, S.T.L. London: Art and Book Company.

WE congratulate the Very Rev. the Provincial of the English Dominicans on his new book, *The Catholic Creed*, and presume to assure him of the thanks of Catholics generally in these countries. Pretending to be no more than a 'simple and succinct answer' to the question, 'What do Catholics really believe?' the book would, at present, have an interest above its intrinsic worth.

The author, in his short Introduction, is modest enough to claim for his book the slender merit of being a brief statement of Catholic credenda. Judged by that standard, he must be allowed to have perfectly succeeded in his purpose. He has packed the contents into a small octavo of about three hundred and fifty pages; whilst, by the firmness of his intellectual grasp and the delicacy and accuracy of his expression, he has allowed neither clearness nor grace to suffer in the packing.

We should, however, be very loth to accept the author's claim as in any way expressing the full or even chief value of the work. Father Proctor's book is a clear, concise, and readable presentation of Catholic dogma; but it is a good deal more. He has not, indeed, often ventured on explicit proof; yet he has managed to indicate, in an unobtrusive way, many and the best of the well-known

theological demonstrations. Further, and especially by the logical arrangement of his chapters, and the careful and pointed development of each chapter's important headings, he has furnished the intelligent reader with, perhaps, dogma's best proof—its wonderful logical consistency. The articles of Christian faith are no mere tabulated list of propositions, individual and unconnected, that may be considered singly or in the gross, without change in their power of compelling assent. The result of a gradual development, specially guided down the ages by the Spirit of God, they have something of the mutual cohesiveness and co-operative character of the members of a living organism. Each, according to the order of its function, has a corporate as well as an individual power and value, and will not be torn from its position without violence, and consequent weakening both of itself and of the whole. No express proof of any isolated dogma, however elaborate as a demonstration it may be, will have the intellectual effect of the arguments indirectly drawn from what might be called the logical balance of the whole scheme, and the organic inter-relation of the constituent propositions. In the presentation of such a proof, we think, Father Proctor has done a distinct and valuable service to Catholicity, has made a very important addition to the theological literature of these countries.

His developments have necessarily been brief, yet he has not hesitated to expand and illustrate where such were necessary; and his illustrations have a happy appositeness that argues an intellectual assimilation of doctrine not over common. The constant and deft use he has made of Sacred Scripture, in his statements and amplifications, is a feature of the book which more of our Catholic writers would do well to emulate.

The book is brought out by the Art and Book Co., and in their best style of paper, printing, and binding. We wish it a wide circulation.

P. D.

QUOMODO FIDES DIVINA SIT LUMEN? Rev. P. Sexton,
S.T.L. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd.

EVERYBODY knows that one of the things to be done by the aspirant to the title of 'D.D.' is to write a paper on some theological subject. In compliance with this rule, the author, who was then a Licentiate, presented the above-named essay. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the theme selected, his

treatment of the subject was so masterly that he obtained his final degree partly in reward of this dissertation. It is now published in pamphlet form, and made accessible to a larger circle of readers. Those who had the pleasure of hearing him in the *Aula Maxima* of Maynooth College, on June 7th, 1899, when he successfully defended against skilful antagonists every one of the theses they picked out from the seventy-five he had pledged himself to maintain against all comers, know already what may be expected from Dr. Sexton. So it will suffice to say here, that his written essay will be found quite as clear and brilliant as was his oral defence.

The problem of the precise nature of faith, of the sphere of its operation, and of the way in which its peculiar activity is exercised, has for centuries given occasion to a great deal of speculation on the part of the ablest theologians. While modestly disclaiming all thought or pretence of solving the enigma, and taking St. Thomas as his guide, Dr. Sexton in the First Part of his dissertation shows how faith is really an illumination of the intellect, differing on the one hand from the natural light of the human mind, and on the other from the infused light of glory. Its object is neither God seen face to face in heaven, nor the truths of which we have either intuitive or inferential knowledge on earth. Perhaps the most interesting section of this First Part is its fifth chapter, in which Dr. Sexton treats of the formal object of faith. In the Second Part, which deals with the subordinate question regarding the influence exercised by the will on the mind while eliciting the act of faith, the learned author examines minutely the various answers given by Lugo, Ripalda, Suarez, and Mazzella. His strictures on the system of 'scientific faith' are especially worthy of note. We may remark that in many things he agrees with the doctrines laid down in the *Grammar of Assent*. In conclusion, he points out some corollaries of the theory of explanation that he himself prefers.

1. That the supernaturalism, the obscurity, and the certainty of faith are best provided for in this system.
2. That the assertion that active revelation by itself alone is the 'ratio formalis fidei,' must be regarded as an inadequate solution.
3. That the triple division maintained by certain writers, of 'historic faith,' 'faith of miracles,' and 'faith of promises,' is untenable.

Dr. Sexton's lucid exposition of these points will commend itself to all readers, and inspire the hope that his *Alma Mater* will give many more such sons to the Catholic Church.

R. W.

FIOR CHLAERSEACH NA H-EIREANN. A Collection of the most popular Folk-songs and short Poems, &c. Edited by T. O'Russell. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1900.

WE have here one hundred and twenty pages of Irish text, excellently printed, and on good paper. There is no one who is interested, even slightly, in the present Gaelic *Renaissance*, who will fail to secure a copy; and no one will refuse a certain meed of praise to the zeal and ability of the Editor. The Irish revival has been so much of an up-hill work from the beginning, and its present position, though far advanced along the way of progress, is yet so much this side of complete success, that its originators and supporters must be prepared to welcome assistance, however slight. Besides, since Irish literary work has not yet become a trade that pays, whoso interests himself in its production or development, thereby must be absolved of any motives of an interested nature. We, therefore, welcome the present volume as an evidence of a genuine desire on the part of the Editor of doing what he may in the cause for the rehabilitation of our mother tongue. Our thanks are also due to him for giving us in a handy form, and at a moderate rate, many of our really most popular songs and poems.

We must, however, confess ourselves not a little disappointed in the collection. No one who has done anything at the study of modern Irish but has felt the acute need for some really reliable readers in the language. Books, of course, there are; but the sporadic result of individual enterprise variously handicapped, compiled on no consecutive plan—their contents often overlapping—arranged according to the tastes and ability of their Editor, and often dominated by his peculiar views on orthography, grammar, and composition, they cannot be considered standard in any true sense. From the title and opening preface of the volume under review we had hopes to have found what we had so long desiderated. Reading through the contents, we could not help feeling that it could not be called representative or trustworthy, any more than its predecessors, whilst it marked the introduction of a more discordant element of heterogeneity than any with which they might be charged.

The spelling not only varies considerably and in many places from what we had thought was fast coming to be of recognised currency, but is not even uniform with itself throughout the volume. This placid indifference to what in the writing of any

other language would be held an unpardonable blunder, must, indeed, be confessed as not wholly peculiar to the present Editor. One finds it more or less in most who write or print a word of modern Irish. The universality, however, of the practice can hardly justify its continuance. Grammatical forms, again, and modes of construction are introduced which, if licit, would argue as large a mobility in the Irish Syntax and Etymology as some think to find in the Irish musical scale. Moreover, some of the prose introductions and other pieces called poetry have had to us a very decided English flavour. We suspect that a literal translation would read as fair specimens of a correct English style. We cannot say too strongly how we deprecate any such usage. We would much prefer no Irish at all to an Irish that is only so in character or verbally. If there is any real vitality in the language—and otherwise its revival would be valueless as well as hopeless—we should think something more is possible than mere word-for-word translations.

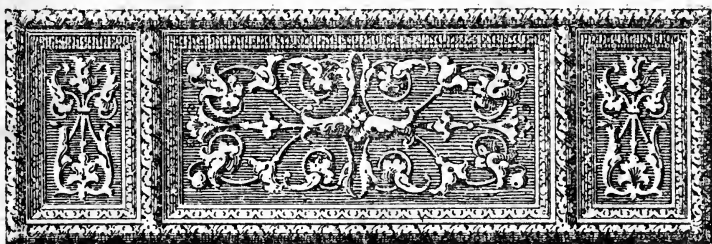
Of a piece with the foregoing, but much more evil in its consequences and more largely found in the book, is the poetical character of a section of the contents. For Irish poetry written according to English forms we have nothing but absolute condemnation. The principle is a temporising compromise with Anglicization where that would be most pernicious, and, if allowed, would result in a direct negation of the efforts and ideals of the Gaelic League. We willingly concede that the germinative principle of rhyme was transplanted into the Continental languages, and thence into English from Irish. But as well might one reply to Mr. O'Russell or to anyone who is convinced of the national value of our mother tongue, that after all, it does not matter much. English and Irish are just the same at bottom, since both came originally from the common Aryan speech. Everyone, however, is aware that the languages forming the Indo-European group, though sharing a common ancestry, have in the course of the centuries settled down into distinct speeches, each having a specifically distinct and incommunicable character of its own. Rhyme, similarly, may have in the beginning come from the Irish; but it has been appropriated by other languages, taken up into their constitutive essence, and moulded according to the character and lines of development of each. The rhyme-system of any of them at present can be no more called Irish than Irish itself may be styled Aryan. The attempt, therefore,

to write Irish poetry according to what must be acknowledged un-alien verse-form is, in our opinion, time and energy thrown away, if not worse. The product can never be poetry.

The Gaelic muse will not be forced into a foreign dress without a diminution of its vital power and grace. Above all, it never can be national poetry. Language has been said to mirror the national mind, to be the mould into which the liquid thought of the nation flows as spontaneously as the body drops into its accustomed gait. If that be true—and it is the philosophy behind all language revivals—of language generally, it is eminently true of poetry. It will be nothing if not racy of the soil, both in form and substance. The literary history of the nation has demonstrated this too obviously to allow of questioning. Poetry, then, like much of what we have here, cannot rise above being a hybrid, and is doomed to the sterility of such organisms.

We are sorry to have been compelled to express our dissatisfaction so strongly, but the largeness of the issues at stake demand plain speech. Mr. O'Russell has in many ways deserved well of the Gaelic movement as a speaker and a writer. Our criticism has on that account been all the more distasteful. Yet for the sake of the movement, whose interests we have at heart, we feel bound to think that, had nearly all that is new in the book been omitted, the Editor would have done a much larger service to the cause of the language.

P. D.



REQUIEM MASSES

FOR the first three centuries of the Church, Requiem Masses were not prohibited on any day, at least if the body was present. The lives of the Christians were in those ages so pure and so often crowned with martyrdom that the day of their death was generally one rather of joy than of sorrow. St. Cyprian, in the third century, speaking of their funerals, said: 'Exercitia sunt, non funera.'¹ And in the 20th Section this ancient father blames those who indulge in excessive grief for their dead, 'for we know,' he says, 'non eos amitti sed praemitti.' During these ages the word of the Apostle was fully realized, 'Death is swallowed up in victory.'² Such victories and celebrations for the dead were found in keeping with the greatest feasts of the Church. In the fourth century restrictions as to Requiem Masses on certain great feasts first occur, although not enforced by any decided, at least universal rule, and even in the tenth and eleventh centuries Requiem Masses are recorded to have been chanted in some places on high festivals, when the body was present. In the twelfth century they were very generally forbidden on such feasts, even if the body happened to be present.

Restrictive and general enactments were enforced by

¹ *De Mortalitate*, 16 Ed. Pam.

² 1 Cor. xv. 54.

the Council of Trent, and were followed up by Paul IV. and Pius V., Clement VIII. and Urban VIII.; lately by Leo XIII. the rules for Requiem Masses were remodelled and brought up to date owing to the crowded state of the Calendar of Feasts, and particularly the ever-increasing number of doubles which lessened so considerably the liberty of saying Requiem Masses

Before inquiring how the present and the former restrictions differ on the question of Requiem Masses, let us bear in mind, (1) That by *dies obitus*, all liturgical writers agree, is meant not only the very day of the actual death, but any day up to and including the day of the burial. (2) And what is meant by public, semi-public, and private oratories? It is explained in the following decree of Leo XIII. :—

A Sacra R. C. saepe postulatum est, quatenus Oratoria seu semipublica habenda sint. Constat porro Oratoria publica ea esse quae auctoritate Ordinarii ad publicum Dei cultum perpetuo dedicata, benedicta vel etiam solemniter consecrata, januam habent in via vel liberum a publica via Fidelibus universim pandunt ingressum. Privata e contra stricto sensu dicuntur Oratoria, quae in privatis aedibus in commodum alicujus personae vel familiae ex Indulto Sanctae Sedis erecta sunt. Quae medium inter haec duo locum tenent, ut nomen ipsum indicat, Oratoria semipublica sunt et vocantur. Ut autem quaelibet ambiguitas circa haec Oratoria amoveatur. Sanc. Dom. Nost. Leo Papa XIII. ex S. R. C. consulto statuit et declaravit :—

Oratoria semipublica ea esse quae etsi in loco quodammodo privato vel non absolute publico, auctoritate Ordinarii erecta sunt; commodo tamen non fidelium omnium nec privatae tantum personae aut familiae sed alicujus communitatis vel personarum coetus inserviunt. In his, sicut auctoritate Ordinarii sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium offerri potest, ita omnes qui eidem intersunt praecepto audiendi Sacrum satisfacere valent. Hujus generis Oratoria sunt quae pertinent ad Seminaria et Collegia ecclesiastica; ad pia Instituta et Societates votorum simplicium aliasque Communitates sub regula sive statutis saltem ab Ordinario approbatis; ad domus spiritualis exercitiis addictas; ad convictus et Hospitia juventuti litteris, scientiis, aut artibus instituendae destinata; ad Noscomia, Orphanotrophia, nec non ad Arces et Carceres; atque similia Oratoria in quibus ex instituto aliquis Christifidelium coetus convenire solet ad audiendam Missam. Quibus adjungi debent Capellae in Coemeterio rite erectae dummodo in Missae celebratione non iis tantum ad quos pertinent sed aliis etiam fidelibus aditus pateat. Voluit

autem Sanctitas sua sarta et tecta jura ac privilegia Oratoriorum quibus fruuntur Emi. S. R. E. Cardinales, Rmi. Sacrorum Antistes atque Ordines Congregationesque Regulares. Ac praterea confirmare dignata est decretum in una Nivernen. diei viii. Mart., 1879. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Die xxiii. Jan., 1899.

L. ✠ S.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*
DIOMEDES PANICI, *Secret.*

(3) What exact privileges are conceded by the decree *Aucto*? The decree runs thus:—

I. In quolibet Sacello sepulcreti rite erecto vel erigendo, Missas, quae inibi celebrari permittuntur, posse esse de Requite diebus non impeditis a Festo duplici 1^{ae} vel 2^{ae} classis, a Dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto servandis, necnon a Feriis, vigiliis octavisque privilegiatis;¹ item II. Quibuslibet Ecclesiis et Oratoriis quum publicis tum privatis et in Sacellis ad Seminaria Collegia et Religiosas vel pias utriusque sexus communitates spectantibus, Missas privatas de requiem, praesente, insepulto vel etiam sepulto non ultra biduum cadavere, fieri posse die vel pro die obitus aut depositionis; verum sub clausulis et conditionibus quibus juxta Rubricas et Decreta Missa solemnis de requiem iisdem in casibus decantatur, exceptis duplicibus primae classis et festis de praecepto. S. R. C., 19 May, 1896.

(4) Some decrees of later date bearing on the above:—

(a) Missae privatae de requiem quae expressis conditionibus celebrari possunt praesente cadavere, licitaene sunt in quibus libet Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis sive publicis sive privatis. S. R. C. Affirmative, dummodo cadaver sit physice vel moraliter praesens; sed si agatur de Ecclesiis et de Oratoriis publicis fieri debet etiam funus cum Missa exequiali. 12 Jan., 1897. (b) Hujusmodi Missae privatae de requiem celebrarine possunt sine applicatione pro defuncto cujus cadaver est vel censetur praesens, S. R. C. Negative, 12 Jan., 1897. (c) Eaedem pariter Missae possuntne celebrari diebus non duplicibus, qui tamen festa duplicia primae classis excludunt, ut feria IV. cinerum. S. R. C. Negative, 12 Jan., 1897.

DECRETUM GENERALE.—Ut omne tollatur dubium super Orationibus et Sequentia dicendis in Missis Defunctorum S. R. C. declarat:—

1st. Unam tantum esse dicendam Orationem in Missis omnibus quae celebrantur in Commemoratione Omnium Fidelium

¹ This permission is granted in favour only of private cemetery chapels. It is not applicable to the church of a cemetery or a mortuary chapel in a public church.

Defunctorum, die et pro die obitus seu depositionis, atque etiam in Missis cantatis vel lectis permittente ritu diebus III., VII., XXX., et die anniversaria, necnon quodocunque pro defunctis Missa *solemniter* celebratur, nempe sub ritu qui duplici respondeat uti in Officio quod recitatur post acceptum nuntium de alicujus obitu et in anniversariis late sumptis.

2nd. In Missis quotidianis quibuscunque sive lectis sive cum cantu, plures esse dicendas Orationes, quarum prima sit pro defuncto vel defunctis certo designatis, pro quibus Sacrificium offertur, ex iis quae inscribuntur in Missali, secunda ad libitum, ultima pro omnibus defunctis.

3rd. Si vero pro defunctis in genere Missa celebretur, Orationes esse dicendas quae pro Missis quotidianis in Missali prostant; eodemque ordine quo sunt inscriptae.

4th. Quod si in iisdem quotidianis plures addere Orationes Celebranti placuerit uti Rubricae potestatem faciunt, id fieri posse tantum in Missis lectis, impari cum aliis praescriptis servato numero, et Orationi pro omnibus defunctis postremo loco assignato.

5th. Quod denique ad Sequentiam attinet semper illam esse dicendam in quibusvis cantatis Missis, uti etiam in lectis quae diebus ut supra privilegiatis fiunt: in reliquis vel recitari posse vel omitti ad libitum Celebrantis juxta Rubricas. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 30 Junii, 1896.

C. Card. A. MASSELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

Ad quandam controversiam tollendam circa interpretationem decretorum 3903 *Aucto* 8 Junii 1896 et 3944 *Romana* 12 Ianuarii 1897 quoad Missas lectas de Requie, hodiernus Caeremoniarum magister Basilicae Cathedralis Vicensis in Hispania, de consensu sui Rmi. Episcopi, Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentia dubia enodanda humillime exposuit; nimirum:

I. Utrum ex enunciatis decretis Missae lectae, quae a sacerdotibus celebrantur in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis civitatis pro defuncto, cadavere insepulto vel sepulto non ultra biduum a die obitus seu depositionis, celebrari valeant de *Requie*, dummodo in parochiali Ecclesia fiat funus cum Missa exequiali; an hoc privilegium sit proprium tantummodo Ecclesiae, in qua funus peragitur cum sua Missa exequiali?

II. Utrum quilibet Sacerdos possit unam tantum Missam de Requie celebrare, vel plures, diversis diebus, dummodo cadaver sit insepultum non ultra biduum?

III. Utrum pro defuncto, qui morabatur in civitate et obierit extra civitatem, possint etiam in ipsa civitate praedictae Missae lectae de Requie celebrari?

IV. Quomodo intelligenda sit praesentia physica vel moralis requisita in decretis suprarelatis?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Ad II. Stetur Decretis.

Ad III. et IV. Provisum in praecedentibus; et Missae privatae de Requie nonnisi in Ecclesia vel Oratorio publico permittuntur ubi fit funus cum Missa exequiali: in Oratoriis autem privatis Missae, quae ibidem legi permittuntur, possunt esse de Requie, praesente cadavere in domo; servatis ceteris clausulis et conditionibus.

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 3 Aprilis, 1900.

Cai. Card. ALOISI-MASSIELLA, S. R. C. Pro-Praef.

L ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

(5) The alterations made in the general rubrics of the late editions of the Missal. The present text:—

Missae privatae pro defunctis ut in die obitus seu depositionis etiam in duplicibus celebrari possint praesente, sepulto vel insepulto, non ultra biduum cadavere; exceptis duplicibus primae classis excludentibus et festis de praeepto.

(6) What is an Exequial Mass? It is that which is celebrated in the presence, physical or moral, of the remains of the deceased. And what meaning is to be attached to the expression in decree (a), as above, 'funus cum Missa exequiali'? Some funeral pomps around the remains of a deceased, either physically or morally present, comprising the solemnities of a Requiem Mass *cum cantu*, with at least some portion of the Church's service for the dead, more or less according, it may be, to circumstances; but these funeral rites are to be connected with a Requiem Mass, 'funus cum Missa exequiali,' supposed to be 'cum cantu.'

REMARKS

From the above, what follows in reference to the new permission to say private Requiem Masses on doubles, even doubles of the second class?

¹ In this matter the '*Missa Cantata*' and the Solemn Requiem Mass are on a par, both being Masses *cum cantu*.

That they can be lawfully celebrated in any church or oratory, whether that oratory ranks as public, semi-public, or private, on certain conditions:—1st. That the body is present, physically or morally, which it is admitted to be for two days after the actual interment (*non ultra biduum*); 2nd. Provided that in that same church, or public or semi-public oratory, some funeral rites, with Exequial Mass, are celebrated; 3rd. On condition that these private Requiem Masses are offered for the deceased in question.¹

It is to be observed that even on a double, when there is question of an approved domestic or private oratory, a private Requiem Mass, as allowed by the decree *Aucto*, can be said upon *one* condition, that the remains of the deceased are present physically or morally, funeral rites not being recognised as lawful in such an oratory.²

Again, it is to be noted that the private Requiem Masses, allowed by the decree, can be celebrated before, during, or after the '*funus cum Missa exequiali*, but in the same church, and on one and the same day; inasmuch as the *funus cum Missa exequiali* can take place in only one church, and on one day:³ except in the case of a deceased bishop, when private Requiem Masses can be celebrated where he lies in state in his palace, although the *funus cum Missa exequiali* be celebrated in his cathedral on another day.⁴

It is to be observed that there are three prayers prescribed in *Missa Quotidiana*, whether these Masses be read or sung. The first prayer is for the certain fixed person or persons for whom the Mass is offered; the second is *ad libitum*; and the last prayer is *pro omnibus defunctis*. When the Mass is said for the dead in general, the three prayers given in *Missa Quotidiana* are to be said. Others, but in an uneven number, can be inserted before the

¹ When, on a suppressed holiday, the only Mass happening to be celebrated, besides the Exequial Mass, must be offered *pro populo*, it follows it cannot be offered for the dead; and so, too, on St. Mark's Day and the Rogation Days, if the procession or special function occurring would be interfered with.

² *Ephemer. Liturg.*

³ *S. R. C.*, 23rd May, 1846.

⁴ *S. R. C.*, 29th April, 1894.

Fidelium Deus, unless the Mass be sung. If the day of the death be a semi-double, the question arises: Can the *Missa Quotidiana* be taken for the deceased person in preference to the Mass as *in die obitus*? Up to this the point is not decided, and so each one is free.

When the Mass is applied for a number of deceased persons, the prayer, 'Deus cui proprium,' No. 11, or 'Animabus quaesumus,' No. 12, should be used; but, if for many priests, the first prayer *in Missa Quotidiana*.¹

As to the *Dies Irae*, it is always to be said in all solemn or sung Masses. In private Requiem Masses it is only obligatory on the privileged days, when there is but one prayer.

SOLEMN REQUIEM MASS AND MISSA CANTATA

With regard to Requiem Masses, whether sung or solemn, the new decrees and rubrics show some difference between what was formerly permitted and what is now allowed. Formerly a Requiem Mass could only be sung when the body was really present in the church, but not, however, on the principal feasts of the first class, or on the three last days of Holy Week, or during the time of a public formal exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament. If the body was not present, but yet not buried, a solemn funeral Mass was allowed, except on Sundays and doubles of the first class. If the body was not buried for more than one day, a Requiem Mass could be sung, unless on a feast day of obligation or on a double of the first or second class. But the decree S. R. C., 13 February, 1892, extends the privilege of singing the Exequial Mass to two days after the burial, though the body is not present, or even though it has been for some good reason buried.

The decree *Aucto* defines the present discipline of the Church with regard to Exequial Mass as in *die obitus*. By this decree the Sacred Congregation grants faculties to celebrate on the occasion of the death or burial private Requiem Masses from the time of the person's death up to two days after the burial, the body being present or even

¹ S. R. C., 1897.

buried, but not *ultra biduum*. The Sacred Congregation was asked if these Masses were allowed in any church or public or private oratory. On the 8th June, 1896, the reply was affirmative, on condition that there was question in the church or public oratory of a funeral with an Exequial Mass. Hence, it follows, that on those days on which private Requiem Masses, as in *die obitus*, are allowed, with much more reason is a solemn funeral Mass permitted, and without even the other restrictions attaching to Masses not sung, that of their not being allowed on doubles of the first class, and feasts of obligation. Now, all former distinctions being set aside, a solemn funeral Mass can be celebrated on the day of the death or burial, *i.e.*, from the day of the death to the second day after the burial, even on solemn feasts, except the greater feasts of the first class, the three last days of Lent, and the days of continued Solemn Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. But, as by the decree of the Sacred Congregation, 23 May, 1846, an Exequial Mass is allowed only once, and on one day for each deceased person, and as the private Masses are permitted only in conjunction with the Exequial Mass, it follows that neither Exequial Mass nor the *privileged* private ones in *question* can be celebrated more than once from the death to the second day after the burial.

As to the number of prayers in a Requiem Mass, the new rubric, n. 3, is explicit. It orders only one prayer to be said :—

In Missis omnibus quae celebrantur in die commemorationis omnium Fidelium defunctorum, die et pro die obitus seu depositionis atque etiam in Missis cantatis vel lectis, permittente ritu, diebus tertio, septimo, trigesimo et die anniversario aliqujus defuncti, nec non quandocunque pro defunctis solemniter celebratur.

The Sacred Congregation of Rites, 30 June, 1896, does not change the rule as to the privilege of one prayer attaching to Masses said or sung in '*die obitus seu depositionis, die tertia, septima, tricesima et anniversaria sive stricte sive late sumpta,*' but does restrict somewhat that privilege, when there is question of the *Missa Quotidiana*, in these

words:—‘In Missis quotidianis quibuscunque sive lectis sive cum cantu plures sunt dicendae Orationes.’ Still to a solemn Requiem Mass even the *Missa Quotidiana*, if the occasion makes the rite correspond to that of a double (*permittente ritu*) according to the new rubric it, too, has the privilege of the one prayer, ‘quandocunque pro defunctis *solemniter* celebratur.’ For instance, the solemn Requiem Mass permitted to be said on doubles for one the news of whose death has been just received, and *that* celebrated in *anniversariis late sumptis*.

The following decree is in favour of the poor only. It allows, under certain conditions, a Low Exequial Mass instead of a Requiem Mass *cum cantu*:—

An pro paupere defuncto cujus familia impar est solvendi expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu haec Missa legi possit sub iisdem clausulis et conditionibus quibus praefata Missa cum cantu conceditur.¹ Affirmative seu permitti posse in casu Missam exequialem lectam, loco Missae cum cantu, dummodo in dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto non omittatur Missa officio diei currentis respondens.

Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Finally, it will be well to show at a glance when Exequial Masses are forbidden, and also when other Requiem Masses are not permitted.

I. MISSAE, SIVE PRIVATAE, SIVE SOLEMNES, PRAESENTE, INSEPULTO, VEL ETIAM SEPULTO NON ULTRA BIDUUM, CADAVERE *quotidie celebrari possunt*; prohibentur tantum Dominicis Pasch. et Pent., Fest. Nativ., Epiph., Ascens., Corpor. Christi, Immac. Conc., Annunt. et Assumpt. B. M. V., Nativ. S. Joann. Bapt., S. Joseph, SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli, Omn. Sanctor., Dedicat. ac Titul. propr. Eccl. et Patron. principal. Loci: Fer. V. VI. et Sabb. Hebdom. major. ac diebus, quibus manet exposit. SS. Sacramentum pro publica causa. Insuper in Eccl. parochial. *in quibus una tant. Missa celebratur*, prohibentur etiam in Dominicis ac Festis de praecepto, cujuscumque ritus exstant. Missae vero privatae prohibentur etiam in dupl. 1. class, Dominicis ac Festis de praecepto. Item diebus non dupl. qui tamen fest. dupl. 1. cl. excludunt, uti, e. g. Fer. IV. Cinerum.²

¹ S. R. C.

² As, for instance, all the days within the Octaves of Easter and Pentecost which exclude feasts even of the first class,

II. MISSAE SOLEMNES DEFUNCTORUM IN DIE TERTIA, SEPTIMA, TRIGESIMA ET ANNIVERSARIA AB OBITU VEL DEPOSITIONE PROHIBENTUR. Duplicia 1 et 2 cl., diebus Dom. et Fest. de praecepto, Vigil. Nativ. D., Epiph. et Pentec., Fer. IV. Ciner., tota Hebdomada, et infra Octav. privileg., nempe: Nativ. D., Epiph., Pasch., Pentec. et Corp. Chr., ac diebus quibus manet expositum SS. Sacrament, pro publica causa . . . In Eccl. parochial. ubi *una tantum Missa habetur*, etiam in diebus festis suppressis, atque Rogationum, si fiat processio . . . Quum autem Missa in praefatis diebus impeditur, anticipari vel transferri debet in primam diem a recensitis diebus non impeditam, quamvis anniversarium non sit fundatum.

III. MISSAE DEFUNCTORUM, CADAVERE NULLO MODÓ PRAESENTE, SIVE PRIVATAE, SIVE SOLEMNES, PROHIBENTUR omnibus diebus duplicibus et omnibus diebus quae duplicia excludunt. Item in Eccles. parochial. ubi *una tantum Missa habetur*, etiam in diebus Rogationum, si processio fiat.

M. O'CALLAGHAN, C.M.

THE ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOPS ON THE RESERVATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

If supernatural doctrine is to be maintained at all in a world which is robbing us, one by one, of what once seemed the objective proofs of it, whilst objective proofs of another order multiply, it can be maintained only by the witness of a supernatural and living Organism which, *in* this world, though not *of* it, conforms, in its organic growth, to the laws which this world exhibits, just as the Christian believes that the Body of Christ conforms to them; and which, furthermore, vitalized by the Divine Spirit, slowly absorbs into itself the meaning of all natural knowledge, and, converting it into its own substance, makes it supernatural knowledge, not by violating the processes of man's natural intellect, but by using them.¹

NO one that has studied the trend of events in the Established Church here in England for the last two years can blind himself to the fact that a crisis of far-reaching importance is now imminent in that body. For years the Ritualistic or High Church party has been growing rapidly in numbers and influence. Catholic doctrines have been taught wholesale all over the country in the churches of the Establishment, not only in large, populous centres, where men are wont to read and think, but even in the parish churches of remote country villages. Catholic practices and Catholic devotions have been in evidence on all sides; and these innovations were received with enthusiasm by a certain class whose influence and standing could not be gainsaid.

In time the frequency and the elaborateness of these so-called Catholic services began to attract some share of public attention. People smiled on them at first, recalling, probably, the famous description of Lord Beaconsfield, who declared that Ritualism was nothing more than a species of man-millinery. But when reports appeared in the daily papers describing the performance of High Mass at St. Agnes's or St. Cuthbert's, with detailed accounts of the gorgeous vestments worn by the officiating clergy, the numerous

¹ *Doctrine and Doctrinal Disruption. Being an Examination of the Intellectual Position of the Church of England.* By W. H. Mallock. London: Adam and Charles Black.

lighted tapers, the sweet-smelling incense, the elevation of the wafer, and the marked devotion of the congregation, earnest Protestants of the good old-fashioned sort began to feel afraid, and to ask themselves how such things could be in churches of the Establishment. Originating in wonder and dismay, a movement of opposition soon displayed itself; and so persistent became its onslaughts, that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were ultimately forced to institute an inquiry as to the legality of the use of lights and incense in Anglican churches. It will be in the memory of most of my readers the amount of learning displayed by the High Church defenders of the use of these Catholic symbols before the archbishops; how vehemently they insisted upon the universality of their employment in pre-Reformation days; and the beauty and spirituality of their significance. The archbishops, however, were not inquiring as to what precisely was the practice of the Catholic Church in England in the aforetime, but as to what the rubrics of the Post-Reformation Church enjoined upon its ministers when engaged in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Every student of history who knew anything of the temper and views of the so-called Reformers, and of their determination to supplant the ancient Church with one of an essentially Protestant and Erastian character, felt that there could be but one outcome to the archbishops' inquiry, to wit, the absolute condemnation of the use of incense and processional lights in Anglican churches. When judgment was delivered on these lines, there was much bitterness of feeling aroused amongst the members of the High Church party. This, however, was only natural, taking into account all the circumstances of the case. But what must have struck the impartial observer as singularly strange, was the disposition manifested to flout and ridicule the authority of the archbishops. This, coming from a party which boasts unceasingly of its Catholic spirit and reverence for constituted authority, assumed the form of an ugly manifestation of human pride and imperfection.

As might be expected, protests without number were signed throughout the country against the archbishops'

decision. One of a very representative character will serve as an example. I take the "Lay Protest," the organizers of which, including such well-known names as those of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Edward Spencer Churchill, and Mr. Burnie, waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace about the middle of January, 1900. The number of signatures to this protest was 13,794, and the protest itself was couched in the following terms:—

We, the undersigned, being communicants of the Church, desire, with all respect to your Grace's high office, to enter our solemn protest against the 'opinion' which your Grace and the Archbishop of York have recently put forward on the subject of incense and processional lights. And this we do on the following grounds:—First, that your Grace has attempted not merely to define by an individual and autocratic exercise of power the ceremonial practice of the Church in this land, but also to press such definition upon dioceses of which your Grace is not the ruler, and, however ready your Grace's suffragans may be to submit to this, we, as Catholic lay people, must strenuously protest, and will resist to the utmost, a precedent which may lead us into a position differing but little from that against which the Church rightly protested three hundred years ago. Secondly, we protest against your Grace's attempt to foist upon the Church, as her rule of ceremonial, a penal Act of Parliament passed in days of regal autocracy, and intended to meet circumstances entirely different from those of to-day. And we are the more aggrieved because we were led to suppose that your Grace had intended to investigate the question upon the principles of Catholic law and custom, and liturgical science, and not upon the construction of the alleged law of the State.

After reading this document, his Grace the Duke of Newcastle addressed the archbishop in these words, which I take from the *Times*' report:—

You are probably aware that the conclusion to which you came, and the action on the part of bishops which has followed that conclusion, have caused great and widespread anxiety among the laity, who see therein, if carried out, not so much the loss of a ceremonial accessory of Christian worship, which they greatly value, as a grave menace to the position of a communion which, on the hypothesis, declares itself to have abolished a practice sanctioned by the custom of the whole Church of Christ. [The Duke then read the protest, and proceeded:—]—The first of the two grounds here alleged is the one upon which we desire

mainly, if not entirely, to base the respectful protest which we now lay before your Grace. We desire to lay no stress upon our right to a ceremonial adjunct which we value; for were the use of incense merely a thing to which we had a right, we should recognise it as a duty incumbent on us, as a matter of charity, to surrender such right for the sake of the peace of the Church in these provinces. Nor do we base our contention on the ground that the use of incense is of Divine command, for we recognise that such ceremonial use is a matter of ecclesiastical order, and can be varied or abolished by the same authority as instituted it. Our contention is based, then, on the ground that it is not in the power of a single prelate, by 'an individual and autocratic exercise of power,' to 'define the ceremonial practice of the Church,' and that still less is it in his power to impose such definition upon dioceses over which he has not the jurisdiction of a bishop. We maintain that the ceremonial use of incense is a custom imposed upon those responsible for the conduct of Divine Service by the common custom of the whole Church, which, as your Grace is well aware, has canonically the force of law. By nothing short of a General Council, therefore, or by a general disuse by common consent throughout the whole Church, can the ceremonial use of incense be abolished, though undoubtedly it may be regulated by the diocesan—not by an archbishop imposing his will upon other diocesans—so long as he acts from the motive of propagating and defending the Catholic religion, and of his own motion, and not under compulsion or pressure from the enemies of the Catholic faith. But, unfortunately, the matter is complicated in these provinces by the peculiar relationship which exists between the Church and the secular power.

The second part of our protest deals with this point; but, with your Grace's permission, I should like to say a word in explanation of a statement which, though it must be plain to your Grace's understanding, may perhaps be misconstrued by the unthinking. When we speak, and speak in language very strong, but not, I trust, disrespectful to your Grace, of an attempt to impose upon the Church an Act of Parliament, we recognise fully that, whatever be the obligations undertaken by the Church in respect of the protection her endowments receive at the hands of the law, these obligations must be fulfilled, or that protection must be frankly forfeited. But your Grace knows that within certain limits—and they are none too stringent—the law is very much what the interpreter of that law defines it to be. Now one of two things may ensue; and we express ourselves aggrieved that of these consequences neither was followed out. Your Grace and the Archbishop of York might, we are assured, with very good reason, have come to the conclusion that the Act of Parliament, on which reliance was placed, does not bear the

consequences sought to be based upon it. But that is as it may be. The laity would hardly have complained had your Grace come to a contrary conclusion, as, indeed, you did, if you had also come to the further conclusion, which it seems to us as Catholics would inevitably follow. And it is this. That, inasmuch as the secular power, on the hypothesis, forbids that which the Church enjoins, the Church must declare herself ready to forfeit such benefits as she gains from her alliance with the State rather than brook interference with matters that are her own prerogative, and that Spirit's by Whom she acts and whose Vicar on earth she is. We do not say that such a conflict is inevitable. But we do say that, your Grace's view of the law being what it is, we are aggrieved that you should have sought to impose that law upon the Church, even though the contrary view might involve a serious conflict with the secular power.

This is certainly plain speaking, direct and straightforward, and as such must have been welcomed by the prelate to whom it was addressed, himself a man of the most downright utterance. In reply, the archbishop laid it down that the question was not one of doctrine, but of ceremonial :—

I suppose I am justified in supposing that the Articles of the Church of England are part of the law of the Church of England—it is asserted that 'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.' And it seems to me that to deny the right of the Church of England to change old ceremonies, if it was thought expedient for the interest and for the working of the Church, would be practically to say that the Church of England is wrong. The idea of saying anything of that kind, or of implying it, or of judging this question on any principle of that kind, certainly never occurred to me. It appeared to me quite certain that what I had to do was to interpret what the Church of England had actually said, and accordingly I based my action in the matter entirely on the Book of Common Prayer, and I have taken for granted that these concluding words of the 34th Article, being distinctly part of the law of the Church of England, were to be my guide; and that I was, therefore, to inquire what the Church of England had really done in this particular respect.

The Opinion distinctly declares that there is no question at all about the possibility of using incense in public worship in itself, but it is the claim that 'I shall use it whether the authorities of the Church allow me or not; I shall use it because I think it to be in accordance with the law of the Church Catholic by which I

am bound.' This is obviously a claim which would upset, if it were to spread, the whole discipline of the Church of England, and set at naught all authority, whatever it might be. I cannot help hoping that those who signed this protest will find in a little while that the grounds upon which they have acted are not quite reconcilable with their own principles, because the principle of obedience is unquestionably a Catholic principle, and I do not think that this protest is quite consistent with that obedience which is due to the authorities set over them. Do you think—I know quite well that you do not intend any disrespect—but do you think this is very respectful language—'We protest against your Grace's attempt to foist upon the Church'? It does not seem to me that that would be considered generally a very respectful thing to say to an authority which is by the laws of the Church very distinctly set up. The declaration of a disregard not only for the authority of the archbishops, but for the authority of the bishops also, 'We will resist to the utmost the precedent which may lead us into a position differing but little from that against which the Church rightly protested three hundred years ago.'

Coming to the question of Disestablishment, his Grace expressed himself as follows :—

I am afraid that that remedy would be found very far indeed from a remedy of the kind that those who call themselves the Catholic party would like when they had got it. It is a very serious thing to say that it is necessary to break up the whole position of the Church of England in order that you may escape from the control of bishops who do not in your judgment quite adopt what you consider to be Catholic practices. The loss to the whole religious life of the Church which would necessarily follow from the disruption of the Church is greater, I think, than it is easy to measure, but it is the one anxiety which besets me in all these matters. I am quite ready to face Disestablishment, and its necessary concomitant, Disendowment, if it be God's will. I am quite prepared in that case still to go on and act as if we stood in the same position as that which we have held for the last three hundred years, but [here the archbishop spoke with deep emotion], I dread with all my soul, I dread what may come if the Church of England were to break in two.

If this feeling of dread were so dominant a factor in the archbishop's mind six months since, I fear it must be considerably intensified by the events of the last few weeks; or, in other words, since May 1st, 1900, the date of the delivery of his decision upon the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.

It is certain that the practice of reservation has been more or less extensively adopted in the Ritualistic churches of the Establishment for some years past. There has been, however, an element of surreptitiousness about the custom which certainly points to a feeling of uneasiness and anxiety on the part of those who favoured it. But apart from this it cannot be denied, that the more advanced Anglicans believe passionately in the doctrine of the Real Presence, and in the sacrificial character of the Christian priesthood. They may differ from us as to the *modus* of that Presence; but it is clear to the least observant, that if only the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation were properly apprehended of them, they could not logically reject it. As some of my readers may have only a vague idea as to what the interior of a High Anglican church is like, I may put before them the following extract from the *Church Times*, of January 12, 1900, in reference to the Brighton ritual case:—

Dr. Tristram, Q.C., Chancellor of the diocese of Chichester, held a Consistory Court at Lewes, yesterday week, to consider a petition, presented by Mr. George Davey, asking him to decree a faculty for the removal of certain ornaments in the Church of the Annunciation, Brighton, namely:—(1) Stations of the Cross; (2) image of the Good Shepherd on a pedestal, with candles on each side, and a lighted lamp in front; (3) image of the Virgin Mary on a pedestal, with candles on each side, and a lighted blue lamp before it, and with canopy, crown, and stars; (4) tabernacle over the communion table, with a red light burning before it; (5) crucifix over the communion table; (6) crucifix over the chancel screen; (7) tabernacle over the communion table in the side chapel, with a burning light before it; (8) crucifix in the side chapel, with canopy and crown over it; (9) images representing the Sacred Heart and St. Joseph near the communion table; (10) crucifix fastened on a pillar over the pulpit; (11) 'holy water' stoup near the door of the Church; (12) another 'holy water' stoup at the side entrance; confessional boxes with crucifixes over them; pictures of saints displayed in various parts of the church. The petitioner alleged that all these articles had been placed in the church since its consecration, and without any faculty for the same having been obtained, and that they were all illegal and liable to be subjected to superstitious usages.

The counsel engaged on both sides in this case was

probably the best obtainable. The arguments advanced were certainly of a most interesting character. When Mr. Dibdin came to reply on the whole case of the petitioner he strongly insisted that:—

The real question was whether the church fittings and furniture were legal or illegal ; anything else was mere prejudice. He was very much surprised that his friend did not think it prudent to put the Vicar in the witness box, because his evidence would have been most material to the issue. The petitioner claimed a moral as well as a legal right to interfere. He agreed that the parish was a poor artisan parish, and that most of the dwellers in it were not in a position to come forward as a party in a faculty case. The question was whether a church of the Church of England was to be successfully turned, even under the cover of the law itself, into a church which was indistinguishable altogether from a Roman Catholic Church. That was a matter which concerned every Churchman, and in a sense every Englishman. It was not a mere parochial matter, but much more a national question, and one which, so long as the Church remained the national and the Established Church in this country concerned every citizen. If the fittings and furniture of the church were liable to abuse they were unlawful, and if they were unlawful a faculty for removal must follow as a matter of course. With regard to evidence of actual abuse, of course he had none, but as to liability to abuse there was the evidence of the use made of the Stations of the Cross. Then there was the image of the Virgin Mary in a similar position, and decorated in the same way as they would find it in a Roman Catholic church—with curtains behind, and the lights and flowers in front of it. In a Roman Catholic church they devoted offerings made by way of honour to the Virgin, and indicated that they were a part of the devotion paid to the Virgin. The reasonable inference was that it was liable to be used in the same way as a corresponding image would be used in a Roman Catholic church, and that would be for the devotion of the Virgin Mary, which they in the English Church considered superstitious. The same consideration applied to the other images in the church, and as to the tabernacles there was absolute evidence that one of them was used for reservation. There was also evidence that the holy water stoups were used in connection with the service itself. The confessional boxes were one of the gravest matters in the case, and represented a view of confession which the Church of England had repudiated for the last three hundred or four hundred years. Nothing would more serve the purposes of these extreme members of the Church who desired to see drastic steps taken by Parliament in these matters ; nothing was more likely to excite the indignant remonstrance of the nation, than that the Court by faculty should confirm the

maintenance in a parish church of confessional boxes used, and intended to be used, deliberately and habitually, for hearing confessions.

To the majority of Englishmen sentiments such as these might recommend themselves at the present moment; but to another section of our people, and that a highly educated and refined section, they are read with a repugnance closely akin to loathing.

Viewed in comparison with the question of the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament that which concerns the use of incense and processional lights seems utterly insignificant. In the one case the mere adjuncts of religious worship are assailed; in the other, the great central dogma of the Christian and Catholic faith is called into question. The High Church clergy had for long insisted on the importance of reservation. This was naturally to be expected once we take into account their openly avowed belief in the Real Presence. They were accustomed to reserve the Sacrament under one kind only; and in favour of this custom they indicated the advantage it conferred in the case of the sick, and the avoidance of irreverence when administering the Sacrament in the homes of the very poor.

When it was announced that the archbishops had determined, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon them, to consider the legality of reservation in the Church of England, the Ritualists began to realise that they were face to face with a dilemma of no ordinary difficulty. Everything that could be said and urged in favour of the practice from their standpoint was pressed upon the attention of their Graces at their Session in last July; and during the Church Congress, held last October, we find the more advanced speakers constantly reverting to this subject. It would be difficult to conceive a more manly or outspoken declaration of faith than that contained in the paper read by Lord Halifax on 'The Principles of Ritual.' As he put it:—

The worship of the Church is the worship of a Person. It is not a series of exertations for the edification and spiritual improvement of the worshippers, or an exhibition of ceremonial, or a concert of sacred music to gratify their artistic or musical

tastes. It is worship addressed to a Person who vouchsafes His presence in our churches as He did of old in the upper room in Jerusalem. Christian worship is the divinely-appointed means by which Jesus Christ, through the instrumentality of human agencies, as the Head of mankind and our Eternal Priest, offers Himself as the Eternal Victim to the Father of all, in commemoration of His passion and death upon the Cross. It is the homage we offer to our present King, the means by which He communicates Himself to us. No ritual can be too much which gives expression to and is accompanied by that devotion of the heart which God expects from His people. No ritual can be adequate which ignores the condition that alone makes worship acceptable.

God, says Dr. Döllinger, in speaking of the Holy Sacrifice, will neither accept us without Christ, nor Christ at our hands without ourselves.

He next attacked the narrow insular view of religion taken by the ordinary English churchman in the following scathing terms :—

The Church of England has relations to the rest of Christendom, even in regard to the externals of religion, which she cannot afford to ignore. Catholic doctrine and ritual are not to be brought to the bar of what is supposed to be Anglican teaching and practice; but Anglican teaching and practice are to be judged by and harmonized with the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church.

Is there any real doubt what that doctrine and practice are? Christianity is not the exclusive possession of the Anglo-Saxon race, nor are its requirements to be determined by the idiosyncracies of the English people. To say that the truths the Church has to preach in regard to doctrine and practice should be put in such a way as is most likely to recommend them to the acceptance of Englishmen, is a truism; to say that what Englishmen choose to accept is to determine the doctrine, the ritual and practice of the Church, is inconsistent with any serious belief in the Catholic Church. No doubt we are Englishmen; we are not Frenchmen or Italians, Germans or Spaniards. It is this very diversity of national character which goes to make up the fulness and many-sidedness of the Catholic Church. It is like the various colours of the rainbow, which blend and combine so as to complete the whole cycle of colour. The Church exists to teach the whole cycle of truth to all nations, not to teach merely such fragments of it as may be acceptable to the prejudices of a particular age or a particular nation.

I will conclude these observations on the limits of ritual with

some words recently spoken by one of the most distinguished American bishops, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul:—

‘To sing lovely anthems in cathedral stalls, to wear copes of broiordered gold, while no multitudes throng the nave or aisle, and while the world outside is dying of spiritual and moral starvation—this is not the religion we need to-day. We want to popularize religion so far as principle permits, to make the people chant in holy exultation canticles of praise and adoration, to draw them to God by all the chords of Adam, to bring them to repentance, to confession, to Communion.’

‘When,’ in the words of another American theologian, ‘the spiritual rulers of the Church of England deem it of more importance to try in the Courts those who revile the Word of God, and deny the mystery of the Virgin Conception and Birth of the Divine Son, rather than the most orthodox, faithful, and successful clergymen of their dioceses on some charge of having burned incense before the Lord in a movable instead of a standing vessel, and with the intention of worshipping God rather than of making a good smell in the church building, we may hope to see the *Ecclesia Anglicana* once again what she was before the sixteenth century, the Church of the English people.’

The Rev. R. R. Dolling, so well known in connection with his great work in Southampton, was not less outspoken in his remarks at the meeting of the English Church Union, held in St. James’s Hall, 9th October, 1899. He said:—

I understand one thing, and will say, without fear of contradiction, that whatever has been the message of the Church of England, up to fifty years ago it was a message without Sacraments; the Sacraments were lost to England. They may have been enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer, but they were lost as far as the majority of men and women in England were concerned; and this is evident whether you go down to East-end parishes like my own, or whether you go to country villages like one at which I was recently preaching. I will give you a test: Go and ask some chaplain at Aldershot how many of the lads, whether officers who come from every public school in England, or privates coming from every city or from every little village place, how many of them on Easter Sunday last received the Holy Communion? How many of those dear lads, who are starting out to die if necessary for England, are going out in the strength of the Sacraments? The full question to be driven home is that, as far as England is concerned, the Sacraments are lost; and I challenge any clergyman, or any layman, or any bishop in the whole of England, to say that he can in any sense

be satisfied with the methods with which the Sacraments are received in England to-day. And if I were asked 'Could you point out a parish where more people are brought to the Sacraments than in any other place?' it is ten to one it would be one of the very parishes that this present message of the archbishops is addressed to. Incense is in a large measure only the representative of that method of divine compassion with which the Church of God, by the Holy Ghost, has made it easy for men who are ignorant to understand something of the beauty of holiness. At Holborn and down in the London Docks, and in a hundred other places, men had been brave enough to face the rebukes of the bishops because there was no other way known to them than the old Catholic method by which the Sacraments could be upraised. And if that was true concerning incense, how much more true was it concerning reservation of the Blessed Sacrament? I say, with the sense of responsibility weighing upon me as, perhaps, it never has weighed upon me before, that it is utterly impossible to get the Sacrament to those who are sick and dying unless we are allowed the method of reservation; and, therefore, what you and I should demand, at whatever cost and whatever hazard, is that which belongs to every branch of the Church—namely, power to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ down to the present times and the present needs; that as He Himself is for all time and over all persons, so the application of that cannot be bound by the methods of three hundred or five hundred years ago.

The *Church Times*, one of the leading organs of the High Church party, in its issue for the 20th October, 1899, writes as follows under the heading 'Ritual at the Church Congress':—

Two powers are arrayed against us—insular national pride, and the Englishman's respect for the law. Neither is to be despised. The one is well-founded, and if duly restrained is no bad thing; the other is wholly good. We may have to abate the national pride a little; to prove that English practice is not the measure of Christianity. We have no call to weaken respect for law—we leave that to those who wrest the law against us; but we have to show that the laws of England do not cover the whole field of Christian faith and practice. The Church was not created by those laws, and may not become their creature. The work of bishops and priests are not defined by those laws, nor limited by their provisions. The opinion that we have to batter down is expressed in a comment of the *Times*—we should look for it nowhere more confidently—upon Lord Halifax's paper. 'Bishops, as Lord Halifax very well knows, have no power to forbid atheism or infidelity; but they have the power, and they are

solemnly bound to enforce the law of the Church.' For the *Church* read the *Nation*—for even the *Times* can hardly suppose that the law of the Church, if such a thing there be, allows atheism and infidelity—and we have the controversy of the day in a nutshell. The laws of England do not forbid atheism and infidelity. Therefore, the bishops have no concern with such things; they are not to banish them, or drive them away; they have no power in regard to them, for bishops are appointed only to enforce the laws of England. It could not be put more crudely. We are grateful to the *Times*, as to Mr. Webb-Peploe, for a flash of self-revelation. A search-light is thrown on the enemy's position. We see it, and we mark it, and we mean to storm it.

At the date of the Reformation settlement, more than two-thirds of the population of England still clung to the ancient faith. The founders of the new Protestant religion were perfectly cognisant of this fact; hence when they came to formulate the articles of the new religion they were careful so to word them that whilst remaining thoroughly Protestant in their general tone and character, they contained an element of vagueness and self-contradiction which was evidently meant to puzzle the minds of the Catholics. This is nowhere more apparent than in the case of their eucharistic teaching. No one of an open mind can read the opinions of the so-called Reformers without being convinced that they shared the views of the Continental Protestants upon this vital article of Catholic faith. It cannot be gainsaid, that from the middle of the sixteenth century, the teaching of the new Protestant Church of England, as regards the Blessed Sacrament, was very little, if anything, different from the teaching of the various heretical bodies on the Continent. With the exception of a few individuals of a certain independence and originality of mind, the rank and file of the writers and preachers of the Established Church continued to propagate those views down to the date of the Oxford movement, or the so-called Catholic revival. Since then there has been, undoubtedly, a reaction in favour of the Catholic teaching of the English Church as she existed in England previous to the time of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth. Modern High Churchmen are evidently profound believers, if we are to trust their own spoken and written words, in the real and abiding

presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. They have for long insisted on calling the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the old English title of 'the Mass.' They approach to receive the Holy Communion fasting; they have, as we know, in many instances reserved the Sacrament in a tabernacle in their churches. This, ostensibly in the interests of the sick, but also, it must be conceded, for the purpose of private worship and devotion.

How alien these practices are to the general teaching of the Church of England, as set forth in her articles and formularies, may be gathered from the evidence adduced before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, last July, during their inquiry into the question of the legality of reservation. The discussion of the question was ample. All sides were heard; and the convictions of the Catholic party were urged with a show of learning and research which, if it failed to convince, never was unsuccessful in attracting our sympathy and admiration.

The archbishops realized that they were expected to pronounce upon a matter of extreme importance; upon something which was likely to affect in no small degree the future of the Church of England. This feeling on their part, united to their desire to consider the question as thoroughly as might be, led to the postponement of their judgment from mid-summer, 1899, till 1st May, 1900.

From the tone of the High Church journals during the month of April, 1900, it was evident that they had received a premonition that their Graces' decision would prove utterly adverse to their claims and convictions. May-day came, and found the Guard-room of Lambeth Palace crowded with a most representative audience to hear the 'opinions' of the two archbishops. In addition to their Graces, the Bishops of Oxford, Rochester, and St. Albans were present. Bishop Barry and the Bishop of Dover also put in an appearance.

In his opening statement, Dr. Temple was careful to distinguish three forms of reservation :—

(a) In the first place, it is sometimes the practice to treat sick persons who are not in the church, but are living close by,

as if they were part of the congregation, and at the time of administration to the communicants generally to take the elements out of the church to them, as well as to those who are actually present. It is claimed that this is not reservation at all, inasmuch as the administration goes on without interruption, and it cannot be said that what is sent in this way is part of what remains after the service is over.

(b) The second form of the practice is, instead of consuming all that remains of the consecrated elements, as the rubric directs, to keep a portion back, and to administer this portion to people known to be sick at some later period of the day. This is acknowledged by all to be reservation, and the reserved elements are kept in the church until the time when they are taken to the sick.

(c) Thirdly, the elements, after consecration, are sometimes reserved not only to be used for those who are known to be sick at the time, but to be used for any case of sudden emergency which may occasion a demand for the Sacrament in the course of the week.

He then indicated the solemn obligation incumbent on the clergyman of carrying out the promise or pledge made at the time of his ordination :—

Now, the canon requires that every clergyman shall promise that, in the administration of the Sacraments, he will use the form prescribed in the Prayer Book, and none other, except so far as shall be otherwise ordered by lawful authority. And, on examining the Prayer Book, we do not find any single mention of, or allusion to, the practice of reservation, except in the close of the 28th Article, where it is said the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped. It will obviously require overwhelming evidence to prove that reservation, in any sense whatever, is part of the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

His Grace next alluded to the practice of the early Church, and allowed that as far back as the time of Justin Martyr the practice of reservation was common, not merely in the case of the sick, but even for those who were absent, though in good health. Consequently, such a custom must have then been regarded as consistent with the Christian faith, and was nothing wrong in itself. The canon of the Council of Nicæa, ordaining that the sick should not be deprived of Communion before death, was also quoted.

But, these ancient and venerable customs notwithstanding, the Church of England, in her 34th Article, had asserted her right to abrogate any law or practice, however time-honoured, according as her founders considered fit. As his Grace expressed it :—

But if it be said that the Church of England has no right to give up so ancient and general a practice, the Church of England has replied, in the 34th Article, that every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying. In fact, it is impossible to maintain that a Church which made such great changes as were made at the Reformation could not change the mode of administering the Holy Communion to the sick.

The practice of reservation, as the archbishop pointed out, was equally excluded by Article 28 :—

The Book of Common Prayer contains no order and provides no opportunity for the practice of reservation. But this is not all. The language of the 28th Article cannot be taken otherwise than as condemning the practice altogether. To say that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped, is to say that those who do these things use for one purpose what our Lord ordained for another.

Nor could he even tolerate such an interpretation of the word 'reserved,' in this article, as would limit it to the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, without injury to the question of reservation in the interests of the sick and dying :—

It was urged by counsel on behalf of reservation that the word 'reserved' in this place must be interpreted by the words which immediately follow, and that reservation for purpose of worship must be intended, and not reservation for the sick. This interpretation is partly sound; but the inference drawn from it cannot be admitted. All the four prohibitions must be taken together, and all of them in connection with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, emphatically repudiated just before. By worshipping is meant any external act of devotion, and this is the chief object of prohibition. The authorities of the Church knew well that external gestures are the very stronghold of superstitious doctrines, and they forbade on this account all worshipping of, *i.e.*, all external acts of devotion to, the conse-

crated elements, because, if retained, they would retain with themselves the doctrine which it was necessary to root out of people's minds. And lifting up and carrying about are forbidden, as giving opportunities for worshipping; and for the same reason was reservation forbidden. And in the evidence put before us it was admitted that those who practised reservation used external acts of devotion also, thus proving that even now, so long after the doctrine of Transubstantiation has been condemned, the steps which once led to that doctrine follow at once upon a revival of the opportunities which the article prohibits. The reason for the prohibition is clear. These practices led to gross abuse, which the Church of England felt bound to stop. And even the administration direct from the church during the service is shown to come under the same head, for it gives an opening to the same abuse.

To say that the Church of England may not discontinue an ancient practice which has led to abuse, is to say that the Church must not profit by experience. The Church, led by experience, has made many changes, and possibly, in course of time, may have to make more; and the power to do so cannot be denied to her.

In conclusion, his Grace declared that:—

After weighing carefully all that has been put before us, I am obliged to decide that the Church of England does not, at present, allow reservation in any form, and that those who think it ought to be allowed, though perfectly justified in endeavouring to get the proper authorities to alter the law, are not justified in practising reservation until the law has been altered.

In this decision the Archbishop of York concurred. Both opinions were received in perfect silence, and at their conclusion the audience dispersed, as the *Church Times* put it, 'without giving vent to any ebullition of feeling.'

How the archbishops could possibly have arrived at any other conclusion than the one they announced, I, for one, cannot imagine. Still it is abundantly plain that they have set the seal of their authority upon the self-evident contention that the Church of England, as by law established, is in its essence a purely Protestant institution, called into being and governed by the same power which rules the War Office and the Board of Education. As the articles now stand, reservation is illegal. To legalize this practice, Parliament must, I take it, give its sanction and approval;

and the mere notion of submitting such a question for discussion in the House of Commons, as at present constituted, must needs fill every respectable churchman with horror and alarm. The Irish ex-Law Lord, Lord Morris, is generally accredited with saying to two of his immediate neighbours in the House of Lords, during the discussion of some Church question: 'You are a Jew, and you are a Presbyterian, and I am a Romanist. Could we demand more convincing proof of our inability to legislate upon this question?' This, however, is but a small moiety of creeds compared with the religious persuasions to be met with in the House of Commons.

The decision of the archbishops has brought down upon them unlimited abuse from many quarters. This, however, is anything but fair and just. They were practically compelled to institute their inquiry. It is a well-known fact, that more than one member of the bench of bishops threatened to secede from the Established Church unless something was done to demonstrate the unlawfulness of most of the practices of the High Church clergy. With such a contingency before their mental view, and one calculated to rend in twain the Church of England, we can easily understand that the work of their Graces partook much more of the character of an angariation rather than that of a labour of love.

On the other hand, the decision must be particularly galling to the Ritualists; for it demolished once and for all their continuity theory so far as the Established Church is concerned. Their Graces clearly showed the purely Protestant character of the Church of which the Ritualists are members, and proved that she tolerated none of the beliefs and practices to which they attach so much importance. Threats of rebellion, and contempt for the archbishops' authority will not prove of much avail to the High Churchmen, for it is only too probable that public opinion will force the various bishops all over the country to give effect to the judgment of their metropolitans. In other words, reservation, and most other Catholic practices, will be suppressed with a strong hand, and the Ritualists will again

be compelled to ask themselves whether they have any logical *locus standi* in the Church of England.

It is not uninteresting to read the comments of the various High Anglican papers on the archbishops' decision. Thus the *Church Review* of May 3rd, 1900, tells us that :—

Practically the archbishop ignores the arguments of Catholics. He had before him a most temperate pamphlet in the form of a letter addressed to his Grace by Mr. Lacey, pleading for at least toleration. There is no notice whatever taken of any one of the weighty arguments and pleas so put before him. But even when he does condescend to notice any argument urged at the hearing, he betrays the fact that he did not understand it ; notably so in his reference to the argument urged on his consideration for the principles laid down in the case of *Escott v. Mastin*. But while the opinion is poor enough in anything that can be called argument, it simply bristles with contentious points and misapprehensions of the Catholic position.

Then comes the following piece of advice to the clergy who practice reservation :—

One word of counsel we will in all earnestness venture on to those clergy who practice reservation in any form. Sit still, go on quietly as you are. Make no protests, either public or private. Do not write to your bishop. If your bishop should issue a public pastoral, take no notice of it. Receive it in respectful silence. Wait until he writes to you as an individual and demands that you give up reservation. Then simply write and say, with all possible respect, that you are entirely unable to comply, that you are bound to obey the Church rather than an individual bishop. 'In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.' Let us be very quiet, but very firm. Let nothing be said, not even from the pulpit ; but let the priests act. Act by simply going on. By God's blessing we shall win. That is the only way to fight this matter. 'Not by power, nor by might, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

The *Church Times* of May 4th, 1900, did not hesitate to say that the decision of the archbishops hardly called for serious examination :—

Otherwise, we might defend the 28th Article against the archbishop. Its language, he says, 'cannot be taken otherwise than as condemning the practice altogether.' But good authorities have taken it in a sense entirely different from this, and have given their reasons. It is possible still to subscribe the

article, without condemning a practice of the Primitive Church, or one which is quite consistent with the Christian faith. We prefer to say nothing about the archbishop's remarks on adoration but this one word :—that if any 'Pope, prelate, or priest,' forbid Christian men to worship their Lord, Christian men are bound to worship Him the more conspicuously. So long as the Lord's Supper is celebrated, they will not lack opportunities for eucharistic adoration. In sum, there is only one answer to the archbishop which is needed. It is that which we recently gave to the Bishop of London's charge. Both prelates alike seem to think that we are in some way bound by the opinions and objects of the men who, in the sixteenth century, wrought some good and some evil for the Church under the name of Reformation. We repudiate the idea. We are bound neither to their opinions nor to their acts. We accept the good without much gratitude ; we mean to undo the evil. The Reformation was merely an incident ; and the men of the Reformation are no more to us than men of any other period. By what became the actual law of the Church at that time, and so remains, we are bound : by this, and nothing more.

The manifesto of Viscount Halifax to his followers, is a curious admixture of piety and the spirit of rebellion. It is certainly an outspoken declaration of his unwavering belief in the mystery of the Real Presence. Writing on May 1st, evidently with the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury still ringing in his ears, he says :—

How often before, in moments of distress and difficulty, the service proper for the day brings comfort, help, and encouragement.

To-day, St. Philip and St. James's Day, has been chosen by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for the condemnation of all reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and dying, and of the adoration due to our Lord Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of His Love. To-day the Epistle at Mass exhorts us to count it joy when trials come upon us, since 'the trial of our faith worketh patience.' In the Gospel, Jesus Himself speaks and says, 'Let not your heart be troubled ; ye believe in God, believe also in Me.' And in the First Lesson, for Matins, the promise comes 'That the old wastes shall be built, the former desolations raised up, the waste cities, the desolations of many generations repaired.'

Yes ! the desolations of former generations are by God's great mercy being repaired. Nothing can stay that work. Our Lord's tender compassion, as He wills to be brought to the bedside of the sick and dying, will not be hindered ; but again, as so often

before, apparent disaster and threatened loss will prove the occasion for the completer vindication of the teaching and practice of Christ's Holy Catholic Church.

The laity will not consent to run the risk of dying without the Sacraments. Reservation for the sick and dying cannot be given up.

That the Ritualists have grasped the true significance of the archbishops' decision as regards the real character of the Church of England as by law established, is to me quite evident. For instance, in the *Church Times* of May 11th, 1900, we find the report of an address read at a meeting of the York Branch of the English Church Union, by the Rev. A. O. Duncan, on behalf of the Rev. G. Napier Whittingham, its author, in the course of which we meet with the following passages :—

The Reserved Sacrament had ever from the earliest antiquity been used throughout the Catholic Church. Was it not the comfort of hundreds of sick people, the earnest expectation of thousands that they might not die without the *Viaticum*? Yet it was declared 'illegal' merely because the Reformers, who made most of their alterations in a state of panic and confusion, made no allusion as to its continuance. It should be the earnest prayer of every Catholic that every priest should remain firm on this important matter, even if it meant disobeying his bishop.

If their doctrine and ritual were to date merely from the Reformation—and this was what alas! they must infer to be the 'opinion' of the Primates—then they should at least be honest, and in giving the Roman Catholics all ritual and doctrine in vogue before the Reformation which was not expressly ordered by the Reformers, let them add to their present the beautiful Minster of York, and all abbeys, churches, and other buildings erected before the Reformation, and let prelates and clergy be further consistent and hand over their endowments and stipends as well, for they might be well assured that it was not the intention of the pious and loving faithful souls that erected and endowed our churches that they should pass into the hands of men who would abolish the dignity of Catholic ritual, and withhold from God's people the Bread of Life.

This, to my mind, represents a view of the situation at once logical and consistent. It is superfluous to add that no one expects the clergy of the Establishment to surrender their livings in favour of the agents of the 'Italian Mission.'

It will be interesting to watch the events of the next six

months in connection with this controversy. Will the Ritualists rest content within the pale of a Church which has now been proclaimed by its own chief pastors to be a purely human institution, Protestant and Erastian in its essence and character? or will they at length turn towards that 'Living Organism,' of which Mr. Mallock writes in his remarkable work, a passage from which appears at the head of this paper, which is *in* this world, though *not* of it, and which 'absorbs into itself the meaning of all natural knowledge, and, converting it into its own substance, makes it supernatural knowledge, not by violating the processes of man's natural intellect, but by using them.'

There is, it seems to me, one very hopeful sign of their liberation, and that is, their tender attachment to Jesus in the Sacrament of His love. Should their faith in this mystery prove to be well founded, their further continuance in a Church which has officially cast aside every shred of Catholic eucharistic teaching ought to prove not only difficult, but impossible.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

FAITH AND MODERN MIRACLES

IN the pages of the *Humanitarian* there appeared recently two articles on modern saints and modern miracles—a subject that must ever be of the deepest interest to the Catholic reader. The matter under consideration has been discussed from diametrically opposite standpoints, the one writer being an able and devout Catholic, whilst the other is an infidel of the most pronounced type. At a time like the present, when the minds of men are occupied with thoughts on these subjects, it may be interesting to examine the different views on a question whose importance is so wide and far-reaching.

From the beginning of creation miraculous events have been always recognised as the chief means of leading inquirers into a knowledge of divine revelation. The existence of miracles was admitted by Jews and pagans, and they have at all times appealed to mankind as the evidence and pledge of a message from God, and the supreme manifestation of His attributes. Nor can it be denied, without an error in faith, that the gift of miracles is an abiding one, manifested from time to time in the Church. The Protestant view, that miracles ceased with the Apostles, is out of harmony with the depth and wisdom of the providence of God in dealing with fallen humanity. The Church on earth is a militant Church, engaged in constant warfare with sin and the dangerous, insidious foe of infidelity; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Great Father, who commissioned the Apostles to teach all nations, and promised to be with them all days, would continue to supply them with the effective weapon of signs and wonders. There is no other form of evidence so luminous, striking, and forcible, none so well adapted to carry conviction to the most varied classes of minds. And infidelity, in all its different forms and degrees, has to be encountered. There

are the active, aggressive infidels, who would fain dash to the ground the noble edifice of faith built up in the course of the centuries ; there are those, again, who, from heredity, environment, or other influence, surrender themselves to a life of self-indulgence, and thus darken their intellects, and become incapable of grasping supernatural truth. Nor are there wanting persons who are painfully conscious of their need of further enlightenment, and in whose weary hearts the death-bed cry of Göethe, 'More light,' often finds a responsive echo. And, if we look to foreign climes, how many millions may be found whose want of faith is mainly due to their geographical position, through which they cannot have the truths of religion, with their motives of credibility, set properly before their minds ? To convey the blessings of faith to these countless multitudes, missionaries and other zealous workers have often given up the ties of home and kindred, and cheerfully sacrificed their lives. All these varied classes are the objects of God's saving will, and miracle is His most powerful instrument to light up the lamp of faith, and dispel the darkness of infidelity.

It must be considered, too, that what has been said of those who are yet without faith applies also, in a certain sense, to Catholics. For the careful observer will readily admit that whatever lights up the flame of faith, in the first instance, is the most effective means of keeping that flame steadily burning. The same influences which are a suitable disposition for this divine virtue become its safeguard and nutriment when it is at length possessed. And faith, like every other virtue, requires careful cultivation and protection. The life of a man on earth is a warfare, and the powers of evil, ever virulent and active, will not be slow to assail this fundamental virtue. Even the greatest and holiest of the children of the Church have their seasons of gloom and spiritual desolation, when difficulties will arise, and the grim spectre of doubt may dare to obtrude itself upon their imaginations. St. Ignatius and Newman had their hours of solitude and depression ; and Cardinal

Wiseman, with his accustomed candour and sincerity, tells us in words that touch the heart :—

Many and many an hour have I passed alone in bitter tears fighting with bitter thoughts and venomous suggestions of a fiendlike infidelity when there was no one that could have sympathised with me. This made me study and think to conquer the plague—for I can hardly call it a danger—for myself and others.

And amongst the ordinary struggling faithful who have not time for study or scholarship the diffusion of pernicious literature may, now and again, give rise to thoughts which require an antidote to counteract them, and restore the brightness of spiritual vision. For though it is true, as Wiseman declares, that during the time of trial the simple submission of faith is the only remedy, and thoughts against it must be put away like temptations against any other virtue, we have it on the same high authority that, when the actual struggle is past, these thoughts may be safely analyzed and the difficulties they present can be conquered and overcome. The same idea is expressed by Tennyson in memorable words :—

He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them : thus he came at length
To find a stronger faith his own.¹

All this will become evident when we consider for a moment what is involved in an act of faith. Faith is an assent of the intellect to a truth revealed by God on account of the authority of God who reveals it. In faith, God Himself speaks to us, and we give our adherence because of His authority who is the Intallible Truth, and can neither deceive nor be deceived. It is true that the evidence can never be as strong as to compel the assent of the intellect as in a mathematical demonstration ; otherwise faith would cease to be meritorious, whereas we know, on the contrary, that it is the fruit of grace and not the result of any

¹ *In Memoriam*, xcvi.

reasoning. But all men are bound to co-operate, and it is the province of human reason to determine, with the divine aid, whether or not God has spoken.

And it must be borne in mind, that miracles and prophecies—which are, in reality, a species of miracle—have always appealed to mankind as the chief notes of a divine message. For a miracle in its essence is a work which transcends all natural agency, and can only be produced by the immediate intervention of God. So that whether it is given to confirm those who deliver a message in God's name, or as a reward of individual piety, it is always a proof of the divine origin of the religious system in which it is found. Hence we find many converts to Catholicity confessing that the evidence for recent miracles was one of the most powerful causes that had brought them into the Church. There is no other mark of revelation, not even the excellence and sanctity of the doctrine, that exercises so wide an influence, and appeals with such force to the world at large. The most varied classes of mind are taken captive by the convincing proofs of miraculous events. To the learned and unlearned, the wise and the simple, they afford the most luminous and striking evidence of divine authority, they are the pledge and the guarantee of supernatural teaching. They make the foundations of our faith strong and enduring, and banish all difficulties from the mind like mists before the rising sun.

Thoughts like these suggest the propriety of calling attention to some miracles and prophecies of recent occurrence. It is true, that these have not yet been examined and approved by the infallible authority of the Church, and, as such, Catholics are free to withhold their belief in them. But they are attested by numerous witnesses, and accepted as genuine amongst others by a French writer of the highest literary eminence, Joris Karl Huysmans. He has for some years devoted all his zeal and ability to the elucidation of this important question which must be regarded as a most fascinating subject of study.

In the *Humanitarian* for February, 1899, the first place is given to an interview with this distinguished

littérateur. He asserts as certain that there are saints at the present day, the great difficulty being to distinguish between hysterical subjects and those filled with the divine spirit. After a brief reference to St. Lidwine, who died in the fifteenth century, and the saintly Belgian girl Louise Lateau, he draws special attention to the case of Marie Julie Jahenny of the hamlet of Fraudais near Blain in the department of the Loire Inferieure, France.

In the year 1873, Mgr. Fournier, the Bishop of Nantes, summoned Dr. Antoine Imbert-Gourbeyre to make a medical examination of Marie Julie, and after most carefully studying the case, the doctor came to the conclusion, that she was a genuine stigmatisée. Like Louise Lateau, St. Francis, and others, she exhibited all those mysterious marks which appear on the bodies of saintly personages, her sides, her feet, and the palms of her hands showing blood-red marks resembling the wounds which were inflicted on our Blessed Saviour. During a period of sixteen years the stigmata appeared on the body of Louise Lateau every Friday, and continued each time from fifty to sixty hours. In the case of Marie Julie the stigmata are still more distinctly marked, and present somewhat different features, the duration is generally shorter, the skin is somewhat reddened, and the blood exuding coagulates to form rings, or figures, or even letters.

But, in addition to the stigmata, the Breton girl is endowed with a most remarkable gift of prophecy. She foretold with unerring accuracy the terrible sufferings she herself was destined to undergo; her paralysis, her blindness. And, when in a state of ecstasy, she frequently announced her marks would disappear, or undergo changes at certain periods. Thus in April, 1880, she prophesied several times, that her marks would alter; and on June 29th, following, the changes took place exactly in the manner she had previously stated. Again, on September 29th, 1882, Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre heard her state that her ring and crown would change. And on the morning of October the 15th, the mark on her finger disappeared, and another ring, bright red in colour, and of different design,

appeared in its place. On another occasion she foretold that she would receive a more brilliant crown than the one she wore, stating, as additional circumstances, that it would be ornamented with diamonds, and that the heavenly gift would be accompanied with sweet music. On May 24th, 1883, the prophecy was exactly fulfilled; and the other members of the family heard the celestial music on two different occasions.

In addition to this marvellous gift of prophecy there are other remarkable signs giving proof that Marie Julie is the object of divine inspiration. At one time a blood-red ring appeared on her finger, which was witnessed by fourteen people—a symbol of her mystic marriage with Jesus. She possesses, too, the miraculous power of distinguishing consecrated from unconsecrated bread; she can recite Latin verses totally unknown to her; and she is able to recognise relics at a distance. When relics were brought to Louise Lateau she recognised them by smiles; but Marie Julie does more: she can give you the names of the relics, and tell their origin with perfect accuracy.

The following are further examples of her marvellous endowments in M. Huysmans' own words:—

On November 20th, 1876, Marie Julie was visited by the Abbé David, one of the priests of La Fraudais, in whose possession at the time was a small box containing a relic of St. Vincent de Paul. Hardly had he entered her room when she turned towards him, and asked for the box and its contents. A still more surprising phenomenon occurred on February 20th, 1880, the anniversary of Marie Julie's mystic marriage. One of the village priests brought her a bunch of snowdrops, which had been placed overnight at the foot of the monstrance. The flowers were placed in her hands. Immediately she commenced kissing them, and uttered the following remarkable words:—'Oh! dear little flowers, which have remained the whole night at the foot of my love, how happy you are! Dear little flowers, my little sisters, how I envy your happiness! You possess simplicity; your whiteness resembles the whiteness of the wheat of the elect! The angels grew you for my anniversary. The first among all your sisters you bloomed immediately after the hoarfrost of winter. While you were at the feet of my dear Spouse, angels filled your petals with perfumes which perfume me.' Remarkable words for a poor ignorant Breton peasant girl to utter,

In the short sketch of this saintly personage many other marvels are recorded of such a character as to bear testimony to their supernatural origin. It must suffice to call attention to one of the most conclusive signs—'the mantle of living fire.' These are her own words, and refer to a strange and brilliant light proceeding from the wounds on her person. And in connection with this event she gave utterance to another remarkable prophecy. She stated that our Lord had told her of the occurrence, and a few weeks later, light suddenly sprang from the marks on the palms of her hands, continuing for ten minutes, and resembling, in its brilliancy, the flash from a diamond.

These are wondrous events, and it seems quite impossible for the impartial mind to resist the evidence they afford us of supernatural agency. Both the cases of Louise Lateau and Marie Julie belong to our own day, the latter being still alive. And the lives of both the one and the other present abundant features which cannot possibly be explained away on the hypothesis of freethinking philosophers.

At the foot of M. Huysmans' article the editors announce that a reply would appear, in the following month, from Professor Gilles de la Tourette, the eminent professor of medicine at the Salpêtrière, Paris. Accordingly in the March number, 1899, there appears an article in reply to the views which, M. Huysmans set forth, and established by plain statements of fact. This paper also takes the form of an interview, and both the interviewer and the scientist who is interviewed are evidently out of sympathy with the gifted author of *En Route*. As a man of science, Dr. Gilles de la Tourette is undoubtedly distinguished. He is a fellow of the Paris faculty of medicine, and the author of ten or twelve works of authority on hysterical subjects. From a writer of such eminence, for whom the readers of the magazine were specially prepared, one would naturally expect a forcible reply; and yet it will be seen, on the contrary, that the methods of his attack rather strengthen the position of M. Huysmans; and a brief examination of the reply shows us how applicable are the words of St. Gregory: 'Plus nobis Thomae infidelitas ad fidem quam fides credentium discipulorum profuit.'

He opens the controversy with a most starting proposition : ' There is nothing unexplainable, nothing supernatural.' And almost his last words on the subject are in the same strain : ' There is no such thing as the supernatural.' He appears to have no thought of giving proof of this extraordinary assertion. On the contrary, he assumes it as a first principle ; and upon this foundation of sand he proceeds to build the whole structure of his argument. It is amazing that a man so gifted in the domain of science could expect such reasoning to carry conviction to his readers. The assumption of his first principles exactly recalls to mind the parallel case which is so brilliantly exposed by Cardinal Newman in one of his lectures on Catholicism in England :—

The Protestant [he says] laughs at the very idea of miracles occurring at the present day. His first principle is rooted in him ; he repels from him the idea of miracles ; he laughs at the notion of evidence ; one is just as likely as another ; they are all false. Why ? Because of his first principle—there are no miracles since the Apostles.¹

In the course of Dr. Gilles de la Tourette's criticism many plain statements of fact are to be met with which cannot be lightly rejected or set aside. It would be unwise to ignore them, and a full consideration of their importance will often assist us materially in arriving at a just conclusion. Due weight must be given to the researches of Charcot and other men of this school. They state, for example, that extraordinary phenomena have been produced in hysterical subjects, especially whilst they were in a hypnotic state :—

In one instance [says M. Huysmans' critic] M. Mabilie hypnotised a male hysterical subject, and suggested to him that a quarter of an hour after awakening, a ' V,' which would bleed, would appear on a certain spot marked on his forearm. A quarter of an hour afterwards the man had an attack of hysterics . . . and when the seizure was over it was found that a ' V' covered with blood had really appeared on the place marked. When not hypnotised the contact of gold produced not only a very painful sensation, but also a burn which healed very slowly.

This is by far the strongest of two or three hysterical cases which he describes. One may accept his testimony, when he bears witness to facts which he knew; but it is impossible to place reliance on his judgment, he has so much prejudice and so little patience. Upon the slightest basis of evidence he proceeds to erect a vast structure of argument, maintaining, as he does, that the stigmata are to be always regarded as trophic troubles arising from hysteria, and that St. Francis, Louise Lateau, and Marie Julie, are not saints but hysterical subjects. A wide conclusion, truly, and showing an utter disregard for the rudimentary principles of logic!

But the lengths to which he is prepared to go in support of his opinions will best be estimated from his method of dealing with the other remarkable facts to which M. Huysmans bears testimony. It will be remembered, that the clearest evidence was given of the gift of prophecy and other endowments of a supernatural character. The testimony in their favour was of the same nature as that advanced for the stigmata, and they afforded still stronger proof of miraculous origin. Some explanation, therefore, would naturally be expected from the learned professor. But he does not even make an attempt to account for these phenomena. Unable to offer anything like a plausible explanation he falls back on his first principle and denies the facts. And lest this might appear to misrepresent him, it seems only fair to quote his own words:—

One more question, Doctor, Marie Julie Jahenny, the stigmatisée of La Fraudais, is said to have been able to recognise relics at a distance. Louise Lateau, too, is said to have recognised relics by smiles when they were brought to her. Do you think there is any truth in the statements?

Mais non ! [exclaimed Dr. Gilles de la Tourette] *Mais non !*¹ There is no such thing as the supernatural.

These words bring the interview to a close. It they were merely the idiosyncrasies of an individual they would be worthy of no consideration; but, as the writer of the

¹ These words are in italics in the original.

article confesses, they sum up the attitude of nearly all scientists towards stigmatization and kindred questions.

The prejudices of these men are so strong, and the dislike of Catholic teaching so rooted in them, that they are prepared to resist all evidence, even the direct testimony of the senses. Faith, in the language of theologians, resides *radicaliter* in the intellect, but *formaliter* in the will, and where the will to believe is wanting no miracle can compel assent. The sceptic will not be at a loss for an excuse: there was some inaccuracy in the report, some illusion of the senses, or the occurrence was due to some unknown law of nature. 'If I were to witness a resurrection,' says Rousseau, 'however astonished I might be, I cannot say what might happen. I should be more likely to go out of my mind than to believe.'

At the same time the investigations of these men, and the discoveries they have made, show us that Catholics should be careful in accepting as miraculous occurrences of an extraordinary character. Credulity is as damaging to religion as slowness of belief; and mistakes will sometimes occur amongst the children of the Church. Events due to natural causes may be here and there regarded as miraculous, through human infirmity, or the contingencies of evidence. And sometimes, too, through zeal and devotion Catholics may fall into error, and fancy there has been a miracle when there is none. And yet who can suppose that God will deal severely with those mistakes of His loving children arising from filial love and loyalty, when the evidence in favour of genuine miracles is so strong and overwhelming?

Many questions are involved in obscurity, but this is not a sufficient reason for denying truths that are clear and evident. Without a complete knowledge of all the effects which mechanical genius may produce, we know that the vital principle is beyond the power of mechanics, and that the life of a plant differs essentially from the movements of a clock. And so in the supernatural order a full acquaintance with the laws of nature is not necessary to determine with certainty that certain classes of events are wholly beyond the powers of natural causes. Thus it is difficult to

define exactly the border-line between the natural and the miraculous, but we can know as certain that there is no force in nature capable of recalling the dead to life. And, in like manner, unless we are to yield to the most hopeless scepticism, and the ordinary course of nature is to cease, we can know that no mere natural power can foretell future free events, give sight to the blind, or still the tempest by a word. We are not governed by a blind and unchanging necessity, but by the hand of a loving Father. There are two systems going on in the universe, one of nature and one of miracle, and God sways and directs the natural order to His own high purposes. The stability of the Church through the storms of ages, and her triumphant march through the centuries, is a great and perpetual miracle, the proof of all other miracles, and the visible evidence of God's direct governance and everlasting love.

THOMAS F. MACKEN.

THE SPECIAL CHARM OF IRISH MELODIES SUNG 'TRADITIONALLY'¹

IT may look strange that I am going to address you on a subject on which I have no personal experience whatsoever. I am going to speak to you on the special charm Irish melodies possess when they are rendered 'traditionally,' that is to say, in the way that is handed down from mother to child, from one peasant singer to his younger companion, without any interference of theoretical knowledge, or of acquaintance with other kinds of music. Melodies thus performed I have never had an opportunity of hearing myself. You may easily perceive, therefore, that I am not going to give you any views of my own on the subject; I only wish to call your attention to this matter, to lay before you one theory put forward in explanation of the phenomenon, and to give you such general information, together with practical illustrations of the principles involved, as will enable you to understand the question at issue.

As to the real existence of such a special charm of Irish melodies sung traditionally, there seems to be no doubt. I have been assured of this by various authorities, who not only give testimony to their own personal experience, but also bear witness of the extraordinary effect Irish melodies thus performed have on Irish audiences generally. I quote, in particular, a writer who, in the *Waterford Star*, gave his impressions on a Feis held at Ardmore a few months ago. Speaking about the effect of the singing of a little girl who, according to him, sang her little Irish melody exactly as she had learned it from her mother, this writer, who, I understand, is one of the most prominent men in the Gaelic movement, says: 'The quick Irish audience was struck as by a lightning flash, they listened in a breathless spell until she finished, and then proclaimed by the roar of their applause that their instinct was ever sure for the right

¹ A lecture delivered before St. Mary's Literary Society, Maynooth College.

thing. Her superiority over the artificially-trained children was glaring.' These remarks of the Ardmore correspondent drew forth a reply from a professional musician, who, I believe, was in some way connected with the Ardmore Feis. This reply I have, unfortunately, not been able to procure. But the Ardmore correspondent gave a rejoinder, in which he sets forth, at some length, what he considers the difference between Irish and modern music, and the reason why Irish melodies, rendered in the style of modern music, fail to produce their proper impression. Since my attention was called to this theory, through the letter in the *Waterford Star*, I have learned that the same theory is laid down by Dr. Sullivan in his introduction to *O'Curry's Lectures*, published in 1873. Dr. Sullivan, in his turn, took his ideas from Helmholtz, whose book on the *Sensations of Tone* forms the foundation on which many a writer has built. But let us hear the Ardmore correspondent himself.

He asks: 'What constitutes the difference between Irish and modern music?' and then proceeds as follows:—

The answer to this question involves a discussion of some technical details that stand, however, well within the comprehension of everybody possessing even a rudimentary knowledge of music and acoustics. Shortly, then, the differentiating causes may be classified into—

- I. Differences of scale ;
- II. Differences of phrasing and expression ;
- III. Differences of time.

Of those the first is all important, the second also has a definite value, while the third, as its force does not extend to all Irish music, may be neglected here. First, then, to the question of scale.

1. The stuff out of which all music is made is a simple series of notes rising from a lower to a higher tone according to a preconcerted rate and order of gradation. Measured by the number of vibrations required to produce the first and last notes of the series, we find they stand in the proportion of 1 : 2, *i.e.*, if lower *do* be produced by five hundred vibrations in a second, it will take one thousand vibrations in the same time to give high *do*. The space between those two limits has been filled in by various peoples at various times in various ways ; in fact, the number of scales that may be constructed out of an octave interval is theoretically infinite. The modern so-called natural diatonic scale was agreed to after a world of empirical shifting, and finally received its

settled form for the simple reason that it most conveniently meets the exigencies of modern harmony.

Your correspondent, in stating that it 'has its origin in the nature of our organization,' no doubt gave us the benefit of what he thought about it. On behalf of my own personal organization, I venture to put up a plea of not guilty. Indeed, so much is it quite the contrary, that the tonic scheme, on which, for instance, the great body of Irish music is built, not to mention others, arises from a totally different division of the octave interval. In fact, everybody who has seriously busied himself with Irish music, who picked up airs from our country people, and tried to reproduce them on his fiddle, knows that they will not play by the ordinary fingering—knows that they are not composed on the usual tone intervals. If, then, he prosecutes an analytical study of the tonality of these melodies, or avails himself of the result of modern scientific research in the matter, he will discover that Irish music is written on a gapped quinquegrade scale, composed of a chain of ascending fifths. Putting those two scales side by side, and representing the low *do* in each case by 1, and the remaining notes in both systems by their appropriate ratios, anybody with the least taste for vulgar fractions will discern at a glance the wide discrepancy between them.

ORDINARY DIATONIC SCALE

1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	2
<i>do</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>do</i>

IRISH SCALE

1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{81}{64}$	$(\frac{4}{3})$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{27}{16}$	$(\frac{243}{128})$	2
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So far the Ardmore correspondent.

If you look at the upper line of figures which I have reproduced on the blackboard, you will find that they are familiar to you from your studies of acoustics in your Physic year. The lower line represents what is claimed to be the Irish scale. Before we examine these curious ratios, I must say a word about the term 'quinquegrade.' I have not been able to find this term in any dictionary. The Ardmore correspondent evidently took it from Sullivan, and I surmise that Sullivan invented it to render some German expression of Helmholtz'. The word does not appear to be identical with 'pentatonic,' five-toned; for Sullivan speaks of a 'five-toned quinquegrade scale.' The only other possible meaning, then, is 'arrived at by steps of a fifth,' though the Ardmore correspondent's phrase, 'a quinquegrade scale composed of

a chain of ascending fifths,' would then seem rather tautological.

This idea, however, takes us at once to the very root of the question. Over two thousand four hundred years ago Pythagoras, the great Greek philosopher, enunciated the theory that all musical effect was based on the consonance of two intervals, the octave and the fifth. These two were the only primary intervals; all others were derived from them. In accordance with his general philosophical system, he laid down the principle that all musical beauty was founded on numbers, and the primary numbers were 1, 2, 3, and 4. His reason for stopping at 4 is that 4 is a sacred number, because it is the first square, and because, when added to the sum of the preceding three numbers, it makes 10. These reasons seem rather funny to us now; but the relation between numbers and musical intervals has been upheld by musical theory down to our own time. Whether Pythagoras himself discovered this relation, or whether he learned it from the Egyptian sages, who may have known it thousands of years before Pythagoras, we cannot say; but Pythagoras is the first musical theorist about whom we have clear historical knowledge.

You may have heard the story that Pythagoras had his attention first called to the mathematical ratios of the scale by the musical sound of several smiths' hammers. This is probably a myth. It is more than likely that the division of a stretched string pointed out to him the basis of his theory. Let me here state at once distinctly that the intervals of octave and fifth, as well as the whole heptatonic scale, were known and used long before Pythagoras. He did not determine the exact intonation of octave and fifth by the division of his string. He knew the sound of these intervals empirically; what he really did was to find out, and establish as a fundamental principle, that dividing a stretched string into two or three parts produced the exact intervals of the octave or fifth.

If we divide the string into two equal parts, we get the octave of the tone produced by the whole string; hence we have for the interval of the octave the mathematical formula

1 : $\frac{1}{2}$. If we divide the string into three equal parts, we get the twelfth, or the fifth of the octave, and we have, therefore, for the interval of the twelfth the formula 1 : $\frac{1}{3}$. The twelfth, however, is rather far removed from the unison. It is an interval which taxes the whole range of the human voice. Hence it is more convenient to compare the twelfth, not with the unison, but with the octave, which gives the interval of the fifth with the formula $\frac{1}{2}$: $\frac{1}{3}$. To these Pythagoras added the interval of the fourth, with the formula $\frac{1}{3}$: $\frac{1}{4}$. This interval is nowadays not taken as one of the fundamental intervals, because, in reality, it is nothing but the difference between the fifth and the octave. You perceive that we made the length of the string the foundation of the interval measurements. In modern times it is more usual to take as foundation the number of vibrations, which, as you know, stands in inverse ratio to the length of the string. Hence we nowadays define the octave as 1 : 2, and the fifth as 2 : 3.

Having laid down these fundamental ratios, then, Pythagoras went a step farther, and derived from them the whole scale, which we may do after him somewhat in this way. Starting, say, from *d* and calling it 1, we first fix its octave as 2, and its fourth, *f*, and fifth, *s*, as $\frac{4}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$ respectively. Next we consider *r*, and this we derive from *d* by going upwards two steps of a fifth, first from *d* to *s*, then from *s* to *r*. This *r*, the one beyond the octave *d*, has, then, for its ratio $\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{9}{4}$. To transpose it an octave lower, we must divide its number by 2, thus arriving at $\frac{9}{8}$, the figure given in the second line on the blackboard. From *r* we ascend a fifth to *l*, which accordingly we determine as $\frac{9}{8} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{27}{16}$. The fifth of *l* is *m*, with the ratio $\frac{27}{16} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{81}{32}$. This we have to divide by 2, to get it an octave lower, and thus we get $\frac{81}{64}$, the figure you see on the board. Finally we determine the fifth of *m*, *t*, as $\frac{81}{64} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{243}{128}$. You see the figures for *f* and *t* put in brackets, because the original Irish scale, being pentatonic, is supposed to have no *f* or *t*. This, then, is the scale as explained by Pythagoras, and as generally held by all musical theorists from the sixth century B.C. till the sixteenth century

after Christ, just about 2,100 years. In this scale, too, the Irish melodies are said to have been composed, and according to it, it is maintained, they are sung by real Irish singers even now.

Let us pause here for a moment to consider the reasonableness of this theory. First of all, let me state distinctly that it does not suppose music originally to have proceeded by octaves and fifths, and at a subsequent period of development the interval of a second to have been derived from them. I certainly believe that the second was the first melodic interval. But the meaning of the theory is that the psychological explanation of our appreciation of a second is to be found in referring this interval to those of the fifth and octave. You remember that when we sing one tone and then another above it, say *d r*, we make, in singing *r*, a selection out of an innumerable multitude of possible tones. Why is it that we select this particular one? Why is it that we take the interval at about the ratio 8 : 9? Why not 7 : 8, or 9 : 10, or 10 : 11; or any other similar ratio? There can be only one answer to this question, I think, namely, that we perceive a natural affinity between *r* and *d*. The next question, then, is: What does this natural affinity consist in? There is no direct relation between them, the one cannot be referred to the other as its cause, or unit of measurement. Everybody agrees in calling them dissonant, that is, not blending together. What, then, is the bond of unity between them? Here our theory answers that *r* is the second fifth of *d*, and that this fact explains its relation to *d*, in other words, that *r* is related to *d* through *s*. This is only a theory, of course, but one well in accordance with facts and also with our psychological experience. It moreover commends itself by its antiquity, having now held its ground for over 2,400 years. There is a remarkable corroboration of this theory in the teaching of Aristoxenus, an eminent Greek music theorist of the fourth century, a pupil of Aristotle. Aristoxenus was the founder of the so-called harmonic school, as opposed to the canonic school of Pythagoras. He rejected the number theory of the Pythagoreans altogether, maintaining that the ear, not the

mathematical division of the string, had to judge on musical facts, and that our physiological and psychological perception of musical intervals had nothing at all to do with numbers. But he, too, derives the interval of a tone from the fundamental intervals of octave and fifth, on whose absolute consonance, he says, the ear can judge. I think, therefore, that this theory of explaining the relation of d and r as that of a double fifth, is pretty well-founded. It is a different question, though, whether the whole scale is to be derived that way, and on this we shall touch presently.

I said that the Pythagorean theory held the field all through antiquity and the middle ages. So long as music was only in one part, in unison, this theory created no difficulty. But things changed when modern harmony, the simultaneous sounding of different tones, made its appearance. You see from the table of ratios that the ratio of the third $d-m$, is very complicated, $64 : 81$. Similarly the third $m-s$ is very complicated, $\frac{81}{64} : \frac{3}{2} = 27 : 32$. Consequently these intervals were considered as dissonances. In accordance with this, when singing in two parts was first tried, by learned musicians, in the eighth and following centuries, thirds were avoided, and only fourths, fifths, and octaves were used. But in the course of centuries the ear of musicians found out that the third, although theoretically a dissonance, sounds very well. It appears that in the twelfth century or even earlier, in the north of England, country people used to accompany melodies in thirds, and from there the custom spread to the continent, and finally found its way even into art music, notwithstanding all theory-born prejudices. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, then, we find musical practice using thirds freely as consonances, but only in the sixteenth century, theory, limping behind, found the formula for expressing the new idea. An Italian theorist named Fogliani was the first to lay down the new principle, in 1529. But it was only when Zarlino, in his *Instituzione Harmoniche*, (1558), gave a complete and satisfactory explanation of the whole system of modern harmony, that the new theory received general acceptance.

The new principle introduced is this, that the third is recognised as a primary interval along with the octave and fifth, and as we laid down for the fifth the ratio 1:3, or with elimination of the octave, 2:3, so we lay down for the third the ratio 1:5, or with elimination of two octaves, 4:5. In explaining the whole scale, then, Zarlino looks upon it as made up of three chords, each chord consisting of a primary tone with its third and fifth. This can be done in two ways, either by taking *d m s* with *f l d* and *s t r*, or by taking *m d l* with *t s m* and *l f r*. There is a slight difference between the two ways, which we need not consider now. The ratios given usually for the 'natural' scale refer to the first way, the so-called 'major' mode. You see that the ratios for *r*, *f* and *s* are the same as in the Pythagorean scale, these notes being arrived at by steps of a fifth. But *m* is considered as third of *d* with the ratio $\frac{5}{4}$, *l* as third of *f* with the ratio $\frac{4}{3} \times \frac{5}{1} \times \frac{5}{3}$, and *t* as third of *s* with the ratio $\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{5}{4} = \frac{15}{8}$. The difference between the *m*'s of the two scales, and similarly between the *l*'s and *t*'s, is $\frac{5}{4} : \frac{81}{84} = 80 : 81$, an interval known by the name of 'comma.'

Will you please observe here, again, what I called your attention to in the case of Pythagoras. Pythagoras, I said, did not fix the intonation of the octave and fifth, but he only found a law for an existing fact. Similarly, Zarlino did not invent a new intonation for the modern scale, but he simply found a mathematical formula for a thing that practical musicians had felt and practised for centuries before him. It is, therefore, somewhat misleading when the Ardmore correspondent says: 'The modern so-called natural scale was agreed to after a world of empirical shifting, and finally received its settled form for the simple reason that it most conveniently meets the exigencies of modern harmony.' From this it might appear that first modern harmony was invented, and then musicians went out to look for a scale to suit it. But, as a matter of fact, the practical recognition of the new principle, the consonance of the third, was previous to the invention of modern harmony, and a necessary preliminary for making its invention possible, while only the theoretical definition was subsequent.

Having given you so much of theory, now let me show you what musical effects correspond to these mathematical definitions.

[The lecturer here illustrated the various intervals on a harmonium tuned in 'just intonation.']

So far we have considered the modern scale only in the form laid down for it by theoretical considerations. We have now to go a step further and to consider another scale used in modern music. It would lead us too far at present to go into the question as to whether modern music is ever performed in absolute accordance with the so-called 'natural' scale. We shall confine ourselves now to a consideration of the fact that at least a great deal of modern music is performed in a scale altogether different. The necessity for this other scale arises from the combination of two circumstances. The first is that modern music requires a very large number of tones within the octave. Up to the present we have considered only seven tones within the octave, the heptatonic diatonic scale. But the need of far more than that I may bring home to you by calling your attention to two devices of modern music, called *modulation* and *transposition*.

By modulation we mean a shifting of the centre round which all the tones group themselves. You have seen that in constructing the 'natural' scale we took *d* as centre—as 'tonic,' as it is called technically. We had then *d m s* as tonic chord, *f l d* as subdominant, and *s t r* as dominant. Now, in the course of a modern piece of music, sometimes another tone is taken as tonic for a while, in order to produce variety, and this implies new tones. If, for instance, we take *s* a tonic, then we have *s t r* as tonic chord, and *d m s* as subdominant. These notes are provided already. But for a dominant we require *r f e l*, and this implies two new tones. For not only do we want *fe*, which is not in the seven-toned scale, but also *l* is a new tone, different from the one we have already, as will be apparent from the following consideration. This new *l* is the fifth of *r*, hence it has the ratio of the *l* in the Pythagorean scale, namely $\frac{3}{2}$, which is different from the *l* we

have already, by the interval 80:81. In a similar way we can modulate to any other tone of the diatonic scale, or to any of the new tones got from modulation. There is no absolute limit to this, and consequently the number of tones required is indefinite; but for actual modern compositions some forty or fifty tones within the octave would be necessary.

But not only can we modulate from one particular tone to those various other tones, but we may take any of these tones as the starting-point, consider any tone as *d* from the beginning. This is what is called transposition, or the key of a piece. Of these keys modern music employs thirteen or fourteen, so that thus the number of tones required is again considerably extended, and amounts to at least about a hundred within the octave. This is the one circumstance I mentioned.

The other is that modern music employs certain instruments that require a special sound-producing body for every tone. Thus the piano wants at least one string for every tone it is to produce; the harmonium, one reed; the organ, one pipe. It is obviously impossible to have a hundred strings for every octave of the piano, and even if such an instrument could be constructed, it would be unplayable. Hence arises the necessity of making one tone do duty for several theoretical ones. This is regularly done now-a-days by having twelve tones within the octave, none of which correspond exactly to any theoretical tones, but each strikes some mean between several approximate ones. This striking a mean is called *tempering*, and when the twelve intervals are so arranged that they all are exactly alike, we have what is called 'equal temperament.' On this tempered scale the Ardmore correspondent is particularly severe. In his first letter he said:—'The subtle Irish melody shrank from the blare of that vulgar strummer [he refers to the piano] as affrighted as the fairies are said to be at the shriek of a locomotive.' And in his second letter, after giving a short explanation of the tempered scale, he repeats his charge:—'To play Irish music,' he writes, 'on that thing, after the scale has had two washings, is

simply ludicrous, and, therefore, as an interpreter of Irish music, it is not only a vile, but a most utterly villainous strummer.'

Let us for a moment see how the mathematical definitions of the three scales, the Irish, the modern 'natural,' and the twelve-toned tempered, bear out this charge. As the twelve intervals within the octave are supposed to be equal, each of them is equal to $(\sqrt[12]{2})$. A tone, consisting of two of these units is, therefore, $= (\sqrt[12]{2})^2$. Accordingly we get $r = (\sqrt[12]{2})^2$, $m = (\sqrt[12]{2})^4$, $f = (\sqrt[12]{2})^5$, &c. Now, it would be very difficult for us to compare these ratios with those we found before, by the ordinary methods of division and multiplication. I have, therefore, written out a table in which all these ratios are reduced to logarithms. This has the advantage that we can see at a glance whether one interval is larger than another, and we can find the amount of difference by simply subtracting the one logarithm from the other. These logarithms are formed on the base of 2, which is very convenient for musical purposes, in as far as octave tones have the same mantissa, only the characteristic changing.

LOGARITHMS OF SCALES

	Modern 'Natural.'	Pythagorean.	Tempered.
d'	1.00000	1.00000	1.00000
t	0.90689	0.92481	0.91666
l	0.73696	0.75488	0.75
s	0.58496	0.58496	0.58333
f	0.41503	0.41503	0.41666
m	0.32192	0.33984	0.33333
r	0.16992	0.16992	0.16666
d	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000

From this table we see that s of the tempered scale is about .00163 lower than s in either of the other two scales. The log. of the comma being .01792, we see that this difference between the two s 's amounts to about $\frac{1}{11}$ of a comma, a very slight difference, indeed. R of the tempered scale is .00326 lower than r in the other two scales, the difference being something less than a fifth of the comma. The tempered m we find .01141 higher than the m of the

modern scale, and $\cdot 00651$ lower than the m of the Irish scale. We observe, then, the remarkable fact that the m of the tempered scale is a much closer approximation to the Irish scale than to the modern scale. In fact, the difference between the tempered and the Irish m is only about half that between the tempered and the modern m . We find a still more striking condition of things, when we look at l . There the difference between the tempered and the Irish scale is $\cdot 00488$, that between the tempered and the modern scale $\cdot 01304$, nearly three times as much. L is said to be one of the most striking notes in Irish melodies, and the differences between the Irish and the tempered l being only about a fourth of a comma, the ears of an Irish country audience must be very sharp, indeed, if they detect such a difference.

[Here the lecturer again illustrated the various intervals mentioned on the harmonium.]

Having now carefully examined the ground on which we are to move, we may now turn our attention for a few minutes to the main question at issue. As I hinted before, we cannot solve the question here now. All we can do is to make clear to ourselves what the problem is, and to consider, in a preliminary fashion, some of its aspects. The first question to be solved is, of course, this: Are the Irish melodies, as living by oral tradition, really sung according to the Pythagorean scale? Then the second question would turn up: Is it in the fact that they are sung to this scale that the special charm of these melodies consists? And finally, we may ask ourselves: Is it worth while, and ought we to make efforts, to preserve this scale?

As to the first question, our Ardmore correspondent appears to have no doubt. 'Everybody,' he says, 'who has seriously busied himself with Irish music, who picked up airs from our country people, and tried to reproduce them on his fiddle, knows that they will not play by the ordinary fingering.' And then he lays down apodeictically what the Irish scale is. But our faith in his judgment must be considerably shaken by what we have seen about the twelve-toned tempered scale, which he so severely condemns.

Moreover, some eminent musical theorists doubt whether music was ever performed in strict accordance with the Pythagorean scale. They consider that the introduction of the heptatonic scale, in which the interval of the third is so prominent, presupposes, at least, some unconscious feeling that the third is a consonant interval, and that this feeling would influence the intonation in the face of all theoretical conceptions. The fact, too, that Aristoxenus refuses to have anything to do with the numbers of the Pythagoreans seems to point out that there may have been something wrong in them. Again, we find John Cotton,¹ writing about the year 1100 A.D., declaiming against those who have a different intonation from his, and proposing to prove by his monochord that his intonation is the right one. From this we see that practical musicians did not always agree with the prevailing theory. But, however this may be, the question of the Irish scale is exceedingly interesting, even from a general theoretical and historical point of view, and it is very desirable that some reliable information should be got on the actual state of things.

If we find, then, that the scale in which Irish singers sing is really different from either of the two modern ones, we still have to face the second question whether it is to this fact that we have to attribute the undoubtedly remarkable influence these traditional singers exert over Irish audiences. And here let me point out a few other ways in which possibly this fact might be accounted for. First of all, it might be that these particular melodies are familiar to the people, and hence would naturally influence a popular audience more than airs strange to them. Or it may be that the fact of these songs being sung in Irish, and in good Irish with proper pronunciation and declamation, has something to do with it. This, of course, would be of very great weight with an Irish-speaking audience. Or it may be that these traditional singers sing with a better voice and with more transporting emotion than others. For we must not overlook that only really good musicians would learn

¹ *Joannis musica*, cap. 7.

singing from mere oral transmission, while in schools even a lot of mediocre talent is trained up to the rendering of a song. It is only when we find these and similar hypotheses wanting, that we should consider the scale theory as proved.

And even then we should have to ask still whether the scale is absolutely and essentially connected with those special effects, or only accidentally with regard to the particular condition of the audiences. For if these audiences were, from their childhood, accustomed to this scale, and no other, it is quite possible that, for that reason alone, they would be more affected by melodies sung according to it; while, if they once got familiar with another scale, that might produce the same effect on them as the Irish scale. This leads us over to our third question: Is the Irish scale worth preserving?

On this point, again, the Ardmore correspondent is very strong. He calls on every young girl and every young man to learn the national songs, and tells them that they have a national duty to perform. He even goes so far as to advocate that children should not be sent to school, lest by learning modern music they should be rendered unable to perform Irish music properly. If we look at the question from an abstract point of view, we must admit that it is a very serious matter for a nation to lose a precious national inheritance; and, *primâ facie*, we cannot deny the possibility of Irish music being such an inestimable treasure that to exchange it for all the achievements of modern music would be a very bad bargain. But, if we look at the actual state of affairs, and if we put the question this way: 'Is Ireland to remain stationary at the point which the rest of civilised humanity passed about five or six centuries ago?' I think very few, even of the most patriotic Irishmen, will, without any hesitation, decide in favour of the Irish scale. But is it necessary to keep away from modern music in order to appreciate the Irish scale? The Ardmore correspondent seems to think so, for he says: 'These tone variations are so delicate that a person must be trained from youth in one or other of the systems, as it is impossible to learn both.'

Later on, however, he claims for himself that he knows both Irish and modern music; and, consequently, means to speak with authority when he says: 'Irish music seems to me to speak the voice of the human soul with a clearer and truer note than modern music.' To me it seems that the task of learning both Irish and modern music is not so very difficult. Modern music itself has two different scales. For although, as I hinted already, it may be doubted whether any modern music is ever performed in strict accordance with the 'natural' scale, still a great deal of modern music is performed in a scale decidedly different from the tempered scale. A good fiddler will tell you that he plays quite differently when playing alone, or with other fiddlers, from the way he plays to the accompaniment of a piano. Hence, if a modern musician can learn these two scales, it should not be impossible for him to learn a third scale in addition, nor for the Irish musician to get accustomed to modern music without losing his susceptibility for the influence of the Irish scale.

By all means, then, let us make an effort to study and understand the peculiarity of the real Irish music; and if we find that it possesses advantages which modern music cannot come up to, we will preserve it, and, perhaps, fructify modern music by it. In any case, urgency must be pleaded; for, if the question is to be solved at all, it must be solved, to use once more the words of the Ardmore correspondent, 'before the day on which the coffin-lids, falling on certain very old women, shall have silenced them for ever.'

H. BEWERUNGE.

A REMARKABLE CATHOLIC

CHARLES WATERTON, THE SQUIRE OF WALTON

THE Roman Catholic Church has numbered amongst its followers some of the noblest and most courageous men whose names are recorded in history. But I doubt if it ever has had a more devout, or a more remarkable, adherent than Charles Waterton, Squire of Walton, that pretty little village situated near 'Merrie' Wakefield, in Yorkshire. Waterton was born at Walton Hall in 1783, and early in life developed a passionate love for all kinds of wild birds and animals, the larger portion of his time being spent in studying their homes, habits, and plumage. The result was that, whilst but a youth, he became a recognised authority on all matters of interest to naturalists and taxidermists.

In order to improve his extensive knowledge of birds and beasts, geography and ethnology, he, when quite a young man, determined to explore the wilds of South America, and stayed there for several years without companions of any kind, save a few friendly black men he chanced to meet. In fact, his great courage and daring in thus visiting those uncivilized regions attracted almost universal admiration, and earned for him the title of the 'South American Wanderer.'

On one occasion, whilst encamped on the banks of the Amazon, Waterton resolved to capture a live alligator. So he baited a number of large hooks, and fastened them to one end of a strong rope attached to a pole driven into the ground. He had not long to wait ere a huge alligator came along and swallowed the bait. Then ensued a terrible struggle. Determined to capture it alive, Waterton told his black companions to pull it ashore. This they, after much hard work, successfully accomplished. The quadruped was much exhausted by its stubborn resistance, and as it lay on the bank, Waterton took advantage of its

temporary helplessness by boldly springing on to its back. Naturally, the powerful creature became infuriated with such unusual treatment, and began to lash about very vigorously with its tail. But the daring rider was seated near to its head, and so kept out of reach of its terrible strokes. When the natives realized the remarkable nature of the situation, they seized the rope, and shouting gleefully, proceeded to drag the alligator and its rider along the river's bank, until, after many desperate attempts to regain its liberty, the monster completely collapsed from exhaustion. The plucky Englishman then made sure of his prize by tying up its jaws, and firmly binding its forelegs.

On another occasion, being very anxious to obtain a large live snake for dissecting studies, he offered a reward to any negro who would inform him of the whereabouts of a suitable specimen. One day word was brought that one was sleeping in the wood near where he was encamped. So he seized a long, light lance, and accompanied by the two natives who had brought the information, he started off to where the snake lay. Upon nearing the spot, Waterton ordered his guides to stay behind while he made an examination of the serpent, which proved to be non-poisonous, but of sufficient size and strength to crush any person to death. On returning to his men he said his best plan would be to try and pin it through the neck to the ground with his lance, and thus secure it alive, as night would come on before he could dissect it, and that would interfere with the proper study of his subject.

When the natives heard this proposal they were much afraid, and begged to be allowed to return to the camp for a gun, as they were sure some of them would be killed. But their master would not hear of such a course, and making his way back to the snake, he spent half an hour quietly cutting away the vegetation in which the snake was coiled, until he could plainly see the position of its head. He then, with one quick blow, pierced the snake's neck, and securely pinned it to the ground.

In a moment, as previously arranged, the lance was gripped by one of the natives, and as the snake commenced

a fearful struggle. Waterton threw himself upon its body and tried to hold it down. But his weight and strength were altogether insufficient for the task, and the other native had to add his. Waterton then—for lack of anything better—undid his braces, and managed to tie up its mouth with them, when it immediately began to struggle harder than before, and finally coiled itself around the shaft of the lance, whereupon the three men picked it up and carried it into camp; Waterton holding the head under his arm, one of his assistants supporting the belly, and the other the tail.

Upon arrival at their temporary house, the snake was placed into a specially constructed bag, and the following day Waterton, with the help of ten natives, cut its throat, and on measuring the snake, found it to be fourteen feet in length, whilst its mouth was so large he could easily place his head into it.

Waterton, after many more remarkable adventures and hairbreadth escapes, returned to England, and took up his abode at the old family home, Walton Hall, and quickly made the surrounding grounds into a veritable paradise for members of the furred and feathered tribes. In fact, his greatest pleasure was in encouraging and developing the domestication of every bird that choose to visit Walton Park. Although the grounds were plentifully wooded, and gave any amount of natural shelter and protection to the birds which took up their habitation within its domain, the generous, kind-hearted squire tried to improve upon nature by putting into use innumerable clever devices which were calculated to add to the comfort and protection of the birds, whilst they also afforded him splendid opportunities of studying their habits and plumage, and of generally adding to his really wonderful knowledge of bird and animal life.

For instance, he fixed numerous artificial nesting-boxes on the branches of the larger trees for the convenience of the brown and barn owls, and had the trunks of decayed trees covered at the top with stone flags, and pierced in several places, so as to give easy access for the birds that

desired to occupy them when nesting or hatching. He also made wooden imitations of pheasants, and perched them here and there on the trees, in order to mislead and delude the poachers, who used to make regular raids upon the park. He also erected a large stone tower, fitted with innumerable nesting-berths up the sides; a few, near the top, being made larger than the rest, and set apart for the use of jackdaws and white owls. After this had been completed he determined to encircle the grounds with a high stone wall, eight feet in height, and more than three miles in length. This wall cost more than £10,000; and, as he was a devout follower of the Catholic Church, Waterton would only have the wall built as he paid for it. And so he set a certain sum apart every year for that purpose, and, immediately that sum was exhausted, he stopped the workmen until such time as he obtained another supply sufficient to pay them. Of course, the wall, being such a height, and built in sections, took a very long time to complete—something over ten years.

It is almost impossible to exhaust the large amount of matter provided by this man's career, for, apart from his enviable reputation as a naturalist, taxidermist, and traveller, Waterton was in his own personality a really remarkable man—eccentric in conduct and dress, but a most scrupulous and thoroughly conscientious individual, adhering to the traditions of the Church with a tenacity and determination that overcame all obstacles, and helped him to cheerfully undergo all manner of harsh privations for the cause he loved so much.

He rose at five o'clock every morning all the year round, and prepared his own breakfast, although he had several servants, including butler and footman. His morning meal consisted of the meanest possible fare, usually dry toast and very weak tea. For more than thirty years he refused to enter a bed, but slept on the hard, bare boards of a cold, dingy attic, with a solid block of hard wood for a pillow, and no cover save that afforded by an old and much-worn blanket. Fortunately his constitution and frame were so strong and powerful that he could well withstand the claims made upon them by his self-imposed negations, though they,

coupled with other habits, undoubtedly left their mark upon his system, and helped to shorten the closing hours of his long and eventful life.

At the age of eighty years this extraordinary character could climb the highest tree in Walton Park, leap a five-foot fence, put his foot on the top of his head while standing upright, and, when suffering from an attack of the 'blues,' could, and regularly did, puncture a vein in either arm or leg, and draw from sixteen to twenty ounces of blood, without experiencing any bad effects! In fact, he often said that this recourse to venesection saved his life on several occasions when travelling in South America. Even after attaining the above great age he would often 'tap the claret,' as he jocularly termed it, and after binding up the vein would proceed to fell a tree, repair a damaged fence, or perform some other equally arduous task, as if nothing out of the ordinary course had taken place!

In the year 1861 he paid a visit to the Zoological Gardens, London, for the purpose of making a minute examination of the palms and the teeth of the orang-outang. There happened to be a splendid specimen of the animal in the Gardens, and Waterton begged the curator to permit him to enter the cage of the animal, which was at that time in a particularly violent state as a result of being teased by a party of juvenile visitors. Consequently the keeper entreated Waterton not to venture within the iron bars; but the daring naturalist knew no fear, and, though warned that he would be worried, he ultimately obtained a grudging permission, and courageously went in to the animal.

When the two met they embraced and kissed each other like two brothers, and when the squire took the paw of the orang-outang into his hand, it offered no resistance, and permitted him to examine it most carefully; whilst it also allowed him to put his fingers into its mouth, and examine its teeth, without any sign of displeasure or resentment. However, when he had finished his observations, the animal paid him back in his own coin by carefully and diligently inspecting Waterton's hands, teeth, and head. Once

again, this time in Leeds, the squire proved his exceptional skill in handling savage and venomous creatures. It seems that an American showman appeared in the above city with eight-and-twenty live rattle-snakes enclosed in a large flat case, divided into four separate compartments. Each compartment was fitted with a plate-glass lid so that they could be opened and closed independently of each other. Now Waterton had obtained a certain kind of poison from some Macaushi Indians, when passing through their country in 1812, and being anxious to test its efficacy by comparison with the poison embodied in the bite of the rattle-snake, it was arranged for the Yankee to take his snakes to the home of one Doctor Hobson, one of the squire's dearest friends, and there thoroughly test the two poisons on live rabbits and pigeons.

On the appointed day a goodly number of interested persons, including forty medical men, gathered together, and, theoretically, everything was in favour of a very successful and deeply interesting meeting. But when the time for action came, none of the company dared to hold rabbit nor pigeon within the case for a snake to bite. Of course it was absolutely necessary that the snakes should bite some living creature so that the effect of the poison could be seen, and it looked as if the meeting was, after all, going to prove a miserable failure. But Squire Waterton came gallantly to the rescue. He said: 'Gentlemen, if you who surround the case will be quite silent, and absolutely motionless, I have no doubt about easily accomplishing all that is required.' Immediately there was breathless silence, and the squire, without a tremor, fearlessly placed his naked hand into the case among the reptiles, and firmly grasping one of the larger ones behind the head, drew it carefully away from the others, which were hissing and springing their rattles all round his hand:

This brave action was repeated several times ere the meeting concluded. And once, when he had returned a snake to its compartment, it sprang partly out again ere he could close the lid. When the company saw the serpent swinging about and hissing in this awkward position, they

one and all made a dash for the exit. Not so the squire. He calmly seized the serpent as before and quickly placed it in its proper quarters.

Whilst these incidents serve to illustrate his perfect and unaffected indifference to danger, no matter from whence it emanated, they fail to give any idea of the kindlier and more generous part of his character. As a matter of fact he was a staunch friend and advocate of all genuine and really needy people, no matter what their creed or nationality. He could also fully appreciate a good joke, even if it was at his own expense, and the following anecdote is but typical of many more which could be told in order to illustrate his good nature.

One day he went for a stroll in a costume so shabby that it would not have done justice to an ordinary farm labourer. Loitering on the road near to the village, he was accosted by a working-man, who, mistaking him for a needy member of his own class, said :—

‘ Good morning, my man, can you direct me to the hall belonging to Squire Waterton ? I want to try and buy some wood off him, but they tell me he is a queer old chap if he happens to be wrong-side out. Do you happen to know aught about him ? ’

‘ Yes,’ answered the squire; ‘ I know him well. Indeed, no one in the neighbourhood knows him so well, or is so much in his company as I am. He is as queer as Dick’s hat-band. You will have to get up early in the morning if you mean to get on the blind side of the old squire ! ’

‘ Well, this is a lucky hit,’ said the innocent countryman; ‘ come into the “ pub.” here and I’ll “ stand ” a pint of beer, and bread and cheese, too, if you’ll make it worth my trouble.’

Waterton smilingly declined the proffered treat, as he had already breakfasted, and, in parting, recommended the rustic to have nothing to do with ‘ the old chap,’ but to go to the woodman instead, who, said he, is a very decent fellow. A short time after they had parted, the squire accidentally met the countryman with his gardener, in the park. The two latter were returning towards the entrance, after the purchase of wood had been effected. The purchaser was so pleased with his bargain that he gave a wink at the

squire, and was about to thank him for recommending him to have nothing to do with 'the old chap,' when he suddenly discovered the personality of his morning adviser as he saw the gardener doff his hat and make a bow of obeisance to the squire. The poor fellow began to stammer an apology, but Waterton good-humouredly cut it short, and told the gardener to take the man to the hall and provide him with something good for the inner man.

No doubt the 'South American Wanderer's' long and eventful career would have been prolonged had it not been for a serious accident which befel him one day while he was walking through the grounds he so fondly loved. He had reached the extreme end of the park, more than half-a-mile from the hall, when his foot caught in an overhanging bramble, and he fell heavily with his side against a fallen tree. This caused a serious internal injury, and, although he managed to reach the hall, he was unable to climb up the stairs to his little room near the rafters. After much persuasion he reluctantly consented to lie on a couch—the first time he had lain on a couch, or bed, for more than thirty years—in the dining-room. This proved to be his death-bed, as he never rose again but passed away at half-past two on the morning of May 27th, 1865. His medical attendant, Doctor Moore, thus described the sad event :—

The window was open. The sky was beginning to grow grey, a few rooks had cawed, the swallows were twittering, the landrail was craking from the ox-close; and a favourite cock, which he used to call his morning gun, leaped out from some hollies and gave his accustomed crow. The ear of the master was deaf to its call. He had obeyed a sublimer summons and had woken up to the glories of the eternal world.

Before he met with his accident, it had been Waterton's desire to be buried in a corner of the park known as 'the Grotto,' beneath what he declared to be the first cross erected in England after the Reformation; and to have inscribed on his tombstone the words: 'Pray for the soul of Charles Waterton, the Wanderer, whose wearied bones are now buried beneath this cross.' However, when he realized that his accident was to have a fatal termination,

he asked that his remains might be interred on the spot where it took place. This last wish was obeyed, and his body was laid to rest between two gnarled and weather-beaten giants of the forest, which, then in the full beauty and strength of natural life, have watched and mourned over the grave of their dead lover so many years, that at last even their strength has been sapped away, they have become prematurely old and decrepit, and, one can almost imagine, have finally died from sheer sorrow at the sad death of their late owner.

And yet, even in death, they keep their lonely vigil, making the solitude of this awe-inspiring, sepulchral resting-place of the naturalist more desolate and unnatural to the sympathetic visitor.

CHAS. F. SHAW.

NOTES ON THE CANONICAL ASPECTS OF A PLENARY OR NATIONAL SYNOD

IN the June number of the I. E. RECORD,¹ I treated a few points in connection with the convocation of a Plenary Synod. The present paper will aim at giving a general notion of the procedure of the Synod. I do not intend to touch on purely liturgical questions; and for the rest, avoiding details, I shall confine my remarks to those things which appear to be of more or less general interest.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the practical work of the Plenary Synod begins when the members assemble at the time and place appointed by the Papal Delegate. A bill is not brought before Parliament until those who are interested in it have thought out the lines of the projected legislation and carefully drafted the terms in which it is to be proposed. Similarly, the Papal Delegate usually undertakes, with the assistance of his brother prelates, to prepare beforehand a draft of the Decrees to be considered by the Synod. Very frequently the Holy See takes a share in this preparatory work, by suggesting certain modifications of existing local law or custom, which the Fathers of the Synod are asked to consider or adopt. The draft Decrees thus prepared are, of course, in no way binding on the Synod; they may be amended or rejected; but they supply a basis for discussion and expedite the deliberations of the Council. In order that those who are to attend a Synod may come fully prepared to deal with the matters to be discussed, it is desirable that the draft should, as early as possible, be in the hands, not only of the Bishops, but of all those who are, in any capacity, to be called upon to pass judgment upon it.²

As I explained in my former paper, the procedure of the Plenary Synod is not very definitely prescribed. The order of the Provincial Synod is, indeed, always substantially observed at the Plenary Synod. But, in detail, there is

¹ I. E. RECORD, June, 1900, p. 536.

² *Praxis Synodalis*, p. 17.

room for, and there has been, much divergence of practice. In giving a rough outline of the various functions, therefore, I am to be understood to indicate an order which may be, and has been, followed, but is not, by any means, obligatory.

VARIOUS MEETINGS OF THE SYNOD

At a Plenary Synod there are :—

(1) Preliminary Meetings—*Congregationes Praeliminares*—to appoint the officials of the Synod and make other preparatory arrangements.

(2) Special Committee Meetings—*Deputationes*. The members of the Council are divided into a number of Committees. Each Committee usually consists of a number of Bishops and others, and to each is assigned the duty of discussing and reporting on a section of the matter to come before the Council.

(3) Private Meetings of the Bishops.

(4) General Meetings—*Congregationes Generales*—at which all the members assist. At these General Meetings the draft Decrees, with the reports of the Special Committees, are discussed, and the Decrees are passed, rejected, or amended by the vote of the majority of those entitled to a decisive vote.

(5) Three (or more) Solemn Sessions—*Sessiones Solemnnes*. At the First Session, the Synod is solemnly opened. At the other sessions, the Decrees which have been already passed at the General Meetings are solemnly and formally approved and published; at the last Session, the Decrees which have not been already published at previous sessions are read and approved, and then all the Decrees of the Synod are placed upon the altar and signed by the Delegate and the other Fathers of the Synod. The Sessions begin with a Solemn Pontifical Mass, after which all retire except the members of the Synod, and the doors of the church are then closed during the consideration of the Decrees. Priests and other ecclesiastics, however, who were not members of the Synod, have sometimes, with the consent of the Synod, been admitted, with the usual promise of

secrecy, to the Solemn Sessions and to the General Meetings.¹ Besides the solemn Masses at the Sessions, one or more other solemn Masses are usually sung on days on which no Session is held.

For the sake of greater clearness we may take these meetings in the chronological order. And first, therefore, we take the Preliminary Meetings.

Preliminary Special Meeting of Bishops.—A day or two before the solemn opening of the Synod, the Delegate usually finds it convenient to summon a Special Meeting of the Bishops to arrange all the remaining preliminaries for the various Synodal meetings. At this meeting the Bishops will²—

(1) Finally arrange the matter to be discussed at the Synod.

(2) Make an accurate list, if it has not already been drawn up, of all those who are bound or privileged to attend the Synod, determining at the same time to whom a decisive vote is to be granted.

(3) Nominate the various officials of the Synod.

(4) Divide the members of the Council into various Committees, each having an Archbishop or a Bishop as Chairman, and a Notary, who is to keep the minutes of his Committee, and hand in a faithful record of its deliberations to the Synod.

(5) Distribute the work of the Synod among the various Committees just mentioned, requiring each Committee to discuss that portion of the draft statutes referred to it, and to report thereon to the Synod.

(6) Prescribe the order and method of conducting the discussions, at the various General and Special Meetings of the Synod.

(7) Arrange especially for the first General Meeting of the Synod, and for the publication of the Decrees which are usually read at that meeting. At this Preliminary Meeting also the Bishops will appoint certain members of their

¹ *Collect. Lacensis*, iv., p. 723, d, 293, b.

² *Praxis Synodalis*, p. 17; *Acta et Decreta*, III. *Concil. Baltimoren*, XXV. *Acta et Decreta*, *Maynooth Synod*, p. 25.

body to draw up the letters which are usually addressed by the Synod to the Holy See and to the faithful of the nation. Doubtful points of precedence among the members of the Council and the *horarium* for the Synod will also be conveniently considered at this meeting.

A word of explanation may be given here in reference to some of the points just mentioned.

OFFICIALS OF THE SYNOD

A number of officials are required to assist the Fathers of the Council in conducting their deliberations in the manner prescribed for the Provincial and Plenary Synods. Besides the Chanters and the Masters of Ceremonies, who are engaged in the religious functions of the Synods, the following Synodal Officials are usually appointed at a Plenary Synod.

1. *The Promoter*.—The Promoter occupies at the Solemn Sessions and General Meetings of the Synod a position somewhat similar to that of the Master of Ceremonies at the religious functions. It is his duty to see that all those, and only those, who have that right, assist at the Synod and vote; that all matters to be discussed or considered are taken in due order and that nothing is done or omitted which would invalidate the acts of the Synod or violate the requirements of Canon Law. Two Promoters (both Bishops) are usually appointed and they are free to divide the duties between them, according to their convenience.

2. *The Secretary*.—The Secretary will accurately record the acts of the Synod. At the General Meetings and at the Sessions he calls the names, when necessary, of those who are to attend; reads the various Decrees at the General Meetings and Sessions; takes the votes of the Fathers. With the assistance of the Chancellor and Notary he prepares the Acts and Decrees of the Synod for transmission to Rome for revision; and finally he signs the Decrees. It is also the Secretary's duty to attend, if necessary, the private meetings of the Bishops, and to keep the minutes of the proceedings. Two or more Secretaries may be appointed, or Assistant-Secretaries may be appointed to aid

the principal Secretary. Bishops or priests may be appointed to the office of Secretary.

3. *The Chancellor or Archdeacon*.—This official is specially charged to assist the Delegate. He is to keep in custody, and to produce when necessary, all the official documents of the Synod. With the Secretary he will attend the private meetings of the Bishops and see that a faithful record of the proceedings is kept, and finally, he will sign the decrees of the Synod, after the Bishops. More than one of these officials is sometimes appointed.

4. *The Notary*.—The duties of the Notary are closely connected with those of the Secretary, so closely that at many Synods the same official performs the work attached to both offices. If a Notary be appointed it is his duty to take the names of absentees from the Sessions or General Meetings; to assist the Secretary in taking the votes of the Fathers; to receive from the Notaries to the Special Committees, the report of their proceedings; to assist in preparing the authentic record of the proceedings of the Synod, and to sign the Decrees.

5. *Synodal Judges (Judices Querularum et Excusationum)*.—Formerly, at Provincial Synods, these Judges were appointed to decide civil and criminal cases brought before the Synod. Now, however, their main duties are to examine the credentials of those who claim to attend the Synod as Procurators of Chapters or of absent Bishops, the sufficiency of excuses made by absentees, or by those who wish to leave before the conclusion of the Synod. In the last case they will take care to take back any copies of the draft statutes that may be in possession of the persons who obtain leave to withdraw. These Judges are charged with the duty of seeing that the promise of secrecy is kept, and of punishing offenders. Disputes regarding precedence, and other complaints or accusations that may arise during the progress of the Synod, are also referred to these Synodal Judges.

A few minor officials are sometimes appointed, but their duties are obvious, and need no special mention here.

Congregationes Privatae.—The distribution of the work of the Synod among a number of Special Committees is

made in order to expedite the work, and to secure the most careful and exhaustive discussion of the Decrees. Each Committee is presided over by a Bishop or an Archbishop, and a Notary is appointed to make an exact report of its proceedings. A number of Bishops and theologians are usually placed on each Committee, and it is to be observed that the distinction of decisive and advisory votes, to which reference was made in my former paper, does not apply to these Committees.

ORDER OF CONDUCTING THE DISCUSSIONS

It is competent for the Preliminary Meeting of the Bishops to define the method of conducting the discussions at the different meetings of the Synod. It may be useful to give here, however, the rules followed at the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore,¹ as they are found in the Acts of the Synod:—

1. A majority of those entitled to a decisive vote shall constitute a quorum. The Bishops, as is the custom, shall vote by rising in their places, except where a secret ballot is called for by a sufficient number of votes.

2. All questions shall be decided by a majority vote, except the following:—(a) The ayes and noes shall be taken on the demand of twelve; (b) A two-thirds vote shall be required to suspend the rules of order, or to introduce for discussion a matter referred to a Committee, and not reported on by them. All motions to suppress entirely a question, or limit debate, shall be considered as equivalent to motion for suspension of rules. (c) Anyone may call for a division on a question that admits of it.

3. Everyone entitled to vote shall vote on every question, unless specially excused.

4. The *Schema*² of the Council, together with the suggestions concerning it submitted by the Committees, shall constitute the order of the day. A motion 'to pass to the order of the day' shall take precedence of all other business, except a motion to adjourn or a question of privilege.

5. The Most Rev. President of the Council has the casting vote in case of a tie. Should he decline to use it, the question does not pass.

6. No motion is before the Council till it has been seconded, and stated by the President or Promoter. Before being stated it may be withdrawn or modified by the mover; but when once stated this can be done only by a regular vote.

¹ *Acta et Decreta, III, Concil. Plen. Balt.*, p. 36.

² *I.e.*, the Draft Decrees.

7. No question can be debated till it is regularly before the Council.

8. Anyone desiring to speak shall rise in his place, address the President, and on being recognised by him speak briefly and to the question then before the Council.

9. As a rule, no one shall speak twice on the same subject until all who desire to speak on it have spoken. The proposer of a motion is usually allowed to speak first after the question has been stated to the Council, and, when he desires it, he is also permitted to close the debate.

10. Should the Council limit the time each speaker may occupy in discussing any subject, the Promoter shall rap when the time has expired; but by unanimous consent the speaker may be allowed to continue.

11. When one is speaking, no one can interrupt him, unless, if recognized by the President, for a point of order, to ask a question, or for a matter of privilege.

12. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be in order, except 'to adjourn,' 'to lay on the table,' 'for previous question,' 'to postpone to a certain day,' 'to commit,' or 'to amend;' which several motions shall have precedence in the order in which they are here arranged. The motion for adjournment shall always be in order, when offered by one entitled to the floor (except in cases where it was the next preceding motion). The motion 'to adjourn,' 'to lay on the table,' or 'to refer to a standing committee,' shall be decided without debate.

13. No proposition, once negatived by the Council, can be renewed, unless change of words or circumstances make it practically a different proposition. But a vote can be reconsidered, if a majority so desire; in this case, the one who moves the reconsideration must have voted with the majority.

14. Objection to the consideration of a subject can only be made when the question is first introduced *before debate*.

15. All amendments, like all original propositions, must be in writing and in Latin, and must state clearly the change proposed, and how the passage should read as amended.

16. When a principal question and subsidiary questions are before the Council at the same time, they are to be voted on as follows:—First, a substitute, if any; then an amendment to an amendment; then the amendment; and, finally, the main question as it then stands.

17. Debate on any question may be closed by a call for 'the previous question,' which must be voted on without debate. Upon such call the President shall ask, 'Shall the main question be now put?' If the majority so decide, the question before the Council must then be voted on without further debate.

18. A matter laid on the table may be called up for consideration by a majority vote at any subsequent meeting.

19. Special Committees shall be appointed by the President, unless it be otherwise requested by him, or directed by the Council in any particular case. The mover of a question is usually appointed Chairman of the Special Committee to consider it.

20. All Special Committees shall return a written report in Latin, signed by the members offering it. Such report is to be adopted, recommitted, or otherwise disposed of, like any other question.

21. If anyone, in speaking, or otherwise, transgress the above rules, the Most Rev. President, or the Promoter, shall, or any member of the Council may, call to order; and the one so called to order shall sit down and not proceed without leave of the Council. If any doubt arise as to the violation of the rules, the question shall be finally decided by the President without debate.

Preliminary General Meeting.—So far I have spoken of the Preliminary Meeting of the Bishops. After this Special Meeting of the Bishops it is sometimes found convenient to hold a General Preliminary Meeting of all the members of the Synod.¹ At this General Meeting an opportunity would be given for formally announcing the decisions arrived at by the Bishops at their Special Meeting, the list of the officials, the distribution of matter among the different Committees, the order and procedure to be followed at the various General and Special Meetings, and in conducting the discussions. If the draft statutes or *Schema* of the Council have not been already put into the hands of all the members, they may be distributed at this meeting. In this case, of course, before distributing the Decrees, the Decree *De Secreto Servando (et Schemate Decretorum Restituendo)* will be read, and each member will, with the prescribed form, pledge himself to observe it. In connection with this promise of secrecy it will be enough to say, that an obligation to secrecy is imposed on the members of all Plenary and Provincial Synods; that the obligation is a grave one; that it extends to all matters discussed at the Synod, the discussions and the votes given, and that it continues to bind until the Decrees have been returned by the Holy See and promulgated. The reasons for imposing on members of a Synod an obligation of silence are sufficiently obvious. The members of the Council may have very just reasons for

¹ *Acta et Decreta, Concil. Plen. Balt., III., p. 40.*

unwillingness to publish their votes, and their part in the discussions at the Council. The divergence of opinion among the Fathers of the Council may expose them to misunderstanding and misrepresentation, and could not contribute to the more ready acceptance of the Decrees of the Synod. Moreover, the Decrees must, before promulgation, be revised by the Holy See; they may require amendment; it would, therefore, show a want of courtesy and respect for the Holy See if, pending a final decision, the necessarily delicate matters discussed at a Synod were to be made public property, and submitted, it may be, to unseemly discussion in the Press or elsewhere.

An example of the stringency with which this obligation of secrecy is enforced is found in the *Acta* of the first Provincial Synod of Westminster (1852), at which Cardinal Wiseman presided. The Bishop of Liverpool, being unable to attend in person, was represented by a Procurator. The Procurator was desirous of communicating with the Bishop during the progress of the Synod, and of having his views on the questions that might come up for discussion. He, therefore, asked whether the obligation of secrecy precluded a Procurator from communicating with the Bishop whom he represented. An answer in the affirmative was returned. The grounds of the reply are very fully given in the Acts of the Council:—

Patres attento quod ipse Episcopus mandatum generale dederit suo delegato et quod non possit hunc obligare ad suffragium deliberativum in sensum committentis dandum, sed in id tantum quod pro conscientia sua et arbitrio melius esse in Domino procurator ipse judicaverit et attento praesertim lege a S. C. de Prop. Fide praescripta, secreti servandi, et considerantes quod epistolae a procuratore transmissae in alienas manus incidere possint, responderunt, eundem procuratorem, eadem secreti lege indicta nomine Synodi posse, peracta Synodo, et non prius, episcopum viva voce docere quatenam decreta lata sint.¹

Order of Precedence at the Synod.—Without touching on intricate points of precedence, which may be left to the decision of the *Judices*, I may give the general order of precedence among those who would attend a Plenary Synod in Ireland.

(1) The Papal Delegate.

(2) The Archbishops in the order of (a) promotion, or (if

¹ *Coll. Lacensis III.*, p. 900.

date of promotion be the same) (b) of consecration, or (if dates of consecration as well as promotion be the same) of age.

(3) The Bishops, the order between them being determined as in the case of the Archbishops.

(4) Bishops-elect.

(5) Coadjutor and Assistant Bishops.

(6) Mitred Abbots.

(7) Procurators of absent Archbishops and Bishops. At some Synods these Procurators occupied the places of their principals, but this is unusual.¹ *Inter se*, these Procurators follow the order of precedence of their principals.

(8) Domestic Prelates.

(9) The Heads of Religious Orders and Congregations.

(10) Procurators of Chapters. *Inter se*, the Procurators of the Chapters follow in the order of precedence of their respective Bishops.

(11) The Theologians, who also follow the order of the respective Bishops by whom they have been nominated.²

The canonical order of precedence is followed at all processions and other religious functions as well as at the various meetings of the Synod. But, in order that the time of the Synod may not be taken up with disputes regarding precedence, and at the same time that no canonical rights may be prejudiced, a Decree *De Praejudicio non Afferendo* is read at the First Solemn Session of the Synod, or at the Preliminary Meeting. By this Decree it is provided that the right of precedence shall be in no way prejudiced, if for any reason one fail to secure or occupy his rightful place at the Synod.

SOLEMN SESSIONS

The First Solemn Session of the Synod.—The Synod is solemnly opened at what is called the First Session. All the members of the Synod attend the session. The order of the chief events is briefly as follows:—

(1) A procession to the church in which all the members of the Synod (with others) take part.

(2) Solemn Pontifical Mass.

¹ Bouix, *De Concil. Prov.*, chap. xxviii.

² *Acta et Decreta, Concil. Baltimoren.*, III., p. 44; *Acta et Decreta, Syn. Maynutionae*, p. 26.

(3) All, except members of the Synod, withdraw, and the doors of the church are closed and guarded by the Ostiarius.

(4) The Promoter demands that the Council be opened with the reading of the Decree *De Concilio Aperiendo*.

(5) The consent of the Fathers being given the Delegate declares the Synod open.

(6) Then, at the instance of the Promoter, the preliminary Decrees, *De Officialibus*, *De Praejudicio non Afferendo*, *De Methodo Vitae*, *De non Discedendo ante Synodum finitam*, *De Secreto Servando*, are read, or those of them which have not been already sufficiently promulgated at a Preliminary General Meeting of the members of the Synod.

(7) The Promoter then demands that all make a profession of faith. This having been made according to the prescribed form,

(8) The names of all the members are called, and the absentees are noted, their reasons for absence, and the instruments by which they nominate Procurators (if any) being referred to the *Judices Querularum*.

(9) The Promoter then requires the Notary to promise to make an exact record of the proceedings of the Session, and the time for the next Session being announced, the Session closes with the blessing of the Delegate.

After the First Session the real work of the assembled Fathers and other members begins. The various Committees (*Deputationes*) proceed to hold meetings from day to day to discuss the portion of matter assigned to them, and to draw up their reports thereon.

The Bishops also hold private meetings of their own body to consider such subjects as may require their attention. In due time a General Meeting of the Synod is held to take up the consideration of the *Schema* or draft statutes. As each section comes to be discussed at the General Meeting, the report of the Committee appointed to deal with that matter, is placed before the meeting. The question is then fully debated, and finally the votes of those who are entitled to a decisive vote are taken. Decrees passed by a majority are then ready to be taken up at a Solemn Session.

The Second Session.—At the Second Session there is a Solemn Pontifical Mass, after which the doors of the church

in which the members assembled are closed. The Promoter asks that the Decrees already approved at the General Meetings be read. These having been read, and the votes having been taken, the Session is brought to a close with the same formalities as the First Session.

The Committees afterwards resume their meetings to finish their reports on the subjects allotted to them; they report, as before, to General Meetings.

*The Last Session.*¹—When the doors of the church are closed, as at the previous sessions, after the Pontifical Mass, the Promoter demands that the remaining Decrees be read. The votes are taken as before. Afterwards, the Promoter asks that all the Decrees, passed at the various Solemn Sessions be signed. The Decrees are then placed on the altar. The Delegate signs in the first place, and then the Archbishops and Bishops (and others to whom the privilege may have been granted) in the order of precedence. Sometimes, the Decrees are also signed by the Notary, the Secretary, and the Chancellor, as witnesses to the authenticity of the Acts.² The Synod is then closed by the Decree, *De Synodo Concludenda*, and the *Te Deum* having been sung, the members disperse with the blessing of the Delegate.

The Decrees are then to be forwarded to Rome for revision. They have been, as we have seen, most carefully considered. They were originally drafted by the Papal Delegate or by others with his sanction, in preparation for the Synod. At the Synod, they were submitted to Special Committees; in the light of the report of these Committees they were discussed and passed at a General Meeting of the Synod; and finally they were ratified at a Solemn Session. But, yet, pending the approval of the Holy See, they are not binding, and must not be promulgated. The nature of this approval, and various questions regarding the authority of the Decrees of a Plenary Synod, must be reserved for some future number.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Sometimes one or more Solemn Sessions are held between the second and the last.

² *Acta et Decreta, Concil. Baltimoren, III.*, p. 55.

CORRESPONDENCE

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—From what some young professional men state, there has apparently been some neglect in watching over the religious duties of the Catholic students, during their terms in Dublin, for the higher studies at the universities. A medical doctor of three or four years standing told me lately, that, from the time he left his diocesan seminary until he took out his degrees at the Catholic University Medical College, no one, either lay or cleric, ever spoke about or advised him to go to confession, or to fulfil his Easter duties, or even to join a sodality. Similar has been the experience of young men studying for the other professions.

They seem to order things better than this, in recent years, at Oxford and Cambridge, where a Jesuit father gives regularly to the young Catholic undergraduates religious conferences. Would you state—or ask some one connected with University College to state—what steps a young man going up to Dublin to study for one of the higher professions should adopt, to safeguard the religious practice he was trained to in his diocesan seminary?

CANONICUS.

We are not aware that any special arrangement has been deemed necessary in the case referred to by our correspondent. For Catholics attending the Protestant universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the bishops of England, acting in accordance with directions from the Holy See, have raised a special fund, by annual subscriptions from the Catholics of the country, to enable provision to be made for the special needs of Catholic students in those non-Catholic centres of education.

The case of Catholic students attending a Catholic college in Dublin is essentially different. We should say that the parish priest of the parish in which the young man

resides, or any priest, secular or regular, to whom he may go to confession, would be the person most competent to give him any special advice he may require as to the performance of his religious duties in a Catholic city where churches are numerous and opportunities for the performance of every religious duty abound.

DOCUMENTS

INDULGENCES GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF SOUTH AMERICA

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
POSTULATUM PATRUM CONCILII PLENARIJ AMERICAÆ LATINÆ
SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO LEONI PAPÆ XIII EXHIBITUM
PER SACRORUM RITUUM CONGREGATIONEM PRO OBTINENDA
INDULGENTIA, ETC.

BEATISSIME PATER,

‘ Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Americae Latinae in Concilio Plenario congregati instantissime postulant: Ut Sanctitas Vestra indulgentiam septem annorum concedere dignetur fidelibus Americae Latinae vel in America Latina commorantibus, qui sequentem orationem in honorem B. M. V. Immaculatae cum invocatione Sanctorum et Beatorum eiusdem Americae Latinae, a S. Rituum Congregatione adprobendam, recitaverint.’

GRATIARUM ACTIO ET PETITIO PRO FIDELIBUS ET POPULIS
AMERICAÆ LATINÆ

Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, gloria Spiritui Sancto, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Te Deum Patrem Ingenitum, Te Filium Unigenitum, Te Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum, sanctam et individuum Trinitatem, toto corde confitemur, laudamus atque benedicimus: Tibi gloria in saecula: Tibi gratias in aeternum: confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis: salva nos et populos nostros.

Sit laus divino Cordi, per quod nobis parta salus: Ipsi gloria et honor in saecula.

Cor Iesu sacratissimum, o Cor, voluptas coelitum, Cor, fida spes mortalium, Tui sumus, Tui esse volumus, salva nos et populos nostros: reconde nos in dulcissimo habitaculo caritatis tuae. Suavis enim es, Domine, et in aeternum misericordia tua.

Parce igitur, o Cor Iesu suavissimum, parce civitatibus nostris, quae in fide Ecclesiae tuae enutritae, verae fidei thesaurum, Te auctore, mirabiliter servarunt et contra omnis generis insidias custodierunt.

Suscipe ergo, o Cor Iesu sacratissimum, gratiarum actiones cleri et populi civitatum Americae Latinae, quae in abundantia beneficiorum tuorum salvae factae sunt.

O Beatissima Virgo Maria, ab originali labe praeservata, peramantissima Americae nostrae Latinae Patrona potentissima, si Tibi etiam laus perennis, veneratio sempiterna, gratiarum actio in Christo Iesu.

O immaculata Mater nostra, o benignissima Mater nostra, o dulcissima et augustissima Regina nostra, misericordias tuas grato animo decantamus Sub tuum praesidium confugimus. O Domina, quae rapis corda hominum dulcore, Tu rapuisti cor nostrum. Tu rapuisti corda populorum nostrorum, Tu primitias fidei nostrae benignissima praesentia tua, suavissima protectione tua in Guadalupano ¹ aliisque pietatis tuae monumentis per universas regiones nostras obfirmasti, amplificasti et confirmasti. O Domina nostra, o Mater nostra, quae serpentis caput virgineo pede contrivisti, libera populos nostros a venenatis impiorum et haereticorum iaculis; Tuque, quae Nutrix fuisti atque Educatrix populorum nostrorum in fide dilectissimi Filii tui, Tutrix etiam, Vindex et Propugnaculum esto. Tui sumus, Tui esse volumus, monstra Te esse matrem et patronam nostram, custodi nos, salva nos potentissimis precibus tuis.

Joseph sanctissime, Deiparae Sponse castissime, qui Americae Latinae Protector semper extitisti dilectissimus, Tibi laus et veneratio in Christo Iesu.

Virginum Custos, quem laeta celebrant agmina coelitum, quem cuncti resonant christiadum chori, intercede pro nobis, suscipe corda nostra, dulcissimo Cordi Sponsae tuae Immaculatae perpetua donatione dicanda, donanda, tradenda.

Vos etiam invocamus, o Sancti et Beati, qui regiones nostras sanctissimis operationibus illustrastis. Memento nostri, tu praesertim Thuribi beatissime, Antistitum et Synodaliū Americae Latinae exemplar et ornamentum splendidissimum. Respice super nos, o Protomartyr noster Sancte Philippe a Iesu, qui in cruce exaltatus et glorificatus praeconum Crucis Christi magister et excitator factus es.

Intercedite pro nobis, o Quadraginta Martyres invictissimi, qui duce B. Ignatio de Acevedo Brasilianam gentem proprio sanguine Deo dicastis et consecrastis.

¹ Hic addi potest nomen sanctuarii mariani in natione vel dioecesi celebrioris.

Orate pro nobis, inclyti Martyres Christi, Beati Bartholomaeae Gutierrez, Bartholomaeae Laurel, Petre Zuñiga et Ludovice Florez, qui coronam pretiosissimam sanctitatis Ecclesiarum Americae Latinae purpuratis margaritis illustrastis.

Patrocinium vestrum similiter invocamus, o Sancti Franciscæ Solane, Petre Claver et Ludovice Beltran, Americae nostrae Apostoli et Protectores, necnon Beati Sebastiane de Aparicio, Martine de Porres et Ioannes Massias, qui apostolicis virtutibus populum nostrum mirabiliter ad Christum traxistis.

Respicite super nos et orate pro nobis, vos etiam Virgines Christi, Sancta Rosa Limana, Americae nostrae Patrona, et Beata Maria Anna a Iesu, lilia candidissima et fulgentissima, quae mirabili virtutum fragrantia totam Americam Latinam delectastis et sanctificastis.

O cor Iesu sacratissimum, salvas fac Respublicas nostras, earumque Supremos Magistratus, gentesque nostras universas. Fac etiam, Domine, ut sint unum in unitate fidei, in amore propriae patriae, in zelo decoris et incolumitatis communis stirpis, totius scilicet Americae nostrae Latinae. O Maria Immaculata, Patrona et Tutamen nostrum, protege nos, salva nos, coniunge gentes nostras in amore propriae incolumitatis, unitatis et communis integritatis, in solemni professione catholicae fidei. Amen.

Cum vero eadem Sacra Rituum Congregatio, die 23 Martii, 1900, rescripserit: 'Quoad Sanctos nihil obstat, quoad Beatos vero attentis peculiaribus rei adiunctis de speciali gratia concedi potest;' Sanctitas Sua benigne annuit per sequens Breve:

LEO PP. XIII

'Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.' Inter subsidia religionis, quae Venerabiles Fratres Americae Latinae Antistites in plenario eorum consilio in hac alma Urbe Nostra superiore anno habito peropportune excogitarunt ut Catholica Fides in ea nobilissima regione magis magisque augeretur in dies, principem sane obtinent, locum preces ad Deum, ad Deiparam Immaculatam et ad beatos Coelites, eos praesertim, qui sanctitate sua Americam illustrarunt effundendae, quibus divinum auxilium pro iis fidelibus populisque ardentem imploratur. Piae huiusmodi preces a Sacra Nostra Congregatione ritibus tuendis approbatae, et quarum exemplar in Tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservatur, titulum habent 'Gratiarum actio et petitio pro fidelibus et populis Americae Latinae,' verbis incipiunt 'Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, gloria Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum—Amen.' Ac

desinunt 'in solemnī professione catholicae fidei—Amen.' Quo igitur earumdem precum recitatio longe lateque evulgetur, atque in uberius animarum bonum cedat, Venerabilium praedictorum Fratrum votis obsecundantes, preces ipsas coelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris libenti quidem animo ditamus. Quare de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus ac singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus Americae Latinae vel in America Latina commorantibus, qui corde saltem contrito easdem, quas supra memoravimus, preces devote recitaverint, quo die id egerint, septem annos de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus, quas poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus Christifidelium, quae Deo in caritate coniunctae ab hac luce migrarunt, per modum suffragii applicarii posse indulgemus. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris; servato vero tenore nuperrimae Constitutionis Nostrae de suspensione indulgentiarum hoc anno Iubilaei. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die III Aprilis MDCCC, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo tertio.

Pro Dño Card. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

INDULGENCES GRANTED FOR PRAYERS FOR THE CONVERSION OF JEWS AND TURKS

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

I.

CONCEDITUR INDULG. 100 DIERUM SEMEL IN DIE RECITANTIBUS
CERTAM PRECEM PRO CONVERSIONE HEBRAEORUM ET TURCARUM

LEO PP. XIII

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quum, sicuti Nobis relatum est, a quodam Sacerdote Congregationis Clericorum Discalceatorum SS. Crucis et Passionis Iesu Christi pia oratio Sacratissimis Iesu et Mariae Cordibus pro conversione Hebraeorum et Turcarum scripta sit, et admotae cum sint preces Nobis ut eandem orationem cuius exemplar in tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservari iussimus et cuius prima vocabula 'O amantissimo ed amabilissimo Cuore di Gesu' postrema vero sunt 'ne seculi de seculi' indulgentiis ditare velimus: Nos, ut populus christianus

salutem proximorum suorum a Deo exoret, omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus, qui corde saltem contriti supradictam precem quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, recitaverint, quolibet die centum tantum dies de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus fidelium in purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris, servato tamen tenore nuperrimae Constitutionis Nostrae de suspensione Indulgentiarum proximo anno Iubilaei. Praecipimus autem ut praesentes nullae sint, nisi earum exemplar exhibeatur Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae: atque praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die 18 Decembris 1899, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo secundo.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Pro Dno Card. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Subst.*

Praesens exemplar exhibitum fuit S. Congni Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 11 Ianuarii 1900.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

PREGHIERA

AI SACRI CUORI DI GESU E DI MARIA, PER LA CONVERSIONE DEGLI
EBREI E DE' TURCHI

O amantissimo e amabilissimo Cuore di Gesù, prostrati innanzi a Voi, ardentemente vi supplichiamo di spandere nella Chiesa e nel mondo quei fiumi di acqua viva che da Voi scaturiscono come da fonte inesausta per salire alla vita eterna. O Gesù, Figlio di David e Figlio di Dio vivo, abbiate compassione di noi figli del vostro Cuore trafitto! Deh! non ci togliete, come pure meriteremmo per le nostre colpe e ingratitudini, il dono della Vostra Santissimi Fede; non vi nascondete ai nostri occhi Voi, che siete la vera nostra luce e l'unica nostra speranza, ma rimanete con noi, o

Signore, mentre più si addensano le tenebre degli errori, e riempiteci di quel fuoco di carità che siete venuto a portar sulla terra e volete che si accenda nel cuore di tutti gli uomini.

O Gesù, sacrificato per noi sull'altare della Croce, tirateci a Voi, e con noi tirate pure gli Ebrei ed i Turchi, per i quali ancora versaste già il vostro sangue sino all'ultima stilla.

Deh! questo sangue invocato un dì in maledizione dagli uni, scenda in benedizione sopra il loro capo, e li salvi! Questo sangue disprezzato e profanato dagli altri, mandi per essi un grido di misericordia e li purifichi! Sovvenite, o Signore, ve ne scongiuriamo, sovvenite ai poveri figli d'Isacco de l'Ismaele, per i quali ancora voleste sostenere la vostra dolorosissima Passione e Morte. Vi parlino in loro favore quelle piaghe santissime che nelle Mani, nei Piedi, e nel Costato tenete ancora vive ed aperte come prezzo del comune riscatto. Alle loro voci potenti si uniscano pur quelle che escono dal Cuore della Vostra dolcissima Madre. Questo Cuore trafitto dalla spada del dolore, immerso in un mare di pene, martirizzato col Vostro appiè della Croce, noi Vi offriamo, o Gesù, per la salvezza di tanti infelici.

O dolce Cuore di Maria, dite a Gesù quel che non sappiamo nè possiamo dir noi, ed Esso vi esaudirà. Che se per vincere le resistenze di quelli per cui vi preghiamo è necessario un miracolo, questo, o Vergine Immacolata, noi vi chiediamo per l'amore immenso che Voi portate a Gesù. Ah! sì, degnatevi di apparire agli Ebrei ed ai Turchi come già appariste a Ratisbonne, e ad un cenno della vostra destra essi subito come lui saran convertiti.

Oh! venga, venga presto un tal giorno, in cui la Triade sacrosanta regni per Voi in tutti i cuori, e tutti conoscano, amino e adorino in ispirito e verità il Frutto benedetto del vostro seno, Gesù, che col Padre e con lo Spirito Santo vive e regna nei secoli de' secoli. Così sia.

INDULGENCED EJACULATIONS

CONCEDITUR INDULG. RECITANTIBUS QUAMDAM IACULATORIAM

LEO PP. XIII

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Supplicatum est Nobis a dilecto filio Ioanne Baptista a Chemery Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Capulatorum Provinciae

Parisiensis concionatore, ut fidelibus mane et sero nonnullas iaculatorias, preces a pluribus Sanctis et potissimum a Sancto Alphonso de Liguorio commendatas rite recitantibus, de Ecclesiae thesauro partiales quasdam indulgentias largiri de benignitate Nostra velimus. Nos autem votis hisce annuentes auctoritate Nostra Apostolica per praesentes omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus ubique terrarum degentibus, qui corde saltem contrito, quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, hanc iaculatoriam precem dixerint: 'Mater mea, libera me hodie a peccato mortali,' terque Salutationem Angelicam mane et vespere recitent, quo die id agant, de poenaliū numero ducentos dies iis in forma Ecclesiae consueta expungimus, et largimur iisdem fidelibus liceat, si malint, partiali hac indulgentia labes poenasque vitae functorum expiare. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris, servato tamen tenore Constitutionis Nostrae de suspensione indulgentiarum anno Iubilaei. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar transmittatur ad Secretariam S. Congnis Indulgentiis SS. Reliquis praepositae, quod nisi fieret nullas praesentes esse decernimus. Demum volumus ut harum litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo praemunitis personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 8 Februarii MCM, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo secundo.

L. ✠ S.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Subst.*

Praesentes Litterae Aplicae exhibitae fuerunt huic S. Congni Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 10 Februarii 1900.

Loc. ✠ Sig.

Pro R. P. D. Ant. Archiep. ANTINOEN, *Secrio.*

JOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Subst.*

DOUBTS REGARDING THE VALIDITY OF ORDINATION

R. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

I.

ITERETUR SUB CONDITIOE ORDINATIO PRESBYTERALIS IN QUA
CALIX TRADITUS FUERAT ABSQUE VINO

BEATISSIME PATER,

Sacerdos N. N., ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humiliter exponit quod, cum die 22 Decembris 1894 ordinatus fuerit simul cum alio, ab Episcopo N., iam vita functo, in ipsa ordinatione defuisse hostiam super patenam vidit absque ullo dubio. Responsum vero datum a Supremo Sacrae Inquisitionis Tribunali die 11 Ianuarii 1899,¹ ob defectum vini in calice, lectum in *Ephemeride Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* mense Maio, intulit ei dubium de validitate suae ordinationis. Quapropter orator humiliter quaerit quid agendum in praxi :

I. Quoad ordinationem ;

II. Quoad Missas celebratas et beneficium coadiutorale cum animarum cura ab ipso exercitum ;

III. Quoad matrimonia coram ipso celebrata.

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV, die 17 Ianuarii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali coram Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis dictis precibus, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Ordinationem esse iterandam ex integro sub conditione et secreto quocumque die et a quocumque catholico Episcopo sub conditione, facto verbo cum SSmo. ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis a Sacerdotibus celebratis ut in casu.’

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 eiusdem mensis Ianuarii, in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit ac gratiam benigne concessit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vii., p. 145.

II.

DUBIUM CIRCA S. ORDINATIONEM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Titius Sacerdos, durante S. Ordinatione presbyterali antequam Episcopus inciperet formulam praescriptam pro tactu instrumentorum, quum animadvertisset se non tangere hostiam, conatus est illam attingere; sed ob talem conatum, seiunxit manum a calice, dum integra formula proferebatur, nec tamen hostiam attingere potuit. Insuper, propter supra expositum manus conatum, *seiunxit etiam patenam a calice*, tali modo quod *prohabilitate* coactus fuit etiam Episcopus ordinans ad sublevandam eandem patenam, ita ut non amplius haberetur unicum compositum morale inter patenam et calicem, qui totaliter fuerant separati.

Itaque, ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humiliter quaerit quid sit agendum.

(Versio Directionis.)

Ex quo responso patet tactum mediatum esse validum, validamque coniunctionem moralem inter materiam et formam.

Feria IV, die 17 Ianuarii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Aquiescat.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 eiusdem mensis Ianuarii, in solita audientia a SSmi. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adessore S. Officii habita SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

THE VALIDITY OF MATRIMONY IN THE CASE OF A
CONVERTED JEW WHO WAS ASKED NO QUESTIONS
REGARDING HIS FIRST WIFE

DE MATRIMONIO CONTRACTO AB INFIDELI CONVERSO, OMISSA
INTERPELLATIONE QUOAD PRIOREM UXOREM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Curatus quidam Dioecesis N., ad S. V. pedes provolutus, sequentem casum exponit :

Titius, iudaeus, in infidelitate matrimonium, contraxit cum muliere pariter infideli, a qua, dato libello repudii, in forma legali divortii sententia liberatus est. Quo facto, cum catholica Berta amores fovit, cum qua, postquam eadem ad hoc se coram magistratu civili *absque confessione* declaravit, civile consortium iniit anno 1887, quale matrimonium iuxta leges civiles validum reputatur.

Conscientiae morsibus ob defectionem suam a fide pressa, Berta in id intendit ut pseudo-virum suum ad fidem amplectendam permoveret, cum ex occasione cuncta facile componi posse Curatus ipsi exposuisset. Revera anno 1892 Titius baptizatus est, eodemque die matrimonium inter ipsum Titium et Bertam, quae item Ecclesiae reconciliata est, in facie Ecclesiae celebrabatur, coram eodem Curato, qui tunc prioris matrimonii Titii in infidelitate contracti vinculum ex oblivione plane neglexit. Nunc autem ex simili casu, in quo ipsi interpellatio coniugis infidelis demandata fuerit, dictus Curatus erroris sui memor factus, defectum reparare studuit. Inquisitione enim facta, rescivit, priorem coniugem iudaeam adhuc vivere in loco N. ; ast nec fidem amplecti velle, nec cuicumque interpellationi responsum dare, cum matrimonium suum ex lege civili legitime solutum et alterum a Titio cum Berta coram magistratu civili initum pro valido reputet.

Proinde dictus Curatus humillime petit, ut ex Apostolicae Sedis venia ab interpellatione coniugis infidelis in casu dispensetur, matrimoniumque inter Titium et Bertam, ut supra in facie Ecclesiae post Baptismum viri initum, in radice sanetur.

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV, die 17 Ianuarii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab EE. ac RR. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis antedictis precibus, praehabitoque

RR. DD. Consultorum voto, omnibus rite accurateque perpensis, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘ Dummodo constet ex processu saltem summario, mulierem nullum responsum dare voluisse, matrimonium contrahi posse, et ad mentem. Mens est, in hoc casu non dari locum dispensationi in radice : nam adhuc viget prius matrimonium in infidelitate contractum ; quod non dissolvitur, nisi quando post conversionem et interpellationem inutiliter factam, novum ac validum contractum fuerit matrimonium.¹

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 eiusdem mensis Ianuarii, in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

¹ Ex hac responsione, firmanur sequentia principia relate ad Privilegium Paulinum, Scilicet : 1. Ut adhiberi possit, necessario fieri debet interpellatio quoad partem quae in infidelitate remanet. 2. Quoties haec interpellatio impossibilis est aut inutilis, requiritur dispensatio S. Sedis. 3. Haec autem dispensatio non conceditur nisi quando impossibilitas aut inutilitas interpellationis demonstratur ex processu saltem summario. 4. Matrimonium inter infideles contractum, non solvitur vigore huius privilegii, nisi quando pars conversa novum de facto contraxit matrimonium. 5. Quando igitur non obtenta fuit dispensatio super interpellatione, nequit concedi sanatio in radice, sed matrimonium debet iterum celebrari.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ECCLESIASTICAL DICTIONARY. Containing in concise form information on Ecclesiastical, Biblical, Archæological and Historical subjects. By Rev. John Thein, Priest of the Diocese of Cleveland. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1900. Price 20s. nett.

It is an undoubted fact that in English Catholic literature a dictionary of ecclesiastical information is one of the needs most sorely felt, not only by missionary priests but by all sorts of teachers and professors. Such a work, in order to be serviceable, must be fairly complete and exhaustive, and when it does not give the minutest details it should at least give references to the works in which such details are to be found. It goes without saying that Weltzer and Welte have done the best work that has yet been done anywhere in this department, and have conferred a boon on the German clergy that cannot be over-estimated. Under the superintendence of the venerated Dr. Kaulen of Bonn, the whole work has been recently revised by a staff of the most learned theologians and ecclesiastical writers in Germany, and the new edition published by Herder of Freiburg is a regular storehouse of sure and accurate knowledge. The first edition was translated into French by the Abbé Goschler and was rapidly bought up by every library of importance in France. The French edition has also found its way into a good many Irish libraries and for the sake of the references alone is well worthy of a place in any library. The nearest approach that we have had so far to anything of the kind in English is the *Catholic Dictionary*; but although this work has been revised and re-edited, for various reasons it has never inspired confidence. It does not profess to have dealt with more than one in a hundred of the subjects that are of interest to the clergy, and of the subjects with which it deals some are treated much more fully than others.

Father Thein's 'Dictionary' is, in almost every respect, an improvement on the *Catholic Dictionary*, and until a number of learned Catholic priests in English-speaking countries band themselves together under a competent editor for the production of a full and satisfactory Church Lexicon, it will do good service.

For our own part we have no hesitation in recommending it. For its size and intended purpose it contains a vast amount of information, and although the information is often taken at second and even third hand, there is nothing of any importance to be found fault with on that account.

J. F. H.

WHAT IS LIBERALISM? Englished and Adapted from the Spanish of Dr. Don Felix Sarda y Salvany. By Condé B. Pallen, Ph.D., LL.D. Herder, Freiburg in Breisgau; St. Louis, Mo., &c. 1899.

DR. SARDA Y SALVANY is a Spanish priest of the diocese of Barcelona, and editor of a journal entitled *La Revista Popolar*. In 1886 he published a little work entitled *El Liberalismo es Pecado*. Under the auspices of a Spanish bishop of a liberal turn a reply was written by another Spanish priest, D. de Pazos, to the work of Dr. Sarda. It was entitled *El Proceso del Integrismo*. Both books were referred to the Index, with the result that Dr. Sarda's work was highly praised, and the work of his opponent severely condemned. It is the volume commended by the Sacred Congregation that Dr. Pallen has 'englished,' and adapted for use in America, and other English-speaking countries. Notwithstanding the strictures of several English Catholic newspapers and reviews, we cordially welcome Dr. Pallen's volume, and sincerely hope that it will have a wide circulation. Its publication in America at the present time is a healthy sign, and a welcome indication that Catholic publicists of the school of Brownson are not going to let the liberalizing theorists have everything their own way. It is to be regretted, no doubt, that care was not taken to render the Spanish into somewhat more idiomatic English; but the main object of Dr. Pallen is accomplished, and it is, in our opinion, a highly laudable object which deserves every encouragement, and which is a link in the chain of the very best traditions of the Catholic Church in America.

J. F. H.

PANCHO AND PANCHITA. By Mary E. Mannix; **FRED'S LITTLE DAUGHTER.** By Sarah T. Smith, &c. New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Bros. 1s. 9d. each.

WE can recommend these little volumes to all who wish to procure for the young attractive and edifying stories. They are

not goody-goody—that strange type of history which the philosophic juvenile of the nineteenth century so detests. The edification is found in the plain narration of lives in which religion has an influence elevating and truly joyful; the attraction in the winning words and ways of the youthful heroes and heroines, and the fidelity and tenderness of those who watch over them as they play their little part in the tragedy or comedy of the tale.

P. S.

SERMONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY IN THE YEAR. By Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A.M. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet and Co. 7s.

THIS volume, containing the author's first venture into print, deserves kind treatment at a critic's hand. It is regrettable, however, that the proportion of doctrinal exposition in the discourses is not much greater. Sound advice, and plenty of it, is given, but we think that, considering present-day circumstances, the effect would be more lasting, and even immediately deeper, if the dogmatic foundations of such true Christian counsel were sufficiently explained.

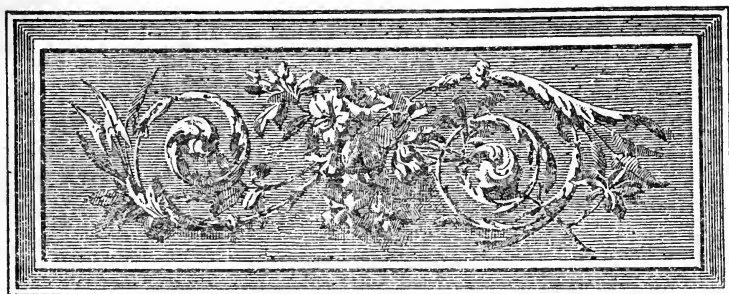
P. S.

FIRST BENEDICTION SERVICE. By R. W. Oberhoffer. Copyright by R. W. Oberhoffer, 20, Grosvenor-terrace, York.

THIS Benediction service, the first of an intended series, is evidently an attempt to provide choirs accustomed to the prevailing style of Benediction music with something which would be on a fairly high level, both as regards artistic excellence and liturgical decency, without being liable to be regarded as too severe. The three pieces are for four mixed voices. There is no organ accompaniment indicated, but the organ is probably meant to double the voice parts. In the *O Salutaris* a pretty melody is imitated by various voices in similar and in contrary motion, while the declamation of the words proceeds, and contrapuntal devices only to a very slight extent interfere, with the simultaneous pronunciation of the syllables. The first note of the bass part in the fourth bar should, of course, be *f* \sharp , not *d*. The Litany is much in the usual style, and it will require a careful rendering if the common jiggish effect is to be avoided. In the *Tantum Ergo* the

soprano melody is first imitated by the alto, and then repeated, in contrary motion, by the soprano. Rhythmically there is an alternation of $\frac{6}{2}$ and $\frac{4}{2}$ measures, carried out with good effect. It appears to have escaped the author himself that the last bar is in ternary time again, not in binary time, as noted. There is no danger of wrong accentuation, however, as it would take rather a violent effort to bring out the $\frac{4}{2}$ time. We have no doubt that a collection of Benediction services like the present one would do a great deal of good by gradually educating choirs and congregations.

H B.



ATTRITION

YEARS ago, whilst attending one of the diocesan colleges, it was my good fortune to be present at a lecture delivered by a venerable and learned priest on the 'Catholic doctrine of Sorrow for Sin.' With a clearness and simplicity to which none but the most skilful teacher could attain, he briefly passed in review the different motives by which contrition may be excited, till at last he mentioned 'the pains of hell.' As he did so a troubled look came into his face; he hesitated, muttered unintelligibly for a few moments, and then, as if summoning up courage, he threw his eyes round the assembled group of students, and slowly gave utterance to the following sentence, which, do what I would, I could never banish from my memory since:—

My children [said he] it will never suffice to be sorry for your sins merely on account of the fire of hell; there is too much of self about that. God it is to whom your sins have been an insult, and to God you must return if you wish to make an ample apology.

The apparent mental struggle that preceded, the solemn and measured tones in which he spoke, combined with the nervous earnestness of his whole manner, were sufficient to indicate to even the most careless listener that something had been said worthy of serious attention.

Years have passed since then, and more than once has the opinion of this saintly ecclesiastic flashed across my mind when I saw and heard propounded other and apparently contradictory propositions ; but the authority of their defenders, together with the 'common opinion of theologians,' as adduced by them in favour of their doctrines, were enough to allay, if not to banish completely, any doubts that arose. Never before has an opportunity presented itself for a full investigation of the whole question of attrition ; and this examination has, at least, served to convince me that difficulties must be met, whichever view is adopted, and that one can hardly afford to be very dogmatic once one has crossed the limits defined by the infallible authority of the Church.

Before introducing the difficult question of attrition, to prevent misunderstanding, it is necessary to briefly set forth the opinions commonly held on the nature of sin itself, because a clear conception of the malice of the offence cannot fail to assist us in determining the form of apology which should be deemed necessary and sufficient. Sin is, indeed, a many-sided evil. Under whichever aspect you regard it, you perceive new and hitherto unsuspected iniquity. It is a deordination against rational nature, tending to lower it and deprave it ; it is a disturbance of right order and public good ; an act of ungrateful rebellion against the kindest of masters ; an infringement of the solemn compact made by God in the New Dispensation as in the Old ; a real spiritual suicide. But the question to be determined here is : Wherein consists its essential and ultimate malice ? To this question the fathers and theologians of the Church are almost unanimous in replying that it consists in the fact that the sinner turns away from the infinite good and source of all true happiness for the sake of a creature, which is, at best, only a faint imitation of the perfection of its Creator. Such an act expresses the most supreme contempt for God ; it depreciates His worth as far as man can depreciate it ; it is like putting Him into the scales with His own poor creatures, and declaring that they are more worthy of our affections. A friend who has

manfully stood by us in our darkest hours feels slighted if we only seem to pay less attention to him than to some casual acquaintance. Imagine how great would be his indignation were we to publicly disregard him for the sake of something which he hated, and against which he had frequently warned us. It is thus the sinner acts with God. He knows that He is the infinite good, to whom nothing could be so displeasing as sin, and yet, 'boiling over in his desires,' he freely chooses to cling to the creature, to the abandonment of the Creator. This is the view of the essence of sin—if we could well speak of the essence of a negation—put forward by St. Thomas in his works, both directly and in response to objections. It is upon it that most of our Catholic theologians base their strongest argument for the eternity of the pains of hell; and even St. Augustine, who is sometimes quoted for a different opinion, could not more succinctly express his adhesion to it than when in his work, *De Caritate*, he says: 'Sin consists in neglecting the eternal to follow the temporal, in enjoying as our end what was given to be used as the means.'

But by such desertion all is not lost. God wills not the death of the sinner, but that he should be converted from his evils ways and live. 'Turn to Me,' He says, 'with your whole hearts and I will pardon your offences.' 'If the wicked do penance for the crimes which he has committed and keep My commandments, living he shall live and shall not die; I will not remember the iniquities which he has wrought.' After the fall must come the repentance if the sinner would win forgiveness; it is now our duty to examine closely the nature of this repentance.

Contrition is defined by the fathers of Trent to be 'a sorrow and detestation of past sin with a firm purpose of never again offending God.' It is not a mere resolve to do better things in the future, as the Reformers were wont to maintain, though, of course, such a resolve must follow upon every act of real contrition; it is an effect, but not the essential constituent. Sorrow for sin—as well as for every other misfortune—must be an act of the will, and since

every exercise of the will is either love or hatred, it evidently follows that contrition is nothing more than a hatred for sin, an aversion from it as from an evil that is pressing heavily upon us, an evil that is our own, an evil which we could and should have avoided. When men hate anything, the will, as it were, shrinks from the loathed object; and yet, this act of aversion is in reality a laying hold of, and clinging to the opposite good. Strange as it may seem, every act of hatred is also an act of love, and the more intense the love, the more intense must be the hatred. No doubt, as a rule, both acts are not formally present, but, nevertheless, they are always there; nay more, it is absolutely impossible to elicit an act of hatred without presupposing an attachment to the opposite good. It would be as though a man were to attempt to cross the Atlantic for America without at the same time abandoning the Irish coast. If we doubt this statement let us turn our thoughts for a few moments upon our own soul, and endeavour to analyse the motives which prompt our acts of hatred, and we shall find they spring from the very intensity of love. Does not, for example, our aversion from bodily or mental pain arise from the love of self, so natural to man; our sorrow for the misfortunes of a friend from a sincere attachment to that friend; our dislike for injustice, intemperance, and the other vices from our appreciation of, and zeal for, the opposite virtues? It is so everywhere we turn; hatred supposes love of the opposite good, and cannot be there except through such love. If, then, we really hate sin, we must cling to some good to which sin is opposed.

This good may be manifold. It might be the infinite goodness of God looked at as it is in itself without any direct relation to our own happiness. This is not the place to discuss the nature of goodness, and yet, when we hear it nowadays commonly put down as equivalent to appetibility—always denoting a relation of utility to the person loving—there is grave danger of its being urged that a love of the infinite good, such as we have described it, is an absolute impossibility. Indeed, this argument has actually been put forward by some Italian theologians, and even Bossuet

himself is not free from the suspicion of having been overcome by it. We should, however, remember goodness is used in two very different senses—as a quality in the object itself, an agreement of itself with itself, of the parts with the whole, a perfect suitability for attaining its end; or it may denote a relation to some other object, and a capacity for perfecting it. The former, which does not directly connote the utility of the individual loving, is real fundamental goodness; and no one, who admits the existence of a God, will deny that it is present in Him. He is perfection itself; the whole is infinitely good; every attribute is infinitely good and worthy of our love; when we love Him as such we have an act of charity. No doubt this love does not exclude the knowledge that God is the ultimate source of our happiness, it even presupposes such a knowledge and relationship, but it is not on account of this that the act is elicited; the motive is the infinite goodness of God Himself. If we so tend towards God, we shall clearly perceive that our sins are a great wrong and insult to one who is so amiable—a great desertion of the Creator to whom we should have clung with all the affections of our soul; we shall shrink from them and detest them with a hatred greater than which man is not capable of conceiving, and this hatred of ours is what theologians call perfect contrition.

This Infinite Being is also our last end, and source of true happiness. He is not alone perfect in Himself, but He is capable of perfecting us and of satisfying all the desires of the human heart. Reason and faith are unanimous in unfolding His attractions; but they are also unanimous in declaring that He cannot be won without a difficult struggle, and that, if we would make Him ours, we must be up and doing. They tell us that the difficulties to be overcome are, indeed, enormous, but they also tell us the means that are at our command are fully proportioned to the difficulties. He has promised to aid us if only we endeavour to co-operate, and is He not truthful, omnipotent, faithful to His promises? Thus, God is presented to our will as an infinite and future good, as difficult to be attained, and yet certainly possible of attainment if we only rouse

ourselves to make an effort; and His infinite goodness thus coloured, if I may so speak, with its infinite suitability, its infinite difficulty, in the sense that the whole object is coloured with the same note, its infinite possibility is, we contend, the formal object of the virtue of hope. Now, while thus loving God, if we perceive our sins as opposed to our obtaining the object of all our desires, as coming in between and tearing us away from our last end, we shall hate them with a hatred proportioned to our love of the infinite good, and this hatred or sorrow will be contrition elicited from the motive of hope.

Again, we might be drawn by the love of virtue. Our intellect clearly indicates that some acts are agreeable and praiseworthy, that they tend to elevate and ennoble human nature, to raise a man from the level of the brute creation and make him fit companion for the pure spirits who minister round the throne of God. Thus, we clearly perceive—unless our whole ideas have been corrupted by self-indulgence—that temperance is a virtue which it is consonant with our nature to practise, and that the contrary vice is at once revolting and degrading. The same holds good for justice and truth and chastity and humility and all the other moral virtues. We see how one and all tend to perfect our nature; our hearts naturally go out to embrace such goodness, a feeling of aversion for the opposite excesses is generated—for intemperance, injustice, falsehood and the like; and this aversion is, we assume, the contrition elicited on account of the turpitude of sin, about which the Council of Trent speaks. No doubt this phrase is interpreted differently by different authors, but the several meanings which they assign may be resolved into sorrow from the motive of hope or charity. It is only when understood, as we have understood it, that one can hope to defend it as a distinct motive of contrition.

Again, the object to which we are attached might be ourselves. Man naturally loves himself, and though it is by no means true to say that all human actions are dictated by selfish motives, yet there is, if we examine carefully, a great intermixture of self, even in our most disinterested deeds.

No doubt, men are prepared to sacrifice all that is dear to them, even life, if necessary, for the sake of a cause to which they are attached ; the world looks on in raptures and loudly applauds their generous ardour ; and still, when they look down deep into their own hearts, and see the motives which spurred them on, they are forced to smile at how easily outsiders may be led to mistake selfishness for sincere devotion to principle. If, then, we regard sin as something injurious to ourselves, we can well detest it ; and surely sin is ruinous to us in numberless ways. There are many classes of crimes, which, of their very nature, destroy our reputation, take away our place in society, leave us friendless where we once had tender friends. Others undermine the physical constitution, slowly, yet with a dogged certainty that is appalling, or it may be the calamity comes swift as the lightning bolt almost before the fatal apple has been eaten ; others ruin and blacken prospects that were once bright and promising, money and property are squandered in the mad race for pleasure, family ties are unavailing to prevent the downward course, and, at last, the poor unfortunate awakes one day to find that his sin has not alone ruined himself, but it has brought endless sorrows on those whom he once cherished as the apple of his eye ; and worse still, it may be that his crimes are handed down to them in the sense that his children are certain to go as their sire went, for does not the Holy Scripture say that the sins of the father will go down even unto the fourth generation ?

This is the picture only from a natural standpoint ; but, when we consider the evils inflicted immediately by God in punishment of our transgressions, we have a still stronger motive for hating sin. We believe there exists a hell away from the face of God, as St. Paul says, where those who die in mortal sin are tormented by all the penalties that a just and angry Master can inflict. There, in that place of woe, the damned shall suffer not alone from the eternal separation from the Infinite Good, but also from the fearful pains of sense which they shall be forced to endure. God is the infinite good for which the human soul yearns even in this life, though on earth that infinite good is not unmixed ; it is

always represented as difficult or uncertain of attainment, but when the fatal separation of soul and body takes place, when the intellect freed from the prejudices of the flesh can see things as they really are, it shall then be realised how dreadful a thing it is to be separated from God through one's own fault, and forever. But though this is the chief, it is by no means the only sorrow of the damned ; the Scriptures clearly indicate, and the Church has always taught, that they are also tormented by fire and other sensible pains. Sin it is which brings all these misfortunes upon us—misfortunes in this life, doubly great misfortunes in the next ; and if there is a vestige of self-love left within us we cannot help detesting it. This brief analysis of the possible motives by which sorrow for sin may be aroused cannot fail to assist us in determining the nature of the attrition that is required.

We shall here assume as proved the conditions laid down by all theologians as necessary for contrition generally, and shall only add a word in explanation of its universality and sovereignty. It should be universal in this sense, at least, that it extend to all mortal sins that are then burthening the conscience : it will not suffice, for example, to grieve for a sin of injustice without, at the same time, retracting in the slightest degree the excesses of intemperance ; in fact, such a state of feeling proves clearly that the conversion is not sincere, else, how could one turn to God, and yet remain attached to that which is equally displeasing to Him. On the other hand, the sorrow need not necessarily extend to venial transgressions ; they do not separate us from God in the same way as mortal sins, and might be compared to the numberless differences and disputes amongst human friends, which, though they cause pain and annoyance on both sides, leave intact the bond of friendship. It is obvious, then, that we may thoroughly detest mortal sins which place a naturally insurmountable barrier to our possession of the infinite good without including in our sorrow minor offences not capable of producing a like effect. We shall reserve for another place the discussion of the question about the universality of the contrition for venial sins themselves.

Besides, the contrition must be sovereign; that is, the sorrow for sin should exceed the sorrow that can be aroused by any other misfortune. It may do so in two ways—in intensity, or in appreciation. The intensity of sorrow must necessarily correspond to the force with which the will embraces the opposite good, and in itself, as applied to acts of the appetitive faculty, it is nothing more or less than the rapidity of motion by which the will clings to some good, or recoils from some evil, and depends entirely on the vividness with which the object is presented by the intellect. Since the human soul, while it remains attached to the body, is dependent for its actions to such a large extent on the sensitive organism, it is clear that the good or evil which falls under the province of the senses will be more vividly presented, and more earnestly sought for or disliked than if the will were depending on pure intellectual cognition. This relation to the sensitive organism will serve to explain why our sorrow may be at times very intense, even though the object about which we grieve is considered as, by no means, a serious evil. Thus, if we stand by and see the remains of one whom we loved consigned to their last earthly resting-place, our hearts are pierced with grief, and we can feel as if something of ourselves had been torn from us and buried in the grave of our dead friend; and all this, though we are perfectly convinced that death was a blessing for him and for us, that its dread shadow fell upon him just when he was prepared to face his Creator, and that a longer span of life must have meant complete destruction for him, and endless suffering for ourselves. We consider death as by no means a heavy blow, yet our intellectual view of the situation cannot save us from being racked with the pains of an excessive grief. This will illustrate the origin and nature of intensity of sorrow.

If, however, we regard the object as it is in itself, independently of the vividness with which it is presented by the intellect, the act of love or hatred must necessarily be proportioned to the amount of good or evil which we perceive in it. If the good presented to the will be infinite good, the act of the will embracing it must be an act of

sovereign love; if the object be infinitely evil in the only sense in which it could be so, namely, in its direct opposition to the Infinite Good, the will must recoil from it with sovereign hatred. If hatred spring from a love of the opposite good, and is proportioned to this love, as we have proved in the beginning, it logically follows that an act of sovereign hatred can only arise from the love of the Infinite Good. Is this the sense which theologians attach to the term when they state that contrition must be sovereign, or do they only mean that our hatred for sin must be greater than for any evil which could urge us to commit sin—a kind of ‘working sovereignty,’ as they say? This is the question with which we must really grapple if we wish to determine the sufficiency of some of the motives for attrition.

So far we have merely set down in order the possible motives by which contrition may be excited, together with the conditions necessary for its availing unto justification; it now remains to test the motives in the light of the conditions. Little need be said about the first, namely, sorrow for sin on account of its opposition to God, who is infinitely good in Himself. It will suffice to state that according to Catholic doctrine it is always sufficient for justification, even outside the Sacrament of Penance, as soon as it is elicited, and without dependence on any particular grade of intensity. Why it does so is to be sought in the divine ordination rather than in any intrinsic capability of producing such an effect.

Next in order comes contrition from the love of hope, and about its sufficiency with the Sacrament of Penance there cannot be any reasonable doubt. There are, however, a few who would contend that it is not sovereign in the truest sense of the word, since it is only from the motive of charity a sovereign sorrow could be elicited; and, besides, they say, it really springs from a love of ourselves and of our own convenience, and, therefore, in no possible way turns us to God. This difficulty is based on a complete misconception of the formal object of hope as set forth in the previous pages; that object is not even in part ourselves or our own convenience, for nothing finite can be allowed to enter into

the formal object of true theological hope; it can only be the infinite good looked at as it is in itself infinitely suitable for us. This is the true motive of hope, boundless as is the motive of charity, for does not charity, too, regard the infinite good under a certain aspect; and, if our opponents freely admit, as they must admit, that its object is not limited by being so regarded, why should they urge this objection against hope? The motive is the infinite good; therefore the love must be sovereign, though doubtless the aspect under which that good is viewed in charity is calculated to draw to itself more completely our whole affections; or, at least, it does not suppose the concomitant act of self-love which desire always entails. The attrition from the motive of hope is, then, we contend, amply sufficient for justification in the Sacrament of Penance. It may be true, supernatural, universal, sovereign.

We now come to consider the turpitude of sin, such as we have described it above—a sorrow arising from our love of the opposite virtue. Thus, for example, the virtue of gratitude is dear to the human heart; even the unlettered savage would consider it a stain and a disgrace to injure the companion from whom he had received nothing but kindness and assistance; our sins are directly opposed to this virtue, they are injuries and offences against Him who has given us all we possess. If, then, we grieve for them under this aspect, will our grief be sufficient for justification with the Sacrament of Penance? No doubt, as a rule, with such considerations the love of hope or charity is almost certain to be present, and, thus, indirectly, at least, such a sorrow will be sovereign, and will suffice; but, if we confine our attention to the sorrow arising solely from the love of the opposite virtue, the same opinion must be held as with regard to the sufficiency of attrition from the fear of the pains of hell, which we shall presently discuss. The same principle seems to be involved in both cases.

With regard to sorrow for sin, because it injures our prospects in life, undermines our health, rends asunder the bonds of friendship, and scatters for ever the happy family circle, no one would contend that it is sufficient to justify

even with the Sacrament of Penance. If we seriously inquire why this is so, we shall find the answer is, that such a sorrow in no way turns us to God. Just as in the act of sinning we considered only ourselves and our own good, so, in the act of conversion from sin we are urged only by love of self; we do not rise higher than the creature; we make no reparation to the infinite majesty of God, whom we have so grievously insulted by our crimes, and God will not deign to notice our protestations of repentance since He was not considered in our acts. This is the unanimous teaching of theologians, and we have no difficulty in accepting it as the true doctrine; yet, if it be true in one place we must be prepared to accept it throughout this difficult question of attrition.

Now, we are at last face to face with attrition elicited from the fear of the pains of hell, and it might be well in the beginning to briefly recall the defined Catholic doctrine on this point. When the Reformation broke out in Germany in the early portion of the sixteenth century many novel doctrines, completely opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church, were then propounded, and amongst the others was a strange error about this matter of attrition. Luther and his principal followers strenuously contended that sorrow from the motive of fear was worthless, that it served only to make a man a hypocrite, and a greater sinner. Such a sorrow, they said, was not sufficient to banish from the heart all attachment to sin; the love of the evil deed remained within the soul, and was prevented from breaking forth merely through the fear of punishment; in other words, they held, that such a fear tied the hand but could not restrain the heart. This was the error which confronted the fathers of Trent, and against it they soon levelled their decrees. Thus, in the twenty-fourth session, whilst treating of the Sacrament of Penance, 'the Council declares that contrition, which is called attrition because it is commonly conceived from the turpitude of sin or from the fear of hell and its pains, if it exclude the will of sinning and be joined with the hope of pardon, not alone does not make a man a hypocrite and a greater sinner, but it is a true gift of God

and an impulse of the Holy Ghost, and though of itself, without the Sacrament of Penance, it is not sufficient to justify, yet it disposes a man to impetrate grace in the Sacrament of Penance.' Again, in the sixth session, in describing the process of justification, the fathers speak of the necessity of the sinner 'being encouraged to hope after he has feared the divine justice, trusting that God might be propitious to him on account of Christ;' and later on, they level an anathema against 'anyone who shall say that the fear of hell through which we fly to God by grieving for our sins and abstaining from sin, is in itself a sin or makes us worse sinners.' Years afterwards, when the Jansenist errors were disturbing the Church in France, we find the Holy See proscribing the following proposition of Quesnelli:—'The attrition which is conceived from a fear of hell and its pains without a love of God as He is good in Himself, is not a good or supernatural motion.'

In these decrees it is expressly defined that sorrow elicited from the fear of the pains of hell is good and salutary and disposes a man for justification, and nobody who understands the fear about which the fathers of the Council speak will have any difficulty in accepting that doctrine. They spoke not of the fear which merely restrains the hand while it leaves the affections of the heart to wander unbridled, but, of a fear, which is capable of removing not alone the sinful act but also every attachment to things unlawful; the one merits punishment as infallibly as the other, and if the fear is able to banish the one—and even Luther would grant that it is—why could it not also banish the other? It is clear, then, that such fear is good and salutary, and not hypocrisy, as it was described by the apostles of the Reformation. So far all are agreed.

It is, however, another question whether the attrition so elicited would suffice for justification in the Sacrament of Penance. Again, it might be useful to distinguish. The pains of hell could refer either to the pain of loss—eternal separation from the infinite good—or to the pains of sense as embracing all the positive sufferings to which the soul is subjected. Attrition elicited from the fear of loss should be

sufficient for justification with the Sacrament of Penance, because such a sorrow really springs from the motive of hope. We love God as He is infinitely good for us; sin is the ugly spectre stalking in between us and the possession of that good, and from the very constitution of our nature, our wills must shrink from such a monster and with a hatred proportioned to the love with which it clings to the opposite good. Lest we should seem to be relying too much on ourselves it might be useful to quote on this point no less an authority than Suarez. In his 'Treatise on Penance' speaking of the nature of attrition,¹ he says :—

Sorrow from sin from the motive of the fear of hell belongs to the virtue of hope, because love and hatred are from the one principle, and since we hate these sins because they are opposed to eternal life, and since love of eternal life belongs to the virtue of hope, to the same virtue must be reduced this fear of hell.

Thus, the eminent theologian in the conclusion of his treatment of this question replies to an objection that might be urged against him, and in this reply we are enabled to see that he was prepared to defend the sufficiency of sorrow elicited from the fear of hell only in so far as it necessarily involved the love of hope. Whatever may be said about the past, it would seem to be the unanimous teaching of all schools that attrition from the fear of loss is sufficient to justify in the Sacrament of Penance, and with this doctrine we see no great reason for quarrelling.

And now the field of discussion has become limited; it only remains to inquire about the sufficiency of attrition elicited from the fear of the finite pains of hell. It might be well to begin the investigation by a brief review of the authorities cited on both sides, because the argument from authority can never be lost sight of by any Catholic theologian. It may not be universally known that until comparatively recent times there were few, if any, who contended that sorrow elicited from the motive of fear was sufficient for justification, even with the Sacrament of Penance. Amongst those who denied its sufficiency may be cited such men as

¹ Disp. 5, Sec. iii., n. 10.

St. Bonaventure, Peter Lombard, St. Raymund of Pennafort, Medina, Gabriel, St. Thomas, Tournelly, Morinus; even Viva confessed that all the fathers were against him, and Soto, the most strenuous supporter of the sufficiency of such contrition, was forced to admit that he could derive no argument from the early writers in support of his view. But, it may be said that at least since the Council of Trent, one cannot safely deny that such sorrow will suffice. We strongly deny that the fathers of the Council have made any definite pronouncement on the question now under discussion; because, in the first place, their decrees have reference only to the sorrow that is elicited from the fear of hell as it includes both the pain of loss and the pains of sense. This was the fear against which Luther directed his opposition, as may be seen by his Theses (No. 6), published in opposition to the Bull of Leo X., and it is but fair to assume that the same fear is spoken of in the decrees which were levelled against his errors by the fathers of the Council. In the second place, that this contrition will justify even with the Sacrament; indeed, the contrary is hinted at when it is stated that such sorrow *disposes* a man to impetrate grace in the Sacrament of Penance, especially when we remember that according to Pallavicini, the learned historian of the Council, the word *sufficere* inserted in the schema submitted to the fathers was replaced after due consideration by the more elastic term *disponere*.

Even taking up those who admit the sufficiency of attrition from the fear of hell, we shall find that they speak in general terms without any distinction or limitation, but their real opinion may be gathered from the fact that Suarez, who is very frequently quoted for other views, when pressed hard in the objections, fell back on the fact that it was elicited from the love of hope. It is only in his reply to difficulties that we clearly see the doctrine which an author wishes to propound. Thus, we see the argument from authority is by no means conclusive, and we are at liberty to adopt whichever view is supported by the more convincing intrinsic arguments.

According to all theologians, attrition, to be sufficient for

justification, even with the Sacrament of Penance, must be sovereign. In what sense do they use this term? Is it as indicating a hatred and aversion from sin as from an infinite evil, in the sense that it tears us away from our last end to which we should cleave with supreme love; or do they merely mean that we must hate sin more than any evil which can be inflicted to urge us to offend God? There is evidently a very great difference between these two views. According to the former, the sorrow should be sovereign in the very same way as acts of faith, hope, and charity are said to be sovereign; that is, because these acts are centred in the infinite. In faith there is supreme certainty, because the formal object is the infinite truth; in hope and in charity there is supreme love because the object is the infinite good; so with sorrow, it should be supreme because the object is something that tears one away from the infinite good. If hatred and love are from the one principle and proportioned to one another, as Suarez lays down in the passage which we have quoted, it obviously follows that as sovereign love can exist only when we cling to the infinite good, so, sovereign hate can only be conceived for something which completely separates us from that good.

According to the second opinion, our sorrow should be sovereign; not, indeed, in the sense that it is the greatest possible sorrow, but as indicating that our hatred of sin should be greater than of any evil which could urge us to commit sin. No doubt, we may detest other evils with as great a detestation—and it cannot be denied that the hatred of the pains of hell which urges us to fear sin is, to put it mildly, not less than the hatred of sin; but since the sin is more odious than any temporal calamity which could induce its commission, such an attrition will suffice to banish all affection for sin, to keep men from giving a free rein to their passions, and is decidedly, as the defenders of this opinion say, 'a working sovereignty.' These two are the only possible meanings of the term, and, for my part, I can see no sufficient reason for departing from the sense which we commonly assign to it when speaking of faith, hope, and charity. If we find a term of this kind used in theology to

express a quality of certain acts, if we find theologians writing pages to explain clearly its meaning, and to point out how it differs from the highest grade of intensity, and if we find them here in contrition again carefully distinguishing between the intensity and sovereignty of appreciation, we cannot believe they used the word in a sense different from that in which they had previously explained it. Certain it is, such a thing would never be admitted in a scientific treatise on electricity or chemistry, or any of the other profane sciences. Is the science of theology less accurate, or are theologians less scientific? Yet, without a word of explanation, we find it stated in every text-book of Catholic theology from the penny catechism to the bulky tomes of the most voluminous theological writer, that one of the necessary conditions for attrition is that it should be sovereign. Indeed, the catechism of the Council of Trent clearly indicates that this is the signification of the term, because in dealing with the sorrow for sin, as embracing perfect contrition and attrition, it lays down that such sorrow must be sovereign, 'for since God is to be loved above all things, that which alienates us from Him is to be detested above all things.' Unless, then, some grave reason can be put forward why we should understand the expression differently here, we should be wrong in doing so.

The only possible reason that could be assigned is that the end of contrition is to turn men away from their sins, and to restrain them in the future; that if sin be regarded as greater than any evil which could be inflicted to procure its commission, and is hated with a hatred thus relatively sovereign, there is, at least, a sufficient sorrow, though it may have attained only the minimum of sufficiency; and as practical men, when we have got what will serve our purpose, we may leave the question of possibility to those who take a malicious pleasure in creating fanciful difficulties.

This sounds well, but the argument is slightly misleading. The very foundation of this contention is that attrition from any motive which will draw men away from sin, and deter them for the future, is sufficient for justification. Putting

aside for the present the question whether sorrow from the fear of the finite pains of hell has such an efficacy, we cannot admit the truth of the premise laid down by our opponents. If it be true, it would seem to follow that attrition, from a purely human motive, should suffice; for when a man considers for a moment the temporal misfortunes which, in many cases, his sins have brought upon him, he should have a motive capable of making him sincerely bewail his crimes, and resolve to do better things in the future. No doubt, it may be answered, that all affection for sin is not excluded, and, therefore, the contrition is not universal; but, let us suppose for the sake of argument, that such considerations were powerful enough to remove all attachment to things unlawful, would anyone admit that the sorrow so elicited would suffice for justification in the Sacrament of Penance? Certainly not; our opponents would be the very first to deny it, because, they say, that the malice of sin consists rather in turning away from God than in turning to the creature, that a sorrow of this kind might, indeed, turn a man from the creature, but will not effect any conversion to God. It arises from pure self-love, God is in nowise introduced into the question; no reparation is made to Him for our contemptuous depreciation and desertion of His infinite goodness; and as we would not consider it sufficient apology to the friend whom we had struck, to bewail the blow on account of the injury which our hand received in striking, so neither can our sorrow be deemed acceptable to God if we merely bewail the temporal evils which our crimes involved.

This reply is, no doubt, crushing; but, at the same time, it furnishes the very best proof of the position defended by us. If it serves to prove the insufficiency of attrition from temporal motives, may it not be urged with equal force against those who say that sorrow from the pains of sense will suffice? When we grieve for our sins on account of the positive pains of hell, we merely regard the injury done to ourselves; our hatred of sin arises not from love of the infinite good, but from the pure love of self. It may, indeed, force us to turn away from the creature; but where

is the turning to God in all this? Is it not, again, a case of grieving for the indignity offered to a friend because our own hand was injured in the act of offering the indignity? And will the friend accept such an apology? In such sorrow there does not seem to be present that conversion to God which the Holy Scriptures repeatedly command when speaking of the repentance of the sinner.

Various replies are given by our opponents. Some would concede that in such attrition there is not involved conversion to God, but that this conversion is effected in some mysterious way by the Sacrament of Penance. Such a response, however, serves only to increase the difficulty, because, in the first place, it is not easy to see how there could exist even the shadow of sufficient repentance, if sin is considered without any relation to God; and, then, how the sacrament could produce such an effect is equally unintelligible. If, indeed, the sinner had in any way turned to God, one could understand how the sacrament would perfect such a conversion by the bestowal of sanctifying grace, which would raise a man from being a repentant slave to the dignity of a participator of the divine nature, and an adopted son of God. But, if there is not such a conversion, we fail to see how even the Sacrament of Penance can produce that which is required as a condition to its own efficacy.

Others prefer to say that the sinner considers the pains of hell as inflicted by God on account of his sins, and that, by bewailing them on account of these penalties, there is necessarily a sufficient conversion. But, suppose the Queen of England were to declare that anyone caught in the act of rebellion should be punished by death, that his family should be declared outlaws, and his property sequestered, and suppose that the poor unfortunate seized in arms grieves for his misdeeds on account of the misfortunes they have brought upon him, it is by no means likely that the idea of infliction by the Queen ever enters into the motive of his sorrow; and if it does enter, in the sense that he bewails his crimes because they injure and offend her Majesty, and thus merit punishment, there is no longer sorrow from the mere motive

of fear, but sorrow from the motive of love and reverence for the ruler who has been dishonoured. Applying this to attrition, we say that in theology, and less still in the minds of the people, is this aspect of the pains of hell, as inflicted by God, kept very much in view, except to meet the difficulty that has been proposed; and even granted that the penitent does consider the pains of hell as chastisements coming from the hands of an angry God, either his act remains unchanged or the contrition is elicited from a motive of hope, or even of charity. This superadded consideration, if it have any meaning, can only indicate that the sinner grieves for his crimes because they offend God, and bring down upon the doer His speedy vengeance. If he bewails them because they offend God, it can only be because he loves God with a love of hope or charity, and thus he has passed from the motive of fear of the pains of hell. This is exactly our contention—that such a sorrow is good and salutary, and leads the way to attrition, which will suffice.

Again, Catholic theologians are unanimous in teaching that in all true attrition there must be included a firm resolution against all possible mortal sins in the future; and, if we seek the reason which they commonly urge in proof of this doctrine, we shall find that it is because otherwise our conversion to God would not be sincere. If it were so, it should necessarily exclude everything that is equally displeasing to Him, as would be any possible mortal sin. Now, it might well be asked: Where is the conversion to God, which this reply presupposes, in the attrition which is elicited from the fear of the finite pains of hell? But, putting aside this point, with which we have previously dealt, we may well be permitted to doubt if the sorrow elicited from the fear of the pains of hell, or from any other finite motive, can really exclude all attachment to sin. If the motive be infinite—such as the love of hope—we can easily see how the will may be so attached to its object as to perfectly exclude everything which would involve separation from that object; but if the motive be something finite—for example, the love of virtue or the fear of punishment—how does such an act necessarily exclude all affection for

sin? From the very fact that the motive is finite, the sorrow can only be universal in the hypothesis that some stronger and opposing motive is not at work to induce the will to sin?

It may, indeed, be said, in reply, that since every mortal sin merits this eternal punishment, if fear of these penalties can make the sinner sincerely detest one sin, it should suffice to cause sincere detestation of all. This argument, however, is not absolutely convincing, for, though the fear may draw him away from one, or two, or three sins, it is because the inducement to commit these sins has less attraction for the will than the good of avoiding everlasting pains. But if, in any particular case, the evil arising from the non-commission of sin be presented by the intellect as greater than the evil of being thus punished for ever, the fear of hell cannot remove the attachment to this sin, and the resolution of amendment would have, at most, only a conditional universality. If it be said that the case contemplated could never occur, since even the finite pains of hell, on account of their intensity and eternal duration, far exceed any temporal evil which could follow from the non-commission of sin, we may reply, in the first place, that De Lugo, himself an advocate for the sufficiency of attrition from the motive of fear, mentions a case where it would seem as if the fear of hell were powerless to prevent the crime. The case is that of a man, in the state of mortal sin, who believes he cannot obtain forgiveness except in the Sacrament of Penance, and who, before an opportunity of doing so has been afforded, is urged to commit some grievous sin, under threat of instant death. In his case would it not seem as if the fear of hell would rather encourage than prevent the offence? Besides, even if it be admitted that the positive pains of hell, in themselves and objectively, exceed any temporal misfortune (that could be detested from the principle of self-love), yet when looked at in the concrete, as they are future and uncertain (in the sense that they may be avoided by repentance), it does not seem clear that they must always be presented to the will as a greater evil than the evil arising from not embracing the sinful act.

This could never be true where the motive is infinite, but where it is finite it would seem to be by no means impossible.

It is, however, objected that if our theory be true the common teaching of theologians on contrition for venial sins is utterly indefensible. If to obtain pardon in the Sacrament of Penance the contrition should be elicited from a universal motive it would seem to follow when a person really has the necessary sorrow for his venial sins he must hate and detest all without any exceptions; and yet it is commonly laid down that it will suffice to be sorry for one class of venial sins even though one retain a wilful affection for others far more grievous, or to detest the graver sins of any particular species without detesting those which are less grievous, or to repent of the frequency of the falls without bewailing the malice inherent in the act itself.

We may as well begin by frankly admitting that these opinions are frequently propounded though they certainly were not the common opinion in the past. The older theologians would have held up their hands in astonishment at such doctrine, and would have denounced it as the extremes of laxity, the very degeneracy of the last days against which St. Paul warns Timothy. We may, therefore, safely inquire is it possible to have sovereign sorrow for venial sin—and all must admit that it should be in some sense sovereign for pardon in the Sacrament of Penance—and yet have no resolution of avoiding all venial sin in the future, or worse still retain a deliberate affection for others more grievously offensive to God than the ones which we bewail? Such an act would seem to imply a divided heart, and it is not clear how any theologian could defend the sufficiency of such contrition. Even those who admit that sorrow elicited from a particular motive, for example from the love of the opposite virtue, suffices, will find it difficult to explain scientifically how a man could have real attrition whilst retaining an attachment for other and far more grievous offences—that is, if they hold such a sorrow has any relation to God. But looking at the matter calmly, and laying aside for the moment all theological disputes, we are firmly convinced that the

vast majority of the faithful would completely reject this teaching, and from our point of view we have little difficulty in denying that such a sorrow would suffice for pardon. If the motive must be universal, it is evidently impossible that sincere contrition can exist concomitantly with an affection for graver or equally grave offences. One has only to glance at the pages in which De Lugo strenuously labours to prove the possibility of such a state of mind to realize its impossibility.

But, might it not be possible to be sorry for the more grievous venial sins without having any firm resolution against others which are regarded as less serious from the fact that the graver falls remove us further from the infinite good. There would seem to be little difficulty with regard to charity ; from pure love of God as He is good in Himself one might easily detest one grade of venial sin without regarding another of lesser malice, and might not the same be true of the love of hope? The graver the offence, the greater is its opposition to the infinite good, and the more it separates us from that good ; why, then, could we not detest one degree of opposition and separation without including others which are less serious? Such a state of mind seems to be possible and would well explain how attrition may be sufficient though there be not conceived a firm resolve against less grievous faults. Even De Lugo admits this solution of the difficulty. It may, however, be further contended that if the kind of attrition which we have described be necessary, then, no venial sins could be remitted for the first time in the Sacrament of Penance, since such a sorrow, when once elicited in the course of preparation for confession, would of itself and at once justify, provided the soul is not stained with the guilt of mortal sin. The obvious reply to this difficulty—if it be a difficulty—is that it is not peculiar to our theory ; it is one with which all theologians must grapple, since they teach that attrition suffices to blot out venial sin independently of the sacrament. For ourselves we see no great difficulty in accepting the conclusion, as it would in no way militate against the efficacy of the absolution pronounced by the minister of

God ; but if anyone prefer the explanation of De Lugo that the graver the sin the greater the *fervour* of the contrition which God requires, he can do so ; it will equally serve to uphold our view.

Now, we come to the last and, perhaps, the strongest argument in favour of the opinion which we have adopted. It is admitted by all theologians as a doctrine that is to be accepted by the faithful, that in case of the adult sinner an act of hope is necessary for justification (*necessitate medii*). The Council of Trent in describing the process of justification always places hope as one of the necessary dispositions, and all writers on the Sacrament of Penance strongly insist on the absolute necessity of eliciting an act of hope before the sentence of pardon is pronounced by the priest. These are the facts about which no Catholic can dispute ; what conclusion are we to draw from them ?

First, it is clear that the hope spoken of by the Council, and by all authorities on this subject, is true theological hope—a love of the infinite good as it is infinitely suitable for us. Hope is, according to all, an act of desire or concupiscence—and as such, its object must be a future good suitable to the person loving ; it is also a theological virtue and as such its object must be the infinite. No doubt there are some few who would contend that the formal object of hope is not the infinite goodness of God to us, but rather His omnipotence, fidelity and truth. Their contention is that hope is more an act of trust than an act of desire ; or better still, an act of trustful desire deriving its theological and specific nature from the fact that it leans upon the fidelity and omnipotence of the Creator as its foundation.

It is strange that those who profess such a sincere respect for the authority of theologians on all particulars connected with this subject, should give signs of unwarranted feelings of distrust at this particular point, for it cannot be denied that all theologians admit the goodness of God as, at least, a partial motive, and nearly all strongly defend it as the only one. They do, indeed, turn for support to some disconnected paragraphs in the *Summa* of St. Thomas ; but the strength of the argument from this source can be

appreciated when we remember that St. Thomas is always quoted as being the most strenuous upholder of the common opinion. But, looking at the question in itself, and independently of authority, their theory seems indefensible. Hope is, according to all Catholics, a species of concupiscence, an act of the will tending towards some distant good; and, if we are to admit the common terminology, the formal object of such an act must be something in that good on account of which the will is moved to embrace it. The formal object is not something entirely different from the material object, as if it, being itself embraced by one act, led on to the pursuit of the material object, and, thus, two acts were always involved; but it is that in the object itself which really moves the will, and towards which the act principally tends. If the theory put forward by our opponents be accepted, all these notions must be given up as antiquated; for they contend that the will is drawn to the infinite good by reason of the omnipotence and fidelity of God which render this infinite good possible of attainment; and thus we have, as it appears to me, the strange spectacle of the end being loved on account of the love of the means, because the only possible reason why the will could be attracted by the omnipotence and fidelity of God looked at formally as such—is the fact that they lead to the possession of the infinite good. One might, with equal reason, contend that when a child loves money, he does so on account of the wealth and liberality of his parents, as if the wealth and liberality were the sole reason for his desiring money. Is it not rather that the good of money first attracts his will, and he loves the wealth and liberality of his parents in so far as they are means to the possession of that good? In the same way it seems quite natural to say that the goodness of God is the real motive of the act of hope, and all other things are included only in so far as they lead up to it. No doubt, a certain confidence in the act of the intellect proposing the object to the will is necessary to give hope its specific colouring; but we cannot see how the motives thus influencing the intellectual act enter into the desire. If, indeed, it were once admitted

that hope is partly an act of the intellect and partly an act of the will, we could well perceive how such a theory might be defended; but if it be desire or concupiscence—and there are few who would assert that it is not—it is difficult to see how the omnipotence and fidelity of God can be assigned as even the partial formal object.

We, therefore, contend that hope is a love of God as He is good for us, and that such a love is required by the Council of Trent, and by all theologians, for justification in the Sacrament of Penance. The reason for this contention will be obvious if we remember that in all works on this subject we find the writers labouring anxiously to explain, as we have explained, the virtue of hope, and the very first proposition confronting us in their treatises on the subject is, that 'hope is necessary for justification' (*necessitate medii*). Would it not be highly derogatory to their common sense, not to speak of their scientific method, to assume that here they use the word in a sense differing completely from that in which they had previously explained it? In a scientific treatise on electricity, for example, an author who wishes to be understood will first explain his terms, proving and illustrating their meaning, if necessary; and this done, he will lay down the fundamental truths of the science. We should be slow to assert that the theologian is not equally scientific.

It may, however, be asserted that the Council of Trent speaks of 'the hope of pardon,' and that phrase means nothing more than a certain confidence that God will forgive our transgressions, if only we repent. But against this explanation there still remains the stubborn fact that it is laid down as of Catholic faith that 'hope is necessary for justification' (*necessitate medii*), and hope in the strictest sense of the word. If anyone care to reject this doctrine, it is his own business. But, taking the words of the Council as they stand, do they not rather prove our contention that true theological hope is necessary; because the fathers of the Council, again and again, refer to the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, where they certainly use hope in its strictest meaning; and, therefore, when they speak here of 'the hope of pardon,' it is but right to assume that they merely wish to indicate one of the material objects of that

virtue—pardon of our sins. Doubtless it must be admitted that we can have true hope of pardon if we desire pardon, through our love of the infinite good towards the possession of which this pardon is a necessary means. Hence, it follows that an explicit act of love of the infinite good is necessary in case of the adult sinner who seeks pardon of his offences in the Sacrament of Penance.

Now, why is this act of hope required? We can easily understand why faith is necessary, why a confidence and certainty of pardon should be present; but unless our theory about the sovereignty of contrition be admitted, it will be difficult to explain the necessity of hope. It seems impossible to advance a reason why the sinner should be obliged to elicit an express and formal act of hope, except that it is only from a love of the infinite good there can be conceived a supreme hatred and detestation for sin, which tears us partially or completely from the possession of that good. This is a pretty evident reason for its necessity; it is in harmony with the scientific explanation of love and hatred, and of their mutual dependence; and would give to the technical term *appretiative summa*, as used in this matter, the meaning which it certainly has all through theology. But if this explanation is rejected, if it be asserted that sorrow for sin from the motive of fear of the pains of hell is sufficient to turn a man completely from his sins, and to effect an adequate conversion to God, why should he be required, besides, to love the Creator with a supreme love? Nor will the quibbling about the necessity of the co-existence of hope, even though the attrition be not elicited from that motive, serve to evade the force of the argument. If one has conceived a love for the infinite good—as he must do by a formal act according to all theologians—from the very nature of the case he must necessarily detest that which removes this good from his very grasp, and with a hatred not relatively but absolutely sovereign. Where, then, is the necessity of seeking some other motive for the necessary attrition, and if the necessary attrition can be had without it, where is the utility of hope?

It may, however, be said that in every act of sorrow from the fear of hell such a love of hope is necessarily involved,

and, therefore, the difficulty is only imaginary, but this is not so, and could not be, if our notions of hope and fear are correct. Hope is a love of God as He is infinitely good for us; and putting aside the pain of loss of which there is no question here, how is such a love of God involved in the detestation of sin on account of the positive sufferings of hell? Hatred, as we have shown, arises only from love of the opposite good, and in sorrow from the motive of fear what is the opposite good which we love, and to which we cling? Is it not ourselves? Man loves himself, and because of self-love he hates the pains of hell which are so opposed to human nature, and because of the pains of hell he hates sin. Is not this the genesis of such attrition? Is not its very source and fountain self-love, and where can we detect throughout the series any shadow of the love of God? This, of course, does not prove that the act is bad, for against the followers of Baius and Quesnelli we should contend that all concupiscence is not sinful; but it proves our contention that in such attrition there is not contained the love of hope, and, that, therefore, of itself, it can never suffice for justification, even in the Sacrament of Penance.

If our theory be true, namely, that true and sufficient attrition can be elicited only from a love of the infinite good, it would seem to follow that every mortal sin is a real aversion from God—else why should we insist so much on returning to Him by love? And if a real aversion from God, it is necessarily opposed to the formal object of hope, and destructive of that virtue. This, however, cannot be admitted by any Catholic theologian, and so, the theory from which any such conclusion is deducible should be avoided as dangerous. So argue many of our opponents.

One may well admit that this is a grave objection, which must be met by all who maintain the permanency of the Virtue of Hope when sanctifying grace has been lost, but it is not clear how it has any special force against the theory propounded in these pages. We did not first determine the nature of the contrition that is required, and then proceed to argue about the nature of sin; but we began by accepting the common doctrine on the essence of sin, and from this we deduced our conclusions on the kind of sorrow that will be

deemed sufficient. Now, we strongly contend, as we have explained in the opening paragraphs of this essay, that according to the common opinion of theologians the ultimate malice of sin is to be found in the fact that the sinner despises and depreciates the infinite goodness of God by turning away from Him to the enjoyment of the creature. Thus, St. Thomas, in his work *Contra Gentiles*,¹ whilst engaged in proving the eternity of hell, says :—

Whoever turns away from his last end which is to be possessed forever on account of a temporal good, has, thereby, preferred the temporary enjoyment of that temporal good to the eternal enjoyment of his last end; therefore, eternal punishment is due to him who has abandoned his last end.

Mazzella cites approvingly this same argument,² and many other theologians, amongst whom may be mentioned Lessius, assert the same thing when treating of the necessity of a God-Man coming to satisfy for sin. Therefore, it is clear, according to our theologians, sin is an infinite evil because it involves a turning away from God, and a depreciation of His goodness; and it was because we freely accepted this doctrine that we were forced to defend the opinion which we have endeavoured to uphold. But, though the objection does not specially militate against our view, yet, since it creates a grave difficulty against the common teaching with regard to the permanency of the virtue of hope in the sinner, it is right that some reply should be given. In the first place, Catholic theologians seem to be almost unanimous in asserting that the virtue of hope remains, even when sanctifying grace has been lost by mortal sin, and to this opinion, difficult though it may be to defend, we firmly adhere. The virtues are nothing more than the new and supernatural powers which are given to the soul when it has been elevated to be a participator even of the divine nature, and of themselves should cease with the loss of sanctifying grace, as they were called into existence by its presence. If, however, it were revealed that after the soul had been deprived of its grace, some of the virtues remained, one should freely admit that such a thing is possible for God, though human reason

¹ Lib. III., chap. cxliv.

² *De Deo Creante*, art. 5. n1268.

could not perceive how it could be done. Theologians seem to assert that a revelation of this kind has been made with regard to the Virtues of Faith and Hope, and that they remain in the sinner unless destroyed by something which is opposed to their formal object, as, for example, heresy in the case of Faith, or despair in the case of Hope. Now, since every mortal sin is a turning away from God as He is infinitely good for us, to seek our pleasure in some created good—it would appear that every mortal sin destroys hope. This is the difficulty which must be met.

We admit—and it seems to be Catholic teaching—that in every sin there is a conversion from God to the creature, but we deny that this conversion is so completely and directly against the formal object of hope as to demand the destruction of that virtue. Hope is a peculiar species of love—it is desire; its object is a future good, and it does not seem to be impossible to combine a desire for some future good with a present attachment to something which is opposed to that good. Thus, for example, a man might desire very much to succeed in some undertaking which requires his ceaseless exertions, and yet nobody would contend that his love of a short relaxation from toil would be so directly opposed to his desire as to prevent its existence, even at the very moment when his heart revels in the enjoyment of a present and opposite good. No doubt, this seems to prove only that the present attachment to sin is compatible with a resolve to return to God when the temporal pleasure has vanished, but if it be borne in mind that hope is a desire for a *future good*, and that sin does not exclude the possibility of obtaining this good—since the evil may be remedied by repentance—it will appear to be, at least, possible that the Virtue of Hope may remain intact, even after the admission of mortal sin. This is the best reply we can give to a very serious difficulty, and with it we shall close a long, and, to the reader, we fear, a very wearisome inquiry.

JAMES McCaffrey.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION: ITS CAUSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

I

INTRODUCTORY

IN the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the iniquities of English rule in Ireland seemed to have reached their climax. This, perhaps, arose to some degree from the fact, that the country had hitherto been only partially subjected to British control, and that the sovereigns of that particular period were resolved to make one supreme effort to crush the Irish chieftains, particularly those of the north, and reduce the entire island to the level of an English province. Elizabeth had spared neither pains nor cost to effect this purpose, but, though wholly unscrupulous as to the means employed, she had failed. That questionable glory was reserved for James I.; and his successors did not neglect to carry out the system of injustice and spoliation inaugurated by him. The battle between Saxon ruler and Irish chieftain was a struggle for arbitrary power on the one side, and for faith and fatherland on the other. James was beset by hordes of Scotch followers and needy Englishmen to whom he was under obligations, and who were loudly clamouring for royal favours. Not having wherewith in England to satisfy their importunity and their avarice, he turned his thoughts to Ireland as the place whence he could best supply their wants. All that was necessary was to drive out from thence the lawful owners of the soil, and parcel out the land among his needy dependents. It was a bold stroke of robbery, even for an English king; but James had no qualms of conscience about the injustice if he could but effect his object. He knew that he had tools as unscrupulous as himself to carry out his designs; and as the second Henry had come under the pretence of civilizing the natives, and purifying religion, even so James, under a

similar pretext, initiated his system of confiscation and religious intolerance.

The south and the east were, to a large extent, crushed; Connaught was partially subdued; the north alone held out uncompromisingly. O'Neill in Tyrone, O'Caban in what is now county Derry, O'Doherty in Inishowen, Maguire in Fermanagh, O'Donnell in Tyrconnell, etc., were still unsubdued; and to reduce them to subjection was the fixed and merciless policy of the British Solomon. In Mountjoy, the deputy-general; Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir John Davies, and a host of others he found willing and able agents for carrying out his plans. Of these, however, the one we shall have principally to deal with is Chichester, who succeeded in driving the earls out of the country, and in working the ruin of the young chieftain of Inishowen, whose territories he had long coveted for himself. The story of Sir Cahir O'Doherty is a sad one, as, indeed, is that of every Irish chieftain of the period; but the youth and chivalry of the lord of Inishowen, the treachery with which he was surrounded and goaded into premature rebellion, his untimely end at the rock of Doon, are circumstances that have thrown an air of romance over his history, and have called forth the powers of the poet and the novelist. Nor has the pen of the calumniator been idle in his regard. To shield from blame the plunderers of his territories, and to furnish pretexts of justification for their nefarious machinations against him, a web of falsehood was woven around his character, and he was exhibited as a monster of cruelty, and a heartless murderer both in the seizure of Culmore and the sack of Derry. So little trouble has been taken by even our best Irish historical writers to investigate the truth for themselves, that we find in even the latest work of note, Doctor Joyce's *Child's History of Ireland*, a book most admirable in other respects, the same calumny repeated as if it were bodily taken from the mendacious pages of Cox. Father Meehan, that charming writer, was also misled regarding Sir Cahir. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, he found an anonymous pamphlet, a copy of one in the British Museum, which he believed to be a reliable

authority, and he made use of it in delineating the character of the young chieftain. It was not till after the second edition of his *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell* had appeared that he learned his grave mistake. To the present writer, as well as to many others, he expressed his deep regret for the injustice he had unwittingly and unintentionally done to the character of Sir Cahir, and declared his intention to repair the injury in a future edition of his work, but, unfortunately, he did not live to accomplish his design.

A still more inexcusable repetition of the calumny against Sir Cahir is to be found in a work published but a few months ago, and where we might naturally expect more historical accuracy. This is *Stuart's History of Armagh*, revised and edited by Father Coleman, O.P. Stuart gives the story of the massacre of the garrison at Culmore, etc., as told by Cox. For this Stuart is not much to blame, for the *State Papers* bearing on the subject were not then published, and he had, probably, no means of knowing that the story was untrue; but Father Coleman had no such excuse. Had he but turned to the pages of those authoritative documents, he would have found ample materials to refute the vile story of the unscrupulous Cox, as reproduced in the pages of Stuart. When Irish writers are thus careless about verifying the statements they put forth on Irish subjects, we need not wonder at the inaccuracies and misstatements of English writers.

It shall be our effort to vindicate the character of the hapless young chieftain from the foul charge of murdering the garrison at Culmore, and from the atrocities attributed to him in the seizure of Derry. We shall, moreover, glance at the character of some of the men with whom he had to deal, particularly Chichester, whose wily policy entangled the unsuspecting youth in snares carefully laid for his destruction. For years the lord-deputy had set his heart upon the lands of O'Doherty, and we know that he never permitted a sense of justice to intervene between him and the object of his avarice.

II

THE CLANN-FIAMUIN, OR O'DOHERTYS

The sept of the O'Dohertys was one of the most ancient in Ireland, being descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages through Cennfaeladh, the son of Garve. Cennfaeladh had three sons, of whom Fiamuin, the eldest, was ancestor of the Clann-Fiamuin, or O'Dohertys; and Muirchertach, the third son, was ancestor of the Clann-Dalaigh, or O'Donnells.¹ To the Clan O'Doherty was assigned the territory of Cinel-Enna or Enda, which takes its name from Enda, who was sixth son of Conall Gulban.

The territory of this sept [says O'Donovan], usually called Tir-Enda, comprised thirty quarters of lands, and is situated in the barony of Raphoe, and county of Donegal, to the south of Inishowen, and between the arms of Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, *i.e.*, between Lifford and Letterkenny.²

As the descendants of Fiamuin increased, the territory of Cinel-Enda became too circumscribed for them, and we find them afterwards in possession of the adjoining territory of Ard-Miodhair.

The limits of this territory [writes O'Donovan]³ have not been yet determined. In the year 1199 O'Dochartaigh, now O'Dogherty or Doherty, was chief of the territory of Cinel-Enda and Ard-Miodhair. Ard-Miodhair extended westwards of Cinel-Enda, in the direction of Glenfinn, in the parish of Kiltcevogue. On the increasing power and population of the descendants of Conall Gulban, O'Doherty, a very high family of the race, became lord of Inishowen, and expelled or subdued the families of the race of Eoghan, who had been lords of that territory before him.

In an ancient Irish poem by O'Dubhagain, the residence of the sept in Ard-Miodhair, or Ardmore, as it is sometimes written, is thus referred to:—

A battle-armed host which is not treacherous,
Is over Ard-Miodhair of irriguous slopes;
Men who have been found valiant,
Are proving it to O'Dochartaigh.⁴

From the year 1200 they held undisputed sway over

¹ *Battle of Magh Rath*, n. D., p. 164.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 209.

² *Irish Topographical Poems*, n. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.* Translated by O'Donovan.

Inishowen, and the dignity and authority of chieftainship we find centred in John O'Doherty at the close of the sixteenth century. He was knighted by Sir John Perrott, lord-deputy of Ireland. His death is recorded thus by the annalists under the year 1601 :—

O'Doherty (John Oge, the son of John, son of Phelim, son of Conor Caragh) died on the 27th of January. He was the lord of the triocha-ched of Inishowen ;¹ and there was not among all the Irish of his time a lord of a triocha-ched of better hand or hospitality, or of firmer counsel than he.

He was regarded as one of the best warriors of his day, and it was on the battle-field that he met his death. At the battle of the Curlin or Curlew mountains he was the powerful auxiliary of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and his death, as O'Sullivan tells us, was a severe blow to that valiant young chieftain. He had submitted to Elizabeth, and received from her a new grant of his lands on condition of his not going again into rebellion against her. This grant he forfeited afterwards by joining Hugh Roe when fighting against the English. In 1588 Sir William Fitz-Williams, lord-deputy, came to the north of Ireland, seeking to recover the treasure which he had been led to believe had been scattered on the coast by the wreck of the Armada, but failing to obtain it, 'he grew so enraged,' says Cox, 'that he imprisoned Sir Owen O'Toole [*recte*, O'Gallagher], and O'Dogherty, who were the best affected to the state of all the Irish ; and the former he kept in prison during his time, and the other he detained two years, until he was forced to purchase his discharge.' Plowden narrates the story in almost similar words.²

Sir John was married to a daughter of Shane O'Neill, than whom, let his faults in other respects be what they might, Ireland never produced a more sterling soldier. Of this marriage there were, as far as we can discover, five children—Rosa, who was first married to Caffer O'Donnell, and, after his death, to Owen Roe O'Neill ; Margaret, who

¹ Triocha-ched : a cantred, hundred, or barony, containing a hundred and twenty quarters of land.—Note by O'Donovan.

² *History of Ireland*, vol. i., chap. ii.

was married to Oghie Oge, son of Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, chief of Orier; Cahir, Rory, and John. Of these two brothers of Sir Cahir, Rory and John, Father Meehan tells us that at the time of the death of their eldest brother:—

The latter (John) was in the custody of his foster-father O'Ruaric in Leitrim at the time of the insurrection, but Rory, the eldest, was seized by Sir James Parrott in the county Down. The executive, however, did not proceed against him because he was only eleven years old. Chichester, had it served his purpose, would have cut the throats of both; but his grand object was to get possession of their ill-fated brother's lands, and he knew that their life could not thwart his cupidity. As the crown made no provision for them, they found shelter in the house of O'Ruaric, where they were lovingly warded till they reached man's estate, when Rory proceeded to Belgium, and took service in the army of the archdukes. He, it would appear, died in Brussels; but it is likely enough that the blood of John, Sir Cahir's youngest brother, still survives in Spain, the land whence the bards and senachies of old were wont to derive the high lineage of the O'Dohertys, once potent lords of Inishowen.¹

Rosa O'Doherty, who was a highly gifted and educated lady, died in Brussels in 1660, and was interred in Louvain, where her son, Hugh O'Donnell, erected a monument to her memory. Margaret, who was married to O'Hanlon of Orier, met a sad fate. After the death of her brother, Sir Cahir, O'Hanlon's territories were ravaged by the deputy's soldiers, and Margaret had to fly from her home into the woods. There, writes Sir John Davies, 'among the rest, Oghy O'Hanlon's wife was found alone, by an Irish soldier who knew her not; and being stripped of her apparel, she was so left in the woods, where she died next day of cold and famine, being lately delivered of a child.'² Davies in this, with his usual mendacity, tries to attach to an Irish soldier the disgrace of this savage and barbarous treatment, but, as Mr. Hill remarks, 'it is not credible, however, that the wife of an Irish leader would have suffered the indignity mentioned, from her countryman, without making known her name and position as a means of protecting herself against outrage.'³ Her husband, Oghie Oge

¹ *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*.

² *Cal. S. P.*, p. 15, 1608.

³ *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 65.

O'Hanlon, was taken prisoner, and was, like so many other Irish Catholics of the day, sent off to be enrolled in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, who was fighting the battle of Protestantism against the Catholic house of Austria. Father Meehan says he was hanged, but the *State Papers* give a list of 'Irish Levies for Swedish Service,' and second on that list we find this entry:—

Oghy Oge O'Hanlon is nephew to the Earl of Tyrone, heir to Sir Oghy O'Hanlon, lord of a great country, has forfeited his inheritance by entering into action of rebellion with O'Dogherty; of a malicious, stubborn, mutinous disposition, and without doubt a traitor in his heart, and will be ready to undertake any mischief.¹

This description of O'Hanlon is in keeping with all the descriptions of the Irish as given by the English officials of that time.

After the death of Sir John O'Doherty, O'Donnell selected as The O'Doherty Phelim Oge, a brother of the deceased, and passed over Cahir, the son of Sir John. The MacDevitts or MacDavids, who were not only the clansmen,² but also the foster-brothers of Cahir, took this amiss, and determined that the law of tanistry should not hold in this case, but that the chieftainship should go *more anglicano* by lineal descent. With this object in view they made overtures to Sir Henry Docwra, the English governor of Derry, and nothing could be more pleasing to him, for, as Bishop Montgomery wrote, 'it was thought fit in policy of state to separate O'Doghertie from O'Donel, and this now finds the good of it, and will every day more and more.'³ It was getting in the thin end of the wedge, which was later on to effect a fatal cleavage; but we will let Docwra tell in his own quaint English and straight-forward way the events as they occurred. In his *Narration* he thus writes:—

And about Christenmas this yeare dyed Sr. John O'Doghertie

¹ *S. P.* for 1609.

² 'In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the Irish families had increased, and their territories were divided into two or more parts among the rivals of the same family, each of the contending chiefains adopted some addition to the family surname, for the sake of distinction. The O'Doghertys, of Inishowen, [were divided] into O'Doghertys, MacDevitts, and MacConnelloges.'—*Irish Topographical Poems*, Introduction, pp. 19 and 21.

³ Bishop of Derry, *S. P.* for 1607.

in Tirconnell, being fledd from his owne Countrey with his goods & people, a man that in shewe seamed wonderfull desirous to yeald his obedience to the Queene, But soe as his actions did euer argue he was otherwise minded ; But, it is true, O'Donell had at our first coming Ceazed his sonne, afterwards called Sr. Cahir O'Doghertie into his hands, & kepte him as a Pledge vpon him which might iustly serue for some colour of excuse, that he was not at libertie to vse the libertie of his owne will ; Being nowe deade, O'Donell sett vp in his place one Phelim Oge, a brother of his, neglecting the sonne who had bene bredd & fostred by the said Hugh Boye & Phelim Reaugh. These men tooke it as the highest iniurie [that] could be done vnto them, that their Foster-Child should be deprived of that, which they thought was his cleere & vudoubtible right ; & therevpon seriouslie addressed themselves vnto Mee, and made offer, that in case I would maintain the sonne against the Uncle, & procure he might hold the Countrey according to the same Lettres Pattents his father had it before him, they would worke the means to free him out of O'Donell's hands, to bring home the People and Catle that were fledd, & with them to-geather with themselves, yeald obedience & service to the state ; many messages & meetinges wee had about it, & none but to my knowledge ; O'Donell was still made acquainted with, yea and with the very truth of euery particuler speach that passed amongst vs ; yet soe was he deluded (being himselfe a Crafte Master at that arte), that in the end a Conclusion was made between vs, their demands were graunted by mee, & confirmed by my lord Deputie & Councell, hee perswaded to sett the young man at libertie ; & when he had done, the people with their goods retourned into the Countrey, took their Leaves of him, & declared themselves for our side, & from that day forward wee had many faithful and singular seruices from them, their Churles & Garrans assistinge vs with Carriages, their Catle, with plenty of fishe meate, & Hugh Boye and Phelim Reaugh with many intelligences and other helpes ; without all which, I must freelie confess a truth, it had been vtterlie impossible wee could haue made that sure and speedie Progress in the Warres that afterwards wee did.

Sir Cahir, born in 1587, was fourteen at the time of his father's death, and was therefore in his fifteenth year when placed under the care of Docwra. That there existed a strong feeling of mutual affection between Docwra and his *protégé* is apparent from the manner the former always speaks of O'Doherty. Thus he tells us that being at one time stationed at Omy (Omagh), he and his men set out upon a 'catle prey' to 'Cormocke MacBaron's countrey,'

which they robbed of 400 cows. They did not, however, get off with them without a struggle with MacBaron's people, and in the fight Docwra lost twenty-five of his men. He says that on this occasion—

O'Dohertie [Sir Cahir] was with vs, alighted when I did, kept mee companie in the greatest heats of the feight, beheaved himself brauelie, & with a great deale of loue and affection, all that day, which at my next meeting with my lord, I recommended him, and he gave him the honnor of knighthood in recompence of.¹

Cormock MacBaron's lands were evidently in the county Monaghan, as he tells us both Augher and Clogher stood in them.

Fault has been found with the MacDevitts for handing over Sir Cahir to the care of Docwra on account of the danger to his faith, but provision seems to have been made to guard against that contingency. We never find an instance of Docwra attempting to tamper with the faith of his ward, but on the contrary the author of *Inis-Owen and Tirconnell*² tells us that Docwra employed a priest to superintend his education. He may in the society of his patron and his English friends have imbibed ideas which if not anti-Irish, were at least un-Irish, but the old faith remained unimpaired, and the fruits of its teachings were manifested in his blameless moral character.

In person he is described as tall and handsome, of polished manners, winning and attractive, and well-educated: Some of his letters which are yet extant in Dublin, as well as some of his sister Rosa, attest the beautiful caligraphy of both.

'Eva' of the *Nation*, afterwards Mrs. Kevin Izod O'Doherty, in a footnote to her exquisite lines on Sir Cahir, says:—

When about twenty years of age he was described as 'a man to be marked amongst a thousand—a man of the loftiest and proudest bearing in Ulster; his Spanish hat with the heron's

¹ *Docwra's Narration*,

² Mr. Wm. Jas. Doherty.

plume was too often the terror of his enemies and the rallying point of his friends not to bespeak the O'Doherty.'

By the Spanish plumed hat, and costly attire,
And the dark eye that's blended of midnight and fire,
And the bearing and stature so princely and tall,
Sir Cahir you'll know in the midst of them all.

Like an oak on the land, like a ship on the sea,
Like the eagle above, strong and haughty as he,
In the greenness of youth—yet he's crowned as his due,
With the fear of the false and the love of the true.¹

About six months after the accession of James to the throne, Sir Cahir visited the English court to obtain from that monarch a re-grant of his estates which had been forfeited by the rebellion of his father. This favour was granted by James; but, shortly after his return, Sir Cahir found to his dismay that Mountjoy, the deputy, had leased away for twenty-one years to Sir Ralph Bingley the island of Inch, which was the most valuable part of all his property. To understand the value of this island we shall insert here the description given of it by Hill in his *Plantation of Ulster*²:—

The island of Inch, represented as above to contain 1,024 acres, really contains 3,100 acres of the best land in the whole barony to which it belongs. It lies on the western side of Lough Swilly, being separated by a deep and narrow channel from Rathmullen. The land gradually slopes up from the shores, forming a sort of cone near the centre of the island, about 740 feet above the sea level. This height is known appropriately as Inch Top. Off the northern side of the island, which is overlooked by a fortified and garrisoned position known as Down Fort, there is a good roadstead for vessels bound to Letterkenny and Ramelton, and close to the shore is a valuable oyster-bed. The island is reached by various ferries from the mainland, the shortest of which connects with Quigley's Point, about a mile from Burnfoot Bridge.

Since the foregoing was written, Inch has been connected with the mainland by two ramparts, one stretching to Fahan, the other to Farland Point in Burt.

Such was the territory Sir Cahir found filched away from him, not only without any remuneration, but without his even having been consulted in the matter. It was, moreover, a gross violation of the re-grant made him by

¹ *The Ballads of Ireland*, by Edward Hayes.

² Page 104, n. (55).

James, who had confirmed him in all that had formerly been granted to his father in Elizabeth's time, and in which Inch was certainly included. No wonder Sir Cahir felt aggrieved, and complained to Docwra of the injustice done him. Docwra himself seemed astonished at the flagrant act of robbery. He thus relates the circumstance in his *Narration* :—

Then touching O'Doughertie I tould him [Mountjoy] hee had hard his lordship had a purpose to give away the Ile of Inche from him, which hee had showed Mee was expreslie containd in his father's Graunte, & therefore would importe a breach of Promise both of myne & his owne; Hee acknowledged he had beene moued in such a matter, but thanked mee for telling him thus much & bad mee be assured it should not be done, where-with I rested fullie satisfied & tould O'Doughertie as much, whoe was at that time in towne in my companie.

Notwithstanding that promise on the part of the deputy, we find he had not the slightest intention of fulfilling it. Docwra tells us :—

As he [Mountjoy] was readie to take shipping, O'Doghertie came & tould Mee, that notwithstanding all the assurance I had given him of the Contrary, the Ile of Inch was past away. I could not possiblilie believe it at first, but hee showed mee manifest proofes that a lease was graunted for xxi years; I then badd him goe speake for himselfe, for I had done as much as I was able, wherevpon hee followed him into England and had such reamidie as shall presently be declared.

Sir Cahir followed Docwra's advice, and set out for England to see Mountjoy. That dishonourable hypocrite, playing upon the guileless youth's simplicity, pretended to hearken to his petition, and to grant him what he sought. He gave him a letter to Docwra, ordering that governor to restore Inch to O'Doherty.

Presentlie after him [O'Donnell] came O'Doghertie [writes Dowra], alsoe with a lettre from my lord to Mee, to pray Mee to deliver him the possession of the Isle of Inch againe, which hee himselfe had past away before, first by lease for xxi yeares, & afterwards in ffee simple for ever, both vnder the greate seale; I tould him this warrannt was too weake to doe what it imported, & shew'd him reasons for it, which either he could not, or would not, apprehend, or believe, But plainly made shew to conceive a

suspition as though I were corrupted vnder hand to runne a dissembling course with him. To give him Contentment if I could, being then to goe for England, & to Dublin by the way, I spoke to Sr. George Carey that was then lord Deputie, tould him how the case stooode, & what discontentment I sawe it drave him into. Hee tould Mee it was past the Seales (gave mee a further reason too) & vtterlie refused to make or medle with it; Herevpon hee tooke it more to hearte, sente Agentes to deale for him in England, they preuayled not till my lord was deade, & then with impatience lead away with Lewd Councell besides, & conceiuing himselfe to be wronged in many other thinges, hee was first broke out into open Rebellion, but that fell out a good while after.

It was, apparently, on his way home after this second visit to England that Sir Cahir visited Lord Gormanstown, whose daughter, Mary Preston, he wooed, and soon afterwards wed. It was a time of joy when the young lord of Inishowen brought his youthful bride to his ancestral home. She came to a land of wild and varied beauty. Clapsed in the arms of the Swilly and the Foyle, with the waves of the Atlantic for ever breaking in foam around its rocky headlands, the peninsula of Inishowen was a principality of which any chieftain might well be proud. Its lakes and mountains, its green valleys and rushing rivers, its broad and fertile plains, its coast-line stretching in dreamy curves for miles on miles, and indented with many a sunny bay and harbour, presented such a picture of diversified beauty, that none but a master hand could delineate its charms. It was a home for a royal bride much less for a daughter of the Pale. O'Doherty's castles, whose tottering ruins still bear testimony to their former magnificence, were not only strongholds, but princely palaces. Than the site of Burt castle nothing finer could be found in the land. Crowning a rather insulated and conical hill, half of whose circumference was washed by the waters of the Swilly, the castle commanded one of the most beautiful prospects in the north. And when in the summer evening the sinking sun burnished the broad expanse of water, tipped with gold the hill-tops of Inishowen, and shed over the lands of Tyrconnell and Tir-Enda that glow—half amethyst, half golden—which distinguishes our Irish sunsets, surely no bridal pair ever gazed on a scene more truly elysian. Westwards, across the

lake of Shadows, rose the glorious mountains of Tyrconnell; Tir-Enda—O'Doherty's original territory comprising the plain of Magh-Ith—stretched away to the south; eastwards, beyond the Foyle, the lands of O'Neill sloped up from the water's edge till their hill-tops were curtained by the clouds; while, just as it were at hand, the castle of Inch, on the very shore of the island of that name, flung its shadow on the tide; and Elagh, in the distance, gleamed like a diamond on the slope of that eastern hill which is sheltered from the north by the peaks of Scalp mountain. Adjoining Elagh, and stretching towards Buncrana, were the beauteous hills of Fahan, with their romantic valleys, sung by the poet and sketched by the artist:—

There mid its tall and circling wood,
In olden times an abbey stood;
It stands no more—no more at even
The vesper hymn ascends to Heaven;
No more the sound of Matin bell
Calls forth each father from his cell.

And nettle tall with hemlock waves
In rank luxuriance o'er their graves;
There fragments of the sculptur'd stone
Still sadly speak of grandeur gone
And point the spot, where dark and deep
The fathers and their abbey sleep.¹

And crowning all, and looking down with queenly pride on that scene of beauty, royal Aileach for ever sat on her mountain throne, nursing the memory of bygone ages when kings held court in her halls, and mailed warriors went forth from her Grianan to wreak vengeance on their foes.

Yet Burt was but one of O'Doherty's many castles over which Mary Preston, his fair young bride, was now installed as mistress. It was a time of sunshine for her and her boyish husband of only nineteen years; but, alas! it was the deceptive sunshine that gleams before a winter storm. His enemies were gradually drawing their toils around him, and the wily Chichester, who hungered after the lands of Inishowen as the wild beast hungers for its prey, would

¹ *The Revenge of Donal Comm*, by Callanan.

soon have him in his power, and mercilessly crush him to the earth. The earls were gone and their territories confiscated to the crown. O'Neill, O'Donnell, Magennis and Maguire were no longer masters of their paternal principalities, and the young chieftain of Inishowen was the only ruler that remained to be driven from the land. He must be treated with suspicion; he must be harried by vexatious restrictions; he must be insulted as an inferior and a rebel, till his proud young spirit, chafing under such wrongs, would be goaded into rebellion—rash and premature—which would work his utter ruin. Chichester and his myrmidons seemed to trust and honour the young chieftain, whilst Judas-like they were plotting his destruction. Thus at the Commission held in Lifford about ten days before Christmas, 1607, to indict the fugitive earls, Sir Cahir O'Doherty was made foreman of the jury; but it may be remarked that Sir John Davies, his majesty's attorney-general, explained to the jury on the occasion 'that an indictment was but an accusation, and no conviction,'¹ so that Sir Cahir cannot be charged with assisting to convict the earls. The mode of empannelling the jury in this case was so pleasing to James, that he wrote to congratulate Chichester upon his diplomatic conduct.

By the letters which we have received [wrote he], it appeareth what course you have taken with the fugitives by indicting them in such a form as yieldeth his majesty very good satisfaction, being done in the face of their adherents, and the bills found by so equal a jury, among which Sir Cahir O'Dohertie is noted to have been forward [foreman], and Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, which is a good argument of loyalty.²

Notwithstanding the trust they seemed to repose in him by making him foreman of the jury in this instance, we find that but a short time elapsed till they actually charged himself with being an accomplice of these same earls. Though it anticipates the regular narration of events, we shall insert here one of these charges. In the book from which we have just quoted there is found 'a brief relation

¹ See *State Papers*.

² *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., Original Papers, letter xvi.

of the passages in the parliament summoned in Ireland anno 1613.' It states:—

The discovery of this treason moved Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and some other of their complices, to run out of Ireland. A peer of that realm, their associate, was taken prisoner, whom his majesty in his clemency pardoned.

The next attempt, *which was but a branch of the former*, was the rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dohertie; but a happy shot, which smote him on the head, ended that business. By the flight of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, &c., the rebellion of O'Doherty and the traitorly Irishling of Sir Neale O'Donnell, O'Cahan, and others, six entire counties in Ulster (to dispose at his majesty's pleasure) escheated.¹

Later on we shall see how unfounded was this calumny.

Spies were now evidently employed to watch every movement of Sir Cahir, and to give them a sinister complexion; and reports, duly interspersed with pictures of treasonable intentions on the part of the young chieftain, were regularly forwarded to headquarters. If he but moved from one castle to another, if he sailed in his boat on the Swilly, if he cut down a tree to repair the rafters of his dwelling, he was plotting treason and preparing for rebellion. Sir Richard Hansard writes thus to Lord Salisbury:—

Yesternight Sir Cahir O'Doughartie put himself with his wife and the principal gentlemen of his country into certain boats of his own. Twenty are gone for the island of Torrache (Torry) where they mean to stand upon their keeping, until the army shall arrive out of Spain, which is now (by general report) speedily expected. Tarraughe is (by fame) of that strength, that (being victualled) a small number are of power to defend the place against an enemy.²

Three days after this we find Sir George Paulett, governor of Derry, writing to the lord-deputy, giving his version of Sir Cahir's movements and designs as follows:—

When he knew that Sir Richard Hansard had written to his lordship of the first report of Sir Cahir O'Dohertie's flying out, thought it needless to write of the same until he might write more certainly. Employed some persons, therefore, to give him certain knowledge of his designs, and wrote presently to him very kindly assurances of his sorrow for the reports which were raised

¹ *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i.

² *S. P.*, 1st Nov., 1607.

on him, not believing the same, and desired him to repair to him at Derry. Received no answer to this ; and even this day, being the fourth of this instant November, went to Byrte Castle, accompanied by Captain Harte and Captain Sydney, to Sir Cahir's lady, purposing (as they found the place furnished) to have surprised it ; but by intelligence of one whom he sent to discover the inward strength of the place, was advertised that there were sixteen or twenty men well appointed within the castle ; and so they durst make no further attempt, for fear of being themselves surprised. But they certainly understood that Sir Cahir had put himself into the strength of three hundred men, with the chiefest of his country, and stands upon his guard (as his lady saith) until he has written to his lordship and receiveth an answer. Under pretence of going to Canabeyer [Canmoyre] Wood to cut some timber for his building, after he had received arms out of the store, he armed about thirty persons, and called unto him Shane MacManus Oge, by whose consent he has taken the isle of Torrey and manned the Castle, and is gone with his boats down by water to Malolinge [Malin] into a very strong place in the midst of Enishowen [Inishowen]. Phelemy Sewghe is with him, who had before gathered all his provisions in the castle of Byrte ; so that he now finds his judgment of Sir Cahir nothing deceived, and assures himself no less of O'Cahan, whose carriage daily confirms his conceit of him.

Even after he had closed his letters, and delivered them to the messenger, this enclosed was sent him from Sir Cahir O'Dohertye. Upon receipt whereof, after he had read the contents, he wrote to him, as his Lordship may read on the other side, the copy whereof he has thought good to send to his Lordship.

Encloses

Sir Cahir O'Doherty to Sir Geo. Paulett.

Sir Geo. Paulett, I understand you hold a very hard opinion of me, and that you were at my house to have it delivered to your hands, which I do think myself very hardly dealt withal, you knowing no more of my bad facts ; for I do think myself as good as you, and as any one that would say the like in my behalf ; but hearing of your hard dealing in this case I will not trust any of you until such time as I do hear of my Lord Deputy ; and then I do think that some of you here that charged me so wrongfully, so sure will he be ashamed of it, and thus I rest your loving friend.—Caragh Braughy, thus 4th of November, 1607.¹

¹ Caragh Braughy. The ruins of Carragh-a-Braghey castle still remain. They stand on a high rock in the isle of Doagh, parish of Clonmany, at the mouth of the bar through which the Atlantic rolls its waves into Strath-Breagy. This bar separates Clonmany from Malin. Carragh-a-Braghey was inhabited at this time by Sir Cahir's relative, Phelim Breslaugh O'Doherty, and would, therefore, be to Sir Cahir the same as his own home.

P. I. Signed. Add.: 'To my very loving friend, Sir Geo. Paulett, Knight.'

This very modest letter received the following reply :—

Sir George Paulett to Sir Cahir O'Dougherty.

Sir Cahir,—Your writings are like your dealings, the one very disloyal, the other very false. I gave by my late letters unto you better testimony of the good opinion I held of you, neither did I until yesterday believe the common bruit of your disloyal going into armour. No man in these parts hath had less cause of offence than you, none more encouragement for well-doing, especially from the Lord Deputy; for my usage of you I ask no better testimony than your own knowledge. It seems you were very near the Castle, that could so soon receive advertisement of my coming and purpose, who yet never conceived thought of demand or delivery thereof, being possessed of a better opinion of you than now I am satisfied you did deserve. My purpose was to have seen your lady and from her to have known your intent if I could, and to have given her the best advice I could for your part; but understanding even then, by more certain intelligence than before, on what terms you stood, I did not think it fit to proceed any further, and so I sent your lady word, which it seems was very speedily conveyed unto you, being at least 20 miles off, as the text of your letter shows. I see you would draw on matter from us to colour your disloyal action, by supposal of bad dealings offered you from us; but you, with your legion of priests and friars late sent from Spain, are discovered well enough. Howsoever you stand upon your justification, if you do not presently disperse your men, and lay down your arms (the which in his Majesty's name I [order] you to do, and in the duty of your allegiance, I will forthwith denounce and proclaim you a disloyal subject to the King, a false and treacherous traitor to his quiet government, his Crown, and dignity; and if you persevere in this your folly, if it be my fortune to meet you in the field on horse-back or on foot, I doubt not but to make your proud spirit know the difference between a good subject and a disloyal false-hearted traitor; and so wishing confusion to your actions, I leave you to a [provost marshal] and his halter.'—Derry, 5th Nov., 1607.¹

How delightful to the heart of Chichester must have been the perusal of this letter! His plans were ripening fast, which would soon be followed by the desired harvest of plunder.

The following letter from Sir Richard Hansard to

¹ *State Papers* for 1607.

Chichester clearly refutes the charge made against Sir Cahir of intended rebellion.

Sir Richard Hansard to the Lord-Deputy.

The bearer of the letters enclosed being brought to him by one who knew him to belong to Sir Cahir O'Dougherty, thought it fit to send himself and letters to his Lordship by his own messenger. Finds, upon conference with him, that he is well prepared to set a good colour upon his master's action, for he affirms that Sir Cahir's purpose was only to have cut wood at Canmoyre, for the finishing of a building which he has in hand, and that it being reported in the country (upon his departure from his house) that he was entered into rebellion, he thought it not safe for him to return home until he should have obtained assurance of his life from your Lordship. What his determination was, is, he thinks, known to a few; but, whatsoever was intended, it is certain that his carriage has been hitherto not in any other thing culpable than in arming about seventy men of his own country, which number he studies to increase by adding to them of the inhabitants of Enishowen, refusing to receive such strangers as have made offer to follow him. He returned into the lower part of Enishowen upon Tuesday by boat, as he departed, where he now remains, and safely may ever rest there; for (as his Lordship well understands) the weak forces in these parts are not of power to offend him, and even if they were, yet should he (Hansard) pause to undertake the prosecution of him until he should learn his Lordship's pleasure.—Lifford, 6 Nov., 1607.

Sir Cahir, like many other inexperienced young men, thought that those in high places were guided by dictates of justice, and that if the truth were laid before them, they would do what was right. With this impression on his mind he went to Dublin to clear himself in the presence of Chichester, of the charges of disloyalty made against him by Paulett. Little thought he that he was appealing to his most deadly enemy, to the man who was secretly fomenting the disturbances which were to end in his ruin. The lord-deputy thus narrates the event in a letter to the Privy Council:—

Sir Cahir O'Dogherty came to him [Chichester] yesternight from the north, and would have him believe that he intended not to fly or revolt, but howsoever he may hear his excuses, he cannot think him free from ill meaning. Will take the best assurance he can upon him, and will so return him, that others may not be scared by his restraint, which he well deserves; but this treason

has been long in plotting, for it took beginning before the powder treason was discovered, and how far it hath sped itself he knows not.¹

Again Chichester writes to the Privy Council on the 11th December, 1607 :—

Since he last wrote concerning him, Sir Cahir O'Doghertie has been here, and he has been fain to accept of his excuses, however otherwise he conceives of him, as of all others of this nation. Has bound him in a great recognizance with two sufficient sureties (the Lord of Gormanstowne, his brother-in-law, and Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams) to be always forthcoming and to appear here upon certain days' warning, from time to time. Stood stiffly to have them bound for his true loyalty and allegiance towards his Majesty, his heirs and successors, which could not be ; and to induce it the more, committed him for some days to this castle, but in the end, finding it would be no otherwise, thought fit to accept of the former conditions, which seem to include the other.²

Sir Cahir returned to Inishowen bound hand and foot by legal restrictions, the violation of which, or of any of them, would involve him in the charge of treason, and render him liable to be haled up at any moment as a rebel, and this though Chichester pretended to believe his innocence of the charges preferred against him by Paulett. It will now be necessary before proceeding further in our narrative to examine what manner of man was Chichester who by his policy succeeded in banishing the earls, and confiscating thereby for the king six entire counties in Ulster ; and who drove the young lord of Inishowen into rebellion that he might seize upon his estates which he had long coveted. Chichester was not the only one, however, that grudged Inishowen to Sir Cahir as is evident from a letter of Sir Francis Shaw to Lord Salisbury. That gentleman writes :

Innyshowen, O'Doghertie's Country, part of Tyrconnell, about 30 miles in length and about 14 broad, the gadge of 10,000 English lives and an infinite mass of treasure, was bestowed upon Sir Cahir O'Doghertie, a man of small right to the whole, without the reservation of poor men's rights, whereby he may, it is said, spend 2000£, if not 3000£, yearly. The city of Derry, built by

¹ *S. P.*, Nov. 28, 1607.

² *State Papers.*

the English in hope that Innyshowen would be made an English colony, was not so much remembered as with a poor common to grass their horses in; a pitiful omission, prejudicing his Majesty's service, and defrauding many who hoped that that city would prove a yoke to curb and restrain the North, from whence in all ages the confusion of that kingdom hath sprung, which now or never will be cut off by this plantation. Sir Cahir O'Doghertie's grant would be looked into to help and care this languishing city, &c.¹

Inishowen we see, then, was an eyesore to more Englishmen than the lord-deputy, and many another covetous heart as well as his longed for its possession. He, however, was better lessoned in the iniquitous school of duplicity and fraud than the others, and in consequence was better able to carry out his schemes more successfully. We shall now take a brief survey of this remarkable man's career that we may form some correct estimate of his character, and whilst we try to briefly delineate his life we shall 'nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.'²

To be continued.]

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

¹ S. P., anno 1607.

² Othello,' Act V., scene 2.

A FORGOTTEN CHANTRY

ST. SAVIOUR'S CHAPEL, NEW ROSS

NEW ROSS has been singularly unfortunate at the hands of its chroniclers. By some strange misadventure most of the standard authorities who have written on the subject of its history and antiquities have committed themselves to the gravest inaccuracies. If we are to judge from the errors which one writer after another seemed to aim at perpetuating, it is safe to conclude that none of these worthy scribes ever visited the place, or had even a limited knowledge of its topography. The site of the town, as most of our readers of the present day know, is a very hilly one—most remarkable in this respect—yet with the chroniclers of New Ross it is not uncommon to find places and scenes that belonged to the river side and low-lying portions of the town located on the hill-top and *vice versa*; while, in some instances, the one position is made to do duty for several passing incidents of historical importance. The records of Stanihurst, Holinshed, Hamner, Ware, Archdall, and those who have followed them, supply a striking illustration of the old classic adage:—*sui generis sequuntur greges*. Much that has come down to us in the shape of authentic records relating to the most eventful periods of the history of the town, that is, from the thirteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, has been over-looked and suffered to lie forgotten, while the greater part of what has been written relative to New Ross cannot even be considered as an attempt at historical accuracy, for it presents the reader with little more than a mass of tangled threads of information—a skein of almost hopeless confusion. This fact is all the more to be regretted from a literary point of view, since there are few towns in Ireland that can lay claim to a greater wealth of chivalrous, sacred, or eventful association.

In dealing with a chapter of the past history of New Ross our present task is limited to touching on the ecclesiastical foundations that formerly existed there, and to making a more lengthened reference to one of them—St. Saviour's chapel. This was one of the mediæval institutions of the town, regarding which all reliable information (in Ross, at least), if not quite lost, has grown very faint indeed, and about which tradition or folk-lore are absolutely silent.

During the Middle Ages, under the auspices of their founders and successive patrons, several religious Orders established themselves in Ross. The oldest monastic foundation in the town was that of the Canons Regular; and, although they were admittedly the most important, and have left a lasting evidence of their existence in the ruins of St. Mary's once beautiful church, they can hardly be classed with the religious bodies of the Norman period. It is true their vast church was built long after the English invasion, and the endowments conferred upon it were the grants and gifts of the Norman settlers—but it must be borne in mind that the Canons Regular were the representatives of the Celtic monks of St. Abban, established in Ross-mic-Truin centuries before the Stranger set foot on the banks of the Barrow. And, whilst to suit the exigencies of times and newer methods of social thought, their constitutions were reformed, and their ecclesiastical designation changed, their succession and connection with the town remained unbroken from the sixth almost to the seventeenth century. All their associations with New Ross are, however, attached to the site of the Celtic monastery inside the North Gate, and of the ruined pile now draped with the ivied trappings of decay—St. Mary's Church.

The first religious house established in New Ross, after the English invasion, was that of the Cross-Bearers, or Crouched Friars (*circ.* 1195). Within a century they disappeared. Their priory gave its name to the present Priory-street.¹ Next in order of time came the Dominicans.

¹ *Recte*, Friary-street.

Theirs, however, was only a branch house or missionary chapel, situated where Trinity Hospital now stands. Twenty years later the Franciscans got possession of the derelict house of the Cross-Bearers, where their convent flourished till the Reformation. The Austin hermits appeared in 1320, since when to the present time their devoted ministrations have been identified with Ross.

With the Reformation the virtual existence of all these institutions came to an end. By the Act of Suppression their endowments and other possessions were forfeited to the crown and passed into secular hands.

During the reign of Charles I., under Falkland's administration, the members of the Society of Jesus were permitted to establish a Residence and College at New Ross. This will have been about 1625-29. Some of the members of this Order figured prominently in the religious vicissitudes of the Commonwealth. During the siege of the town by Cromwell, 1649, and the decimating plague that followed, we are told a Jesuit father, Gregory Dowdall, was left alone to minister to the spiritual wants of the wounded and the fever-stricken. He himself, worn out with fatigue, in the end caught the dire contagion, and died a victim of heroic charity. Subsequently, for twenty-six years, the parish of New Ross was administered by the Jesuits. During this period their college grew to be one of the principal classical schools in Ireland. They were the last Catholic priests who officiated in the titular church of the parish—St. Michael's. With the more stringent enactments passed in the reign of Charles II., the Jesuit mission in New Ross ended after 1678.

We have already stated that the Order of Dominicans, or Friar Preachers, was the second in historical sequence that established a settlement in New Ross. The Friar Preachers were introduced into Ireland by Brother Regnault, an Irish member of their Order, in the year 1224. Their first Priory, St. Saviour's, Dublin, stood on the site of the Four Courts. An abbey had been previously erected on the ground by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in 1209, for the Cistercians. But they transferred the site of a chapel

to the Dominicans on their arrival, probably at the desire of the founder's son, William Marshall, the younger. The latter was a devoted patron of the Dominicans. He founded the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, in 1225, where he was interred. His wife, who was the daughter of King John, ended her life in the Dominican Convent, Mount Argis, France.

The Dominican houses in Ireland eventually numbered upwards of forty, several of which, such as those of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Killossey, etc., were dedicated to St. Saviour. '*Sancti Salvatoris*' was a favourite title of dedication for the churches of this Order.

In the annals of Friar Clyn, a Franciscan of Kilkenny, the MSS. of which is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, we find the following entry under the year 1267:—'*Predicatores coeperunt locum de Ros et capitulum Minorum Kylennie,*' *i.e.*, 'the Preachers established a *locus* at Ross and a chapter of the minors (was held) at Kilkenny (in this year).' This brief record is all that remains to tell of the origin of St. Saviour's Chapel, New Ross. In the same year the Priory of the Dominicans had been founded at Rosbercon, on the opposite bank of the river Barrow, in the county Kilkenny and diocese of Ossory.

Rosbercon at the time was a place of considerable importance. It was virtually the port of Kilkenny city—being the nearest point on the united course of the rivers Nore and Barrow navigable for deep-laden vessels. Under the De Clares, to whom Kilkenny passed by right of the co-heiress of William Marshall on the allotment of the Palatinate of Leinster in 1245, many municipal privileges were conferred on Rosbercon, and in the Charter of Gilbert De Clare,¹ granted in 1300, by which he confirmed all the grants of his ancestors, we find the civic privileges conferred on the Burgesses of Rosbercon were equal in every way with those enjoyed by the Municipality of Kilkenny. Hence we are not surprised to find Rosbercon selected for the second Dominican foundation in Ossory. However, then,

¹ Gilbert De Clare was son of Joan D'Acre, daughter of Edward I. He was killed in the battle of Bannockburn, 1313.

as now, Rosbercon was closely identified with New Ross, to which it was connected by the famous bridge of William Marshall, in the year 1200, the same structure being again rebuilt by his successor, Aymer de Valence, in 1323. But there is no reason to infer that the place ever became very populous. The greater town on the opposite side of the Barrow absorbed all its commercial and social interests.

According to the spirit and essential object of their Institute, the Dominicans settled in towns and centres of large populations, where their primary vocation as Preachers would most effectively be exercised. In Rosbercon alone they would have found a very limited field for missionary zeal of this kind. Hence we conclude that the Chapel of St. Saviour, New Ross, was a branch or *locus* of the Dominican Priory of Rosbercon, and as such is the same referred to in the annals of Friar Clyn, for, whilst the priory lay apart and in another diocese, the work of the Preachers would necessarily lie where the greater population existed, and where by their active ministration they could best fulfil the object of their rule.

The term *locus*, as applied to the constitutions of religious houses or foundations in the Middle Ages, will serve to throw some further light on St. Saviour's forgotten chapel at New Ross. A Dominican settlement, in order to be canonically erected and possess the independent dignity of being entitled a priory or conventus, should consist of a community of not less than twelve members. Every house of a lesser staff was entitled a *locus*. The existence of the latter depended on the will not only of the parent house to which it belonged, but also on that of the ordinary or bishop of the diocese in which it existed. Priories once canonically erected were subject only to the control of the provincial and chapter of the province in which they were founded, and were totally exempted from the jurisdiction of the diocesan ordinary.

There is no doubt that from an early period the Chapel of St. Saviour at Ross received certain revenues derived from lands lying not far from the Dominican Priory of Rosbercon and in the same parish. These lands derived

their name from the title of the church, and are comprised in the townland known at the present day as *Glen-san-Sav*,—Glen St. Saviour. The rents of those lands still form the endowment of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in the town of New Ross, which occupies the site of St. Saviour's Chapel, and which was incorporated by Charter of Queen Elizabeth in the twentieth year of her reign. In the original grant or endowment of the Chapel of St. Saviour the parent house or Priory of Rosbercon seems to have had no vested control, and, strangely enough, when the chapel changed hands at the close of the fourteenth century, and again at the time of the Reformation, the lands that bore its title and were parcel of its belongings were not transferred with its other appurtenances in either instance to the new possessors. The inference is that the endowment of St. Saviour's was held only at the will of its patrons, while it is evident from the sequence of events that this endowment was of such a nature as to have never been alienated from religious or charitable purposes. Here it may be mentioned, though somewhat in advance of our narrative, that in the Elizabethan Records there exists an entry (January 22nd, 1566), where Sir W. Cecil applies to the lord-deputy on behalf of 'his servant, William Baname, for a lease of the "Chantry" of St. Saviour, in the town of New Ross, with its appurtenances.' The petition was not granted. But the title given to the chapel in this entry gives a clue to the exact description of what it really was—a chantry or chapel endowed for a specific purpose, *i.e.*, for suffrages to be offered in it for the soul's weal of its founders or benefactors.¹ Trusts of this kind in those times frequently

¹ Chantries were, according to Canon Law, divided into three classes:—Collative, and Chantries in Private Patronage—both of which had to be instituted by the bishop—and Mercenary Chantries, when a testator left property to a layman with the charge of having Masses said for his soul. St. Saviour's was of the latter class. All chantries were dissolved by the Acts of 1545 and 1547. These numbered over a thousand at the Dissolution. In Ireland, when the pious intentions of their founders could no longer be fulfilled, the recital of the *De Profundis* after Mass became usual wherever chantries had existed. The usage spread throughout the whole Irish Church during the penal times. At present Ireland is the only country in which the *De Profundis* is invariably said after Mass.

covenanted that these suffrages should be discharged by priests of a certain grade or order, and when these conditions were no longer fulfilled the endowment became inoperative for the time being, but still the power of resumption was not void.

The commercial prosperity of New Ross during the Norman period of its history was of the most fluctuating character. Numerous disasters befel the town from time to time from the hostile incursions of the neighbouring Irish septs, while in its mercantile affairs rivalry with Waterford became the source of frequent contentions. The same harbour was common to both towns. The varying policy of the Plantagenet kings with regard to the port of Ross intensified these commercial feuds. Henry III., in the year 1230, and again in 1266, enacted that all vessels should load and unload at Waterford, but *not* at Ross. Again, in 1275, Edward I. commanded all foreign vessels to discharge at Waterford and not at Ross. But the Royal edicts were not wholly effectual, since foreign ships entering the harbour were frequently taken possession of by the intrepid fleet of Ross, and carried *nolens volens* to the desired destination.

The export trade of Ross, chiefly with Spain, must at the time have been immense, since we find from the returns of the New Customs granted the king and paid by merchants leaving the port from May, 1277, till Michaelmas, 1280 (about three and a-half years), amounted to £2,130,¹ an enormous sum in those days. Its rival, Waterford, within the same period contributed to the Royal Exchequer £1,864. These two ports show from their returns at the time that they had a trade respectively many times in excess of that of any other port in Ireland.

Edward II., in the year 1317, freed the port of Ross from all restrictions, and fostered the trading interests of the town. One of the favourites of that luckless monarch, Aymer De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was then Lord of Wexford. It may be remembered he it was who built the bridge of Ross for the second time, and to him also Wexford

¹ This would represent upwards of £25,560 money of the present time

owes its first Charter (1317.) Edward III. granted to New Ross its most important Charter, and also provided by statute for the walling of the town. Richard II., in 1377, confirmed all the privileges, granted by his grandfather and great grandfather, to the port. Yet even then the history of the town, true to its proverbial characteristic, continued to be made up of spasmodic intervals of prosperity and decay.

From the recital of the Charter of Edward III. (1374) it is quite plain that New Ross was at the time reduced to a state of great decadence, while its social and religious life must have been sorely paralyzed by the enactments of the statutes of Kilkenny enforced since 1368. No native Irish clergyman could in virtue of this statute be appointed to any position within the Church in the English district, and no Irishman could be received into any religious house in Ireland. These prohibitions would, as we have remarked, have seriously affected a town religiously constituted as Ross was. There were then six public churches in the town—St. Evin's, St. Michael's, St. Mary's, the churches of the Franciscans and Augustinians, and St. Saviour's Chapel. For a decayed town it was probably considered to be over-churched.

Be that as it may, from the Annals of Dunbrody we learn the Priory of St. Saviour's, with its appurtenances in Ross, was conferred by the Sovereign and Corporation for ever on the abbot in the year 1370. Thomas Denn, Bishop of Ferns, consented to the acquisition of the property by the abbey, and it received the sanction of the Viceroy, William de Wyndsore. Dunbrody was, as we know, a fortified abbey, and, from its rise to its fall, was a staunch stronghold of English power in Ireland. But though the abbot got possession of St. Saviour's and its appurtenances in the town of New Ross, we hear nothing of the landed endowments of the chantry. The latter were, no doubt, in the charge reserved at will, in accordance with their trust, by the representatives of the original patrons of the chapel. Some time after the year 1384 the Dominicans of Rosbercon got possession of the Priory of Clonmines, county Wexford, previously held by the Regular Canons

of St. Augustine. Clonmines was at the time a place of great importance, owing to its valuable silver-mining industry.

At the Dissolution of monasteries, in 1536, it was found that the appurtenances of St. Saviour's Chapel, New Ross, consisting of thirteen messuages and five gardens, in possession of Dunbrody, had been mortgaged by the abbot to Thomas Butler, and remained unredeemed when the abbey surrendered. In the year 1540 three chapels in New Ross—St. Evin's, St. Michael's, and St. Saviour's—were leased to John Blake, of New Ross, merchant, 'to farm,' that is, to turn to what use he could. At this period religious houses and churches leased on those conditions were not unfrequently rented by the lessee for the time being to the clergy who had previously held them. This was very common with abbeys in the west of Ireland. Meanwhile the Dominican Priory of Rosbercon was granted for ever to John Parker, the grant also including the Priory of Clonmines. The grantee afterwards received the extensive estates of the Priory of St. Selskar, in the town of Wexford, which now form in great part the 'Portsmouth Estate,' county Wexford. During the last year of Henry VIII. (1547) Parker obtained royal licence to alienate (probably by sale) the former possessions of the Priory of Rosbercon to John Blake, of New Ross, who, as we have previously said, leased St. Saviour's Chapel.¹ By inquisition taken in 1619 it was found that his descendant, Luke Blake, was before the year 1574 seized *in capite* of the belongings of Rosbercon Priory.

Little more remains to be said of St. Saviours Chapel, New Ross, till the founding on its site of the Hospital of the Most Holy Trinity by Thomas Gregory, a warrant relative to which is first recorded in the fiants of Elizabeth bearing date February 12th, 1578.

The first mention of the family of Gregory occurs in the records of the third year of Edward VI., 1550, where reference is made to T. Gregory, Escheator of New Ross. He

¹ In this acquirement by John Blake, Rosbercon Priory and St. Saviour's Chapel became again historically united.

built a custom house close to St. Saviour's, and subsequently a portion of the disused chapel was occupied as a residence by George Conway, his son-in-law, Collector of the port. There is ample reason for assuming that Thomas Gregory was representative of John Blake previously spoken of as the lessee of St. Saviour's chantry. Circumstances, too, point to the fact that the lands of Glen-san-Saw were all through held in trust for religious purposes by the representatives of the first founders of the chapel, and owing to the religious vicissitudes of aftertimes were applied to the endowment of the charitable institution which is still associated with the name of Thomas Gregory, founder of Trinity Hospital.¹

The foundation of Trinity Hospital, New Ross, most probably dates from the reign of Philip and Mary, when the Catholic religion was restored. The petition for its charter in the reign of Elizabeth indicates that the founder was then long since dead. The charter of Elizabeth for the founding of the hospital appoints George Conway as its first master, and associates with him in the management of the institution the sovereign and the four senior members of the council of the town, and empowers them to appoint a secular priest as chaplain to the hospital. Nine years later, in September, 1587, at the petition of Sir Patrick Walsh, the Queen bestows upon the hospital the Chapels of St. Saviour's and St. Michael, as the master and brethren require a convenient place 'to repayre unto for public and divine service.' On the 26th of October, in the year following, in response to the petition of Sir Patrick White, a fiat of similar contents is signed by Lord Deputy W. Fitzwalter.

From the names of the petitioners on whose supplication the charter for the incorporation of Trinity Hospital and subsequent grants to it were confirmed, it is plain the institution was a Catholic charity.

George Conway, first master of the hospital, who died

¹ In the fiants of the XXXII. of Elizabeth is a grant conferring head rents of certain lands in the counties of Louth, Carlow, Waterford, Wexford, and Kilkenny on Thurlogh O'Byrne, chief of one of the Wicklow clans, who espoused the English cause. Here Glen Saint Saviour is mentioned as 'parcel of St. Saviour's chapel, New Ross,' then held by George Conway.

in 1595, came of a family long and honourably connected with the parishes of Ross and Rosbercon. In the last named district the family is still represented. A finely sculptured tomb, bearing a floriated cross, interlaced with *fleurs-de-lys* (late decor. style) may be seen in St. Mary's Cemetery, New Ross, bearing the following inscription:— 'Hic jacet Patricius Conway quondam Burgiss; Villae Novae Rossi qui obiit año; Domi 1587.' The generation to which George Conway belonged was closely connected with the Catholic priesthood. He was the eldest brother of Father Richard Conway of the Society of Jesus, who, with Fathers Thomas White¹ and James Archer, were the three first vice-rectors of the Irish College of Salamanca. In the year 1617, Father Conway took charge of the college of Santiago. Two years later, at the request of Philip II., the Spanish provincial of the Jesuits opened the college of Seville. Father Conway was appointed its first rector. Fathers John Conway, who died at Cashel in 1632, and Patrick Conway, S.J., who laboured in the same mission in 1649, were members of the same family.

Sir Patrick Walsh, whose name also appears in the documents of Trinity Hospital, was scarcely less intimately connected with the Catholic Church at the time, while Sir Patrick White, also named, came of a family which an eminent ecclesiastical historian tells us gave more distinguished representatives to the Church than any family in the whole of Ireland. In the annals of the Jesuits at the period four members of the society, besides Father Thomas White referred to, belonged to this family, and were all distinguished men. They figured prominently in the Spanish Province of the society.

As may be seen from the perusal of the Charter of Trinity Hospital, New Ross, the first master, George Conway, and his successors, and the heirs of Thomas Gregory, were in the administration of the hospital, subject to the consent and advice of the Sovereign and four of the seniors of the council of the town, the subsequent history of

¹ Father White, S.J., was founder of the Irish College of Salamanca:

the hospital is easily accounted for. With the development of the policy of James I. in regard to the constitutions of the municipal corporations in Ireland, Catholic institutions in the management of which they shared control experienced a change. The policy of this king was to establish a number of corporations for the avowed and express purpose of spreading the Reformed religion. Very few of the existing corporations in Ireland hesitated to accept new charters from King James. The old charters of Wexford and New Ross were not fundamentally altered; they were, however, submitted to be revised and supplemented to suit the religious views of the king.¹ It is needless to say in their electoral provisions these corporations, like the rest, soon became essentially Protestant.

The exclusion of Catholics from all corporate offices was effected during the reign of Charles II., in the year 1667. Certain rules, orders, and directions were made in that year, and promulgated and established by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Essex. These rules, in substance, directed that 'no person shall be mayor, sovereign, port-reef, burgomaster, bailiff, alderman, recorder, treasurer, sheriff, town clerk, counsel man, master or warden of any guild, corporation or fraternity, or hold any such like office in any city, walled-town, or corporation in Ireland, unless he shall have taken the oath of supremacy established by act of Parliament.² The Hospital of the Blessed Trinity at Ross, incorporated by royal charter, constituted a fraternity of which the master could no longer be a Catholic, nor could the Catholic heirs of its founder henceforward be recognised by law.

After this time all the associations of a religious nature attached to the site of St. Saviour's Chapel ended. The foundation of Thomas Gregory was, henceforward, managed

¹ A warrant, dated January 12th, 1612, was issued by Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir John Davies to draw forth a fiat of grant of new corporation to the sovereign and burgesses of New Ross, with a grant and confirmation of their former liberties according to the king's letter.

On the 3rd February Robert Walsh, in behalf of Richard Viscount Mountgarrett, lodged a petition to enter a *caveat* against the sealing of the charter obtained by the corporation of Ross.

² II. of Elizabeth.

as a secular charitable institution. The corporation seems to have invested itself with the entire control of its administration, and so continued down to the middle of the last century. In the year 1775, when the buildings of the hospital were repaired and re-built, Charles Tottenham, who was landlord of the town, and represented it in Parliament, was Master. A mural slab in front commemorates this fact. Then, and long afterwards, the management of the hospital apparently lapsed into the hands of the Tottenham family.

The Emancipation Act of 1829 removed many Catholic disabilities. By the Municipal Reform Bill, 1840, the old Corporation gave place to the Town Commission in New Ross. Somewhere in the Fifties an inquiry was instituted into the management of the hospital by the Town Commissioners of the time. As representatives of the Town Council of Elizabeth's day, they claimed a share in its control in accordance with the charter. A suit in Chancery resulted. The heir of Thomas Gregory, after two and a half centuries, was vainly sought for. After a protracted and expensive course of litigation, a scheme of management was framed by the Lord Chancellor, by which the right of the commissioners to recommend or object to the appointment of inmates (neither being necessarily accepted) to the hospital was provided for, the office of master being allowed to remain vested in the Tottenham of that day, whose representative, Colonel Charles G. Tottenham, fills the position at the present time. Some thirteen widows, or spinsters, continue to receive the benefit of the charity, which is still derived from the *chantry lands of Glen St. Saviour*.

Although in the vicissitudes of time and change, St. Saviour's Chapel and its holier associations came to be forgotten, still a spell of old-time sanctity seems to have clung to its site. Beside the quaint hospital—which remains a memorial of Elizabeth's better thought—stands the Protestant church of St. Catherine, with its embattled belfry and neat surroundings. The space behind, that extends up the hillside—long ago the precincts of the forgotten chantry—is appropriated to religious purposes.

once again as the site of the new Catholic church, whose completion is rapidly drawing to a close. This beautiful church, designed by Walter Doolin, Esq., M.A., Dublin, promises not to be out-rivalled in elegance by that of any Gothic building of its proportions in Ireland, and will be, indeed, a fitting link between the present and St. Saviour's Chantry—of the past.

JOHN B. CULLEN.

THE MODERN 'REIGN OF TERROR' IN FRANCE

IF we glance but cursorily over the pages of the world's history we cannot fail to observe the truth of the old adage, *homo homini lupus*—man is a wolf to his fellow-man.

The Bible-story opens with fratricide and closes with deicide. The amphitheatres of pagan Greece and Rome for several centuries rang with the shrieks of victims butchered to make a holiday for a depraved aristocracy. Henry VIII. in England, and Cromwell in Ireland, are names inseparably associated with wanton shedding of blood. The mines of Siberia at this moment resound with the despairing moans of ten thousand victims of autocratic despotism.

But history cannot furnish us with any epoch equal in findish cruelty and licentiousness to the period of the Reign of Terror in France. The grand fabric of monarchy was felled by a single blow; King Louis and his noble queen, Marie Antoinette, perished beneath the axe of the guillotine; Mirabeau, Danton, Marat, Robespierre and Tallyrand scrambled for the ascendancy, and, with the exception of the last mentioned, paid the price of their ambition with their lives.

The Church along with the State came down with a crash. Bishops torn from their sees, priests from their parishes, were hurried to the scaffold; religious communities

were disbanded and their goods confiscated; convents were turned into barracks; Christ was hurled from His altar and the Goddess of Reason substituted—it was a Reign of Terror.

Do I mean to imply by the title of this essay that there exists in France a state of things that could bear any comparison with such hellish scenes? I say emphatically, yes. To-day in France the knife of the assassin and the bomb of the anarchist are lying hid in the street, in the chamber, and even in the church, and any one without a moment's notice may meet with the fearful end that recently befel President Carnot. Are these less terrible weapons than the guillotine?

To-day in France—though it is a Catholic country, and even the religion of the State is the Catholic religion—a bride and bridegroom dare not enter a Catholic church before they are 'civilly' married by the mayor or his deputy; children must not hear the name of God mentioned in the school-room; men who have government appointments must not be seen in church with their families at the risk of losing their positions; religious communities are burdened with an intolerable tax or else disbanded altogether; priests are jeered at in the streets with impunity; bishops are threatened, reprimanded, fined for all sorts of imaginary offences against the State, and as I write a law is in course of enactment making the clergy liable to imprisonment if they give any expression of opinion on political matters—a privilege enjoyed by all others in the land. Is not such a state of things a veritable Reign of Terror?

In virtue of the Concordat of Napoleon the Catholic religion is the established religion of the State; the bishops are paid as government officials; every church is State property, its finances are in the hands of a lay committee or *fabrique*, and not a candle may be burnt or vestment purchased without the consent of that body. It is easy to understand how the enemies of religion would take advantage of this subservient position of the clergy, and relegate them from public life to the sacristy. This they have

practically done. With all the energy characteristic of evil-doers they have wormed themselves into public life, and thence to parliament, where they have succeeded in having laws enacted that have made the position—not only of priests but of Catholics—absolutely unbearable. Their motto would appear to be similar to that of the atrocious Carrier, ‘We will make a cemetery of France rather than not regenerate it after our own fashion.’ Unfortunately they are succeeding but too well.

In the first place they have secured the enactment of a law that renders void in the eyes of the law marriages celebrated by a Catholic priest. This law is the more insulting, because, as I have just noted, the Catholic religion is the recognised religion of the State.

In the next place the anti-clericals have set about laicising the schools. In 1882 they succeeded in abolishing the existing law which made religious teaching compulsory, and had another passed ordering the removal of all religious emblems from the schools, and making the very mention of the name of God a punishable offence. The desired effect has been produced and the present generation of children are little better than pagan. They sneer at religion, delight in insulting priests and nuns, and are steeped in every kind of immorality. Recently an account was given in a French paper of the murder of a school-girl by a boy of fourteen. When asked in court what was the motive of his crime, the young criminal replied that he was jealous of the attentions she was paying another boy!

The law enacted to secularise the schools is ruthlessly carried into execution as is apparent from the following incidents. In a recent issue of La Fontaine’s *Fables*, drawn up by the municipality of Paris for use in the schools, the well-known fable which begins :—

Petit poisson deviendra grand
Pourvu que Dieu lui prête vie

was changed in the second line to

Pourvu que l’on lui prête vie.

The *Temps* of August, 1896, related how at the general

council of the Sarthe—a purely Catholic district—on the motion of M. Laproche, a radical senator, a vote of censure was passed on an inspector of primary schools at Le Mans, for having set questions which implied the existence of God.

There are numerous voluntary schools throughout the country where religious instruction is given, and to which parents who are concerned for the spiritual welfare of their children, send them to be educated, but the anti-clericals are again on the warpath, and are endeavouring to have these schools abolished; or what comes to the same thing, to have them emptied of children.

Recently a motion was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by M. Pochon, deputy for Ain, to the effect that none but those who had been educated in State schools should be eligible for government positions. The proposal was defeated by a small majority, but with the onward march of irreligion we may expect that the measure will be again introduced and legalized.

More drastic even than the deputy for Ain is the senator for Charante, M. Combes, a former minister of education. He proposed that all persons in the employment of the government should be forced, under pain of dismissal, to send their children to the State schools. The measure met with the same fate as that of M. Pochon, but we may expect that neither of these gentlemen will be deterred by one defeat.

Nor will the anti-clericals be content with their diabolical work in schoolroom, chamber, and senate; they follow the Catholic official into private life—even into the house of God, and if he is fulfilling his Christian duties, he is pounced upon by these vipers and threatened with dismissal if he does not discontinue such superstitious practices.

In the *Journal des Debats*—amongst whose contributors were Taine and Renan, and, consequently, it cannot be suspected of any leaning towards Catholicity—the following incident was related in an issue of November, 1893. The postmaster of a town in La Vendée, who, as is usual, in that

region, observed his religious duties, was sent for by the Sous-Préfet, who said to him :—

It is reported that you are in constant attendance at church on Sundays ; more than that, you always take a book with you ; and a man who follows the service with a book must not be surprised if he be put down as a clerical. Besides there are your daughters ; the eldest who is being educated at the convent school, sings in the chapel choir, and her sister makes the collection at the parish church. Now all these things are noted against you in your *dossier*,¹ and I think it is fair to warn you that you are getting the name of being a clerical.

If such arts of terrorism were rare and confined to one portion of France, very great significance need not be attached to them, but on the testimony of Mr. Bodley, a modern Protestant historian, they are occurring in every department throughout the land.

In *L'Eclaireur*, 5 Mai, 1895—a Tours journal—‘ a group of republicans ’ felt moved to denounce the following scandal :—

In our commune [they said] the curé wishing to make his services more attractive, has been looking out for singers. With our good pastor's efforts to increase his revenue we have nothing to do ; but what does astonish us is to see in the choir two sons of an old democrat, hitherto a staunch liberal and an anti-clerical. Is it possible that a soldier of the republican army had failed to bring up his children in sound principles, or has he left them to be perverted by the curé to abandon ‘Marianne’ for the Blessed Virgin ? In either case he would do well to give us a plain answer, in order to allay the malevolent suspicions which he has aroused in the hearts of his friends.

Another instance comes from the north of France. Two years ago, while a clerical friend of mine was spending a holiday in a town in Normandy, the mayor was summarily dismissed for having taken part in the Corpus Christi procession.

But one might expect that at least communities of unoffending nuns would be free from persecution. No ; these devoted women, who for the most part spend their

¹ *Dossier* is the name given to the confidential collection of documents relating to every functionary of the State, which his authorities consult when there is question of promotion or dismissal.

lives in the service of the poor and sick, are by recent legislation burdened with an intolerable tax, which threatens their very existence in the country. One example will show that this iniquitous law is carried out to the letter.

A short time ago in a provincial district, two Little Sisters of the Poor, having spent the day collecting food for those under their care, were returning home. They were met on the way by a toll-collector, who demanded a tax on these 'provisions.' The poor sisters were unable to pay it, and the eggs and butter were seized and retained.

But the programme of the anti-clericals does not end with the persecution of Catholics ; it proposes the utter extirpation of all religious belief. At Dôle, in the Jura, there was a custom of commemorating the inhabitants who died defending their homes in the war of 1870. One year the mayor issued a placard inviting the people to take part in the usual ceremony in which he said 'our pious souvenirs will go beyond the tomb to show our fellow-townsmen that we do not forget them.' But the anti-clericals in the town council saw in the language of the mayor an official sanction given to the deplorable superstition of a life beyond the grave, and as a result compelled him to have expurgated placards posted over the others !

Laymen, bishops, priests, nuns, mayors are terrorised by the anti-clericals—aye, even the President of the Republic. Less than three years ago a Solemn Requiem service was held in Notre-Dame at Paris, for the victims who perished in the awful fire in the Rue Jean Goujon. President Faure, as officially bound, was present, as were also envoys from several European powers. Next day the President was vehemently denounced in the chamber for countenancing such absurd and superstitious rites. Sometime afterwards though present at the civil ceremony held at Orleans in honour of Joan of Arc, he did not dare to be present at the Solemn High Mass at the cathedral through terror of the anti-clericals.

Leaving the schoolroom, the chamber, and the church, the champions of irreligion carry on their nefarious propaganda in the public gardens and boulevards. Every

monument, every statue that one sees, is a glorification of revolution, anarchy, and of vice. The gigantic Tour Eiffel commemorates the bloody revolution of 1789, which ended in the Reign of Terror. Every year the anarchist days of the commune of 1870 are celebrated with great festivity. On every square, boulevard, and garden, statues are erected to gods and goddesses—generally nude to blunt all sense of modesty; or else to revolutionary heroes—to fan the flame of anarchy and irreligion. The result is what might be expected: appalling lewdness in the theatres, music halls, and *entrées libres* in the streets at evening time, a rival of the abominations of Sodom and Gomorrhah.

In one other way, the only other at their disposal, by means of the press, do the enemies of religion complete their diabolical work. No country of modern times possesses such a vile, brutal, and atheistic press as France does at present. At election time one might expect a little extravagance, but language such as the following would not be tolerated under any circumstances in the press of any civilized nation.

A would-be deputy, in his manifesto referring to his rival, says:—

One of us is an honest man, which? X. leads a luxurious life among the princes of finance, though he is absolutely without resources. His newspaper brings him in nothing, and his relations have to support him; while I live modestly in the provinces where I have won an excellent position at the bar. X. confesses he has not paid his debts, while I have paid the debts of others. His furniture is still unpaid for, yet he has shooting and horses. I deprive myself of these luxuries, but I owe nothing to my tradesman.

In another manifesto an anti-clerical candidate boasts that he was not married in a church, nor had he ever any faith in its effete Christian superstitions; his equally anti-clerical rival next day explains that the church had no alternative, as the woman he elected to wed was already divorced!

At another time one reads accounts of civil marriages, civil funerals, and the like, in which religion is scoffed at and the Goddess of Reason landed to the skies; or again it

may be a sketch of the glorious work done by the Society for the Promotion of Civil Baptism and of Atheism ; or else, what is not at all uncommon, a story in which priests and nuns are made to play the most revolting parts.

This is surely a Reign of Terror in France, little less fearful than that of 1789. What is the cause and what the remedy for such a lamentable state of things ? And first, as to the cause. It might be traced, in no small measure, to the national characteristic—fickleness. From the time of the establishment of the nation by Charlemagne, and during the period of the feudal monarchy, and the supremacy of the houses of Valois and of Bourbon, the internal history of the country is one of perpetual strife among the classes ; and from the time of the accession of Louis XVI., in 1774, down to the present day, the history is a series of recurring upheavals and revolutions.

In 1798 a revolution broke out and shook the nation to its very centre, ending in the awful scenes of the Reign of Terror. In 1797 Napoleon, who had seized the reins of government, established a directory. In two years that was abolished, and a consulate substituted. An empire was deemed expedient in 1804. That, too, collapsed after ten years, giving place, in 1814, to a restored monarchy, which lasted until the revolution of 1848. After four years duration, the weather-cock of public opinion again pointed to an empire, and that desired form of government was vouchsafed to the people ; but, alas ! it came to a fearful end in the revolution of 1870. France is now enjoying the sweets of a republic. Four presidents have resigned, Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, and Casimir-Périer ; one, Carnot, has been assassinated ; ministries are changing every other day, and, consequently, the person who would predict the disappearance of the present form of government would not require the mantle of Elias to guarantee the accuracy of his prophecy.

The second and immediate cause of the present Reign of Terror is the increase in the number of freethinkers and freemasons throughout the country. When these secure places in the ministry their ambition is to treat every priest

and bishop in the contemptuous manner in which the brutal Napoleon treated the venerable Pontiff Pius VII. Whatever may be said of English freemasons, the members of the fraternity in France make no secret of their avowed resolve to wage a fierce war against all religion.

In the recent lenten pastoral Cardinal Langénieux of Rheims, referring to the attempt that the State is making to monopolise education, declares that all the iniquitous measures that have been passed in parliament, and that are now before it, are the outcome of freemasonry.

The bill [writes the cardinal] on the school question provides that our great national schools, such as the Polytechnique, the naval school, the military schools of Saint-Cyr, Saumur, Versailles, Fontainebleau, Saint-Maximent, the higher normal school, and others, shall only be open to young men who have passed two or three years in the schools or lycées of the State; and, consequently, that they shall be closed to the pupils of private schools. Now, as there are to-day scarcely any other private colleges except ours, it means that the scholars in religious schools will be, for the sole reason that they are Catholics, stricken with a moral incapacity, and excluded from official life, and from positions in the administration of public affairs. This demand was formulated twelve years ago at a masonic congress in the east of France: 'in future no one shall be eligible for a public situation paid by the State, unless he has made the studies demanded for such a position in the schools of the university. Diplomas and certificates of study may only be given to those candidates who, for three years previous to their examination, shall have made their studies in a school belonging to the State, the departments or the communes.' This appeared at the time so outrageous that public opinion, indignant but reassured by the very violence of the proposition, did not take it seriously. Its supporters, who were only the spokesmen of the sect, let fall first indications of their aim. But since then the idea has travelled forward, and the lodges have prepared the way in parliament. The *Bulletin du Grand Orient* (p. 489) declared in 1889 that 'it was the strict duty of a freemason, if he was a member of Parliament, to demand the exclusion of the scholars of the religious orders, or of ecclesiastical establishments, from special military schools, and from the ranks of the army and situations in the civil administration.' Every year this motion has been taken up and developed. In 1896 the general assembly of the Grand Orient declared that it was 'obligatory upon all functionaries to send their children to laicised schools, and that education under

religious communities was absolutely prohibited.' In 1898 the same resolution was again discussed and adopted. 'Every person who is a member of, or affiliated to, any religious congregation is forbidden to teach in public or private schools.' The assembly insisted that not only the State should have a monopoly, but that 'it should laicise its programmes and turn education in the direction of freethought.' This very year in the sittings of the 22nd and the 24th November, the echo of these resolutions was heard in the chamber and the senate. The convention of 1899 continued the campaign, and now this project, so ill-received in 1888 by all the free press, and, as people thought, overwhelmed by ridicule, is on the eve of being discussed from the tribune.

Is there no remedy in such an awful crisis? We may ask: Where are the bishops and priests of France? What are they doing? The answer comes: They are not permitted to assemble for any purpose whatever, and hence we can hear little of their work, but that they are not doing their best to stem the tide of irreligion is untrue.

Are the laity then to blame? Unfortunately it must be answered, yes. Catholics are more than ninety-five per cent. of the population, yet fifty per cent. of the children in France frequent the State schools where the name of God must not be mentioned.

The priests are eligible for membership in the Chamber of Deputies. In that assembly one of their number has more influence for the good of religion than twenty outside, yet in the whole of France only two have been elected. Truly if the laity could be roused to a sense of their duty and their power, they could, at a single blow, drive every atheist, freemason, and Jew, from the chamber and the senate.

But we must not be too pessimistic. The land of Charlemagne, of Bossuet, of Vincent de Paul, of Joan of Arc, of the Curé of Ars is not without defenders of the faith. The venerable Archbishop of Aix has sounded the tocsin of battle. The government fined him for showing his sympathy with the persecuted Assumptionists. With trumpet voice he has proclaimed *non licet*. That voice rings throughout the land. He has been deprived of his stipend but we may be assured that the eldest daughter of the Church will not permit her mitred son to die of hunger. He is but one of

the many who are prepared to do the same if there be need.

The laity, too, are not without champions of the faith. The Count de Mun and M. Demoulins might be taken as examples. When, on last Good Friday, the nation was shocked by the unexpected prohibition of the customary signs of mourning in the fleet, the Count addressed a long and vigorous protest to the minister of marine.

I have the honour [he said] to represent maritime constituents. This measure will wound them to the heart. It is my duty to express in their name sentiments of indignation which I cannot, since it is vacation time, express in the chamber. The custom of commemorating by a touching manœuvre of the fleet, the most august of Christian mysteries, could give offence to none except to those whose sectarian passions are aroused by any manifestation of Christian faith. These are the men you have obeyed. Freemasonry is pleased with your action and will applaud you, and well have you deserved its applause. But Christian France will be moved with sorrow, and with it all those—and they are many—who, although they may not be exemplary Catholics, yet respect the ancient religion of their fathers. The people who serve their country by handing over their children to the perilous life of the sea will keenly feel the attack that has been made upon their religious belief. They know that it is faith sustains the sailor and binds him to his distant home. . . . The world will be astonished, but those who are observant know who are to blame; certainly it is not France. Hence do I raise my voice as a Christian, as a representative of the people, against an act of irreligion forced upon an unwilling navy.

The language of M. Demoulins is equally vigorous. Writing in the *Gaulois* he said :—

M. Waldeck-Rousseau, M. de Lennissan, M. Millerand want to dechristianise the fleet, to extinguish in the soul of the sailor that faith which strengthens, encourages and consoles him. The measure is nothing less than an abominable and a criminal one, which will provoke in all France an outburst of indignation.

Finally our hope that the faith is firmly rooted in France, and that it will ultimately triumph, is strengthened when we notice the great work that France is doing for the propagation of the faith in heathen lands. With little earthly comforts her anointed sons, her consecrated daughters, are

labouring heroically among the Buddhists, the Mohammedans, the negroes, and the savages. It is French money, too, that enables them to continue their noble work. We may, then, have the highest hopes for the success of the Church in France. Her bishops have wisdom, her priests have zeal, her people have perseverance which has sustained them in many a trial in the past. They are all now engaged in a fierce conflict with the double-headed monster of atheism and freemasonry. The Catholic world is anxiously watching the struggle; a bitter and prolonged one it will be. Let us hope that when it is ended the Church will place another garland of victory upon the brow of her eldest daughter.

C. M. O'BRIEN, C.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Under the above heading your correspondent, 'Canonicus,' asks that some one connected with University College should furnish information regarding the spiritual helps provided for Catholic university students, whom he thinks somewhat neglected; and he quotes for comparison the arrangements recently made at Oxford, 'where a Jesuit father gives regularly to the young Catholic undergraduates religious conferences.'

Will you kindly permit me to give the information desired. I should note, to begin with, that the Catholic University Medical School, to which your correspondent expressly refers, is an entirely distinct institution, with a governing body of its own, quite independent of University College; and that a considerable number of its students have no connection whatever with the college. Secondly, that, unlike the condition of things at Oxford, where the Jesuit fathers have charge of the parish and of the parochial church, the Jesuit fathers at University College have no church available for collegiate uses; the church, which is known as the Catholic University church, being now, as for many years, occupied as a parochial church, and administered by the parochial clergy; and that the religious ministrations provided for the students of University College are, therefore, restricted to the limited accommodation of the college chapel.

The religious helps provided under these conditions, and at which, by printed notice in the public hall, all members of the college are invited to attend, are the following:—

1. On Sundays and holidays Mass at 8.30 a.m., and sermon by the President or another Jesuit father.
2. On week-days Mass at 7, 7.30, and 8 a.m.
3. Benediction at 5.45 p.m. on all Sundays and holidays and first Fridays, and daily during the months of May and October.
4. Conferences monthly to the members of the college sodality, which the students are invited to join.
5. A yearly retreat of three days to prepare students for their Easter duties.

It is quite true that, as our extern students live scattered

through the city and suburbs—many of them some miles away—it has been thought more advisable to leave them free to attend the parochial churches in their immediate neighbourhood rather than to enforce attendance at the ordinary religious services in college.

But we use our best endeavours to induce students to join the sodality and to attend its meetings, and also to take part in the annual retreat; and of these exercises notice is given, not merely in the class-rooms and in the public hall, but also in the newspapers.

I need hardly add that the fathers think it a duty—more imperative even than that of giving secular instruction—to interest themselves in the spiritual welfare of their students, and to help them in every way to lead a good Christian life.

Believe me, rev. dear Sir,

Yours faithfully in J. C.,

WILLIAM DELANY, S.J.,

President.

University College,
August 10th.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the absence of the registrar, Professor Birmingham, I take the liberty of replying to the letter of 'Canonicus,' published in the August number of the RECORD.

There are three active sodalities in touch with our students. The Ignatian, under the zealous care of the Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J., for more than a dozen years has taken a special interest in the Medical school. Its notices are permanently hung in the hall; the annual retreats are announced by special cards; and, in addition, the members are summoned through the post to the monthly meetings. The Ignatian sodality, which holds its meetings in St. Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner-street, is not limited to students of medicine; but, I fancy, there are very few of our men who have not been associated with it at one time or another. Then we have the University College sodality, of which the Rev. Henry Browne, S.J., is director. It is of more recent foundation than the Ignatian, but is official in character; that is, limited to students of University College and of the Medical school. Its secretaries are selected one from each institution,

and the office of president is generally held by one of the professors. The retreat is held during one of the last weeks of Lent, while that of the Ignatian comes off early in the winter session. The third is the important Professional sodality of St. Saviour's, Dominick-street, of which Rev. P. A. Murphy, O.P., is director. It has a goodly roll of student members, and its cards come regularly.

Why so many? One reason, among others, is that the students live in different parts of the city, and, I suppose, the sodalities find their working members mainly in the particular districts where they are located.

I remain, rev. dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

DENIS J. COFFEY.

Medical School, Cecilia-street,
Dublin, *August 17th*, 1900.

DOCUMENTS

DECREE IN PRAISE OF THE LITTLE SISTERS OF THE ASSUMPTION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM
 DECRETUM LAUDIS PRO INSTITUTO 'DES PETITES SŒURS DE
 L'ASSOMPTION' VULGO NUNCUPATO

Anno 1875 Emus et Revmus S. R. E. Cardinalis Guibert canonice erexit Institutum *des Petites Sœurs de l'Assomption* vulgo nuncupatum, cuius fundamenta iam decem ante annos posita fuerant opera et zelo Rev. P. Stephani Pernet et piaë mulieris Antoniaë Fage. Hoc autem Institutum, opitulante Deo, ita propagatum est, ut hodie iam numeret quadringentas Sorores, domusque possideat non solum in pluribus Galliarum Dioecesibus, sed etiam in Anglia, in Hibernia et in Statibus Federatis Americae. Porro Sorores omnes in prae-fatis domibus commorantes Moderatrici Generali subsunt et simplicia vota obedientiae, paupertatis et castitatis prius ad tempus dein in perpetuum emittunt. Praeter propriam cuiusque Sororis sanctificationem alter est Instituti peculiaris finis sive scopus, cura nempe aegrotis, pauperibus duntaxat et gratis omnino, in ipsorum domibus seu tabernis praestanda, eo potissimum consilio ut per impensum operum Misericordiae exercitium dum corpora curantur animarum saluti sedulo prospiciatur. Contigit sane ut praedictarum Sororum ope praeterquam quod opifices pene innumeri non obstante vita iumentorum more anteacta, in osculo Domini pie obierunt, singulis annis quamplura perditorum hominum millia, recuperata valetudine, una cum ipsorum propinquis in tenebris atque aeternae mortis umbra antea sedentibus, ineffabilia catholicae religionis beneficia auspicati fuerint assecuta. Nimirum ex ingenti Parvularum Sororum caritate et zelo multi non solum infantes sed etiam aetate provectiores sacro regenerationis lavacro abluti sunt, multi itidem S. Confirmatione donati, multi S. Synaxi primo refecti, quamplurimi autem a vitiorum coeno, ab exitiali concubinato, ab haeresum monstribus, a Massonum secta aliisque nefariis societatibus abrepti ad piaë matris Ecclesiae complexum feliciter perducti sunt. Quovero istiusmodi hominum millibus spiritualia iugiter praesto sint subsidia, ipsae Sorores tres veluti

filiales instituerunt pias Consociationes, quarum primae cognomentum—*les Dames Servantes des pauvres*—alteri—*la Fraternité de Notre Dame du Salut*—tertia autem—*les Filles de Sainte Monique*. Quae quidem piae Consociationes et ipsae uberes ad Dei gloriam ac animarum salutem iam dederunt fructus ac studiose incumbunt ut ferant in posterum uberiores. Itaque quum nuper Moderatrix Generalis, transmissa ad S. Sedem Constitutionum exemplari, nomine totius Instituti Apostolicam approbationem imploraverit, Antistites omnes, in quorum Dioecisibus enuntiatae Sorores commorantur et praesertim Emi Archiepiscopi Parisiensis, Rhemensis et Westmonasteriensis ipsius preces libentissime ac summopere commendarunt. His autem relatis SSmo. Dno. Nostro Leoni Pp. XIII. in Audientia habita ad infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto huius Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis et consultationibus praepositae die 15 Martii 1897, Sanctitas Sua, omnibus mature perpensis, attentisque praesertim commendatitiis litteris praefatorum Antistitum atque Emorum S. E. R. Cardinalium, enuntiatae Sorores speciali favore prosequi cupiens iisque volens animum addere ut alacrius in propositum finem contendant, recensitum Institutum amplissimis verbis laudare et commendare dignata est, prout praesentis Decreti tenore ipsum amplissime laudatur et commendatur, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad praescriptum SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum, dilata ad opportunius tempus approbatione tum Instituti tum Constitutionum eius, circa quas interim nonnullas animadversiones communicari mandavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria memoratae Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 2 Aprilis 1897.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

A. TROMBETTA, *Secr.*

ALTARS CONSECRATED WITHOUT RELICS

DE CELEBRANDA MISSA SUPER ALTARIBUS CONSECRATIS SINE RELIQUIIS SANCTORUM

In Relatione status Ecclesiae Nichteroyen., seu Petropoli-tanae, exhibita S. C. Concilii, sequens postulatum ad S. Rituum Congregationem transmissum reperitur: nimirum

‘An tolerari possit ut Sacrificium Missae celebretur super

lapides altarium etiam ecclesiarum parochialium praecedenti saeculo, vel etiam saeculo decimosexto consecratos sine sepulchro et sacris Reliquiis Sanctorum a Missionariis vel antiquioribus Episcopis? Sunt qui affirmant antiquis illis temporibus habuisse Missionarios Americae Meridionalis privilegium consecrandi altaria portatilia seu lapides ad Sacrificium sine Ss. Reliquiis.'

Feria IV, die 17 Ianuarii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositum praefatum dubium quod ad hanc Supremam Congregationem resolvendum transmissum fuit, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

'Curet Episcopus, ut ritu praescripto in altaribus collocentur Sanctorum Reliquiae: et interim, in casu, tolerari potest usus celebrandi in praedictis altaribus.¹

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 mensis Ianuarii in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. Resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

¹ Hoc dubium fuit transmissum S. Officio pro solutione, quia in *Collecanea* edita a S. C. Prop. Fidei, sub. n. 825 reperitur sequens concessio facta a S. Officio, Missionariis Tunchini:

Fer. IV, die 14 maii 1681. I. Num possint consecrari altaria portatilia sine reliquiis Sanctorum? Prima ratio dubitandi est quia ut in Tunchino fervet persecutio, multa iam altaria ab infidelibus capta execrata sunt, sacrae reliquiae conculcatae. Secunda ratio quia si adeo crassa fiant et . . . ut in eis reliquiarum sepulcrum possit incidi, maior creabitur molestia iis qui sacram suppellectilem ab uno in alium locum transportant, nam in Tunchino tum missionarii apostolici, tum indigenae parochi, raro in uno pago tres quatuorve dies subsident, sed quotidie ferme post celebratum Sacrum ab uno plerumque ante lucem in alium pagum emigrant. Tertia, quia data est facultas celebrandi in altari sine reliquiis; ergo illud sine reliquiis consecrandi, quod si nondum concessum sit, petitur ut concedatur. Responsum fuit: Attentis motivis deductis, supplicetur SSmo. pro dispensatione, EEmi. adprobarunt votum praedictum DD. Consultorum.

Uti patet, in postulato Rmi Ordinarii Nicteroen. non verificantur rationes necessitatis uti in casu pro Tunchino. In Brasilia enim non urgent persecutiones, et hierarchia ecclesiastica ubique instituta reperitur. N. D.

PUBLICATION AND PROMULGATION OF THE DECREES OF
THE PLENARY COUNCIL OF LATIN AMERICA

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIVM

LITTERAE APL. QUIBUS DECRETA CONCILII PLENARII AMERICAЕ
LATINAE PUBLICANTUR ET PROMULGANTUR.

LEO PAPA XIII

Iesu Christi Ecclesiam, qua late patet, tueri eius que utilitates ubique terrarum provehere, Pontificum Romanorum munus est atque officium. Nos igitur, quibus, licet immeritis, id modo muneris, Deo disponente, commissum est, uti ceteras catholicorum nationes, sic lectissimas Americae Latinae gentes curas studium-que Nostrum desiderare nunquam permisimus. Ut enim christianae pietatis laude et ecclesiasticae disciplinae vigore semper florerent magis, cum multa alia opportunis temporibus praestitimus, tum Archiepiscopis et Episcopis universis auctores fuimus, ut coire in plenarium Concilium placeret. Id Nobis perutile summeque efficax videbatur; cognoscere enim de necessitatibus singularum ecclesiarum nulli melius possent, quam qui eas regere a Spiritu Sancto sunt positi; collatae autem Pastorum omnium sententiae cavere fidelibus pericula, disciplinae prospicere, cleri populi-que bono consulere aptius et validius valerent.—Quum vero et Concilium habendum unanimes sensissent Episcopi; et, pro ipsorum in B. Petri Cathedram observantia atque amore, sedem Concilio nullibi quam Romae, in Nostris oculis, eligendam duxissent; Nos, datis die xxv decembris mdcccxcviii Apostolicis Litteris *Cum diuturnum*,¹ Concilium ipsum Romam convocavimus.—Sic demum coivere Antistites. Quaque primum animorum concordia, nullo varietatis gentium respectu habito, grave opus sunt aggressi; eadem prosecuti, fausto optatoque exitu expediverunt. Nec minor concordia voluntas fuit impensusque labor; ut mirum non fuerit Concilium brevi spatio absolutum, quaeque tractanda proponebantur, agitata sapienter, gravibusque sententiis ac legibus decreta fuisse. Ipso autem Concilii tempore, non destitere Patres perpetua Nobis pietatis et obsequii exhibere argumenta; quae Nobis quam grata acciderent, coram, plus simplici vice, professi sumus. Ut vero Venerabilibus Fratribus benevolentiam Nostram ulterius testaremur, S. R. E. Cardinalium

¹ Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vii., p. 3, p. 227, p. 337, p. 390.

peculiarem coetum designavimus, quibus, nomine et auctoritate Nostris, Decreta Concilii cognoscenda commisimus.—Quod cum ii, maturitate maxima diuturnoque studio, perfecerint; Nos Patrum Concilii plenarii primi Americae Latinae desiderio obsequentes, Decreta Concilii eiusdem, ab Apostolica Sede recognita, praesentibus his Nostris Litteris publicamus, simulque edicimus ut eadem, per Apostolicas has ipsas Litteras, quibuscumque minime obstantibus, in universa America Latina singulisque dioecesibus, ab omnibus ut publicata ac promulgata censeantur ac sedulo observentur. Faxit Deus, ut quae a tot Pastoribus, providenti amantique animo, sancita sunt atque a Nobis recognita, eadem in singularum Ecclesiarum bonum et splendorem cedant.

Datum Romae sub anulo Piscatoris die prima mensis Ianuarii anni millesimi nongentesimi, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII

A CASE OF 'SANATIO IN RADICE'

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DENEGATUR SANATIO IN RADICE UNIONI CONCUBINARIAE ET DEIN CIVILI, INTER CATHOLICAM ET ACATHOLICUM, IN QUA, ANTE UNIONEM CIVILEM, SPONSUS EVASERAT IMPOTENS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Bertha catholica Archidioeceseos M. soluta, cum Titio acatholico pariter soluto, ex quinque circiter annis in concubinato fide praestita et cum affectu maritali vivens, novissime, nempe die mensis septembris anni 1898, cum eo matrimonium, quod vocant civile, coram magistratu civili iniit. Ex ista coniunctione duae proles exortae sunt, quarum altera die 29 m. septembris 1894 nata catholice et baptizata est et educata, altera, die 29 m. martii 1896 nata, paucis septimanis post nativitatem decessit.

Parocho dictae Berthae vehementer allaborante ut ad validum et licitum matrimonium adducatur, tandem res in eo est ut dispensationi super religionis mixtae impedimentum, praemissis debitis cautionibus, iam locus per se esse posset, nisi impedimentum perpetuae impotentiae intercessisset, ex eo proveniens, quod dictus Titius mense iunio 1896 (i.e., duobus annis ante celebrationem matrimonii civilis) operatione chirurgica utroque teste privatus existit. Restare solum videtur, ut ad dispensationem in radice coniunctionis petendam confugiatur. Revera

intentio, seu consensus matrimonialis non defuit, nec saltem post contractum civile matrimonium extrinseca species matrimonii deest, adeo ut dictae partes pro coniugibus communiter habeantur. Cum per sanationem salutis animae resipiscentis et legitimitati prolis superstitis provideatur, denegata vero sanatione separatio minimo fieri posset et gravissima scandala pertimescenda forent, ideo preces mulieris catholicae pro obtinenda gratia enixe commendamus.

Feria V, loco IV, 8 Martii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, omnibus rite diligenterque perpensis, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘In casu exposito sanationem in radice concedi non posse; et ad mentem. Mens est quod cum matrimonium revalidari nequeat, putati coniuges illico separari deberent. Si vero hoc moraliter impossibile sit, saltem adhibitis cautelis sub eodem tecto cohabitent uti frater et soror. Quod vero ad canonicam prolis legitimationem, eam per rescriptum Principis rite expediendum concedi posse.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 9 eiusdem mensis et anni, per facultates Emo. ac Rmo. Dno. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario concessas, SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem Emorum. ac Rmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. *Inquisit. Notarius.*

THE CONFESSION OF CONVERTS WHO ARE BAPTIZED CONDITIONALLY

[In view of some controversy that has recently arisen regarding the confession of converts, we think it useful to give the authentic decrees that bear on the subject.—Ed., I. E. RECORD.]

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI
DE INTEGRA CONFESSIONE A NEO-CONVERSIS SUB CONDITIONE
BAPTIZANDIS EXIGENDA.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi et Episcopis Angliae enixe rogantibus ut Sanctitas Vestra dignaretur declarare :

An debeat, iuxta Synodi provincialis Angliae decretum a S. Sede approbatum, Confessio sacramentalis a neo conversis in Anglia exigi, et an ea debeat esse integra?

S. Congregatio S. R. U. Inquisitionis, decreto suo, Feria V, loco IV, die 17 decembris 1868 dato, et a Sanctitate Vestra eadem die ac feria approbato et confirmato, respondit: Affirmative; et dandum esse decretum latum sub feria quinta, die decima septima iunii anni millesimi septingentesimi decimi quinti, quoad dubium:

‘An quidam Carolus Wipperman, S. Fidei Catholicae reconciliatus, sit rebaptizandus; et, quatenus affirmative, an teneatur confiteri omnia peccata praeteritae vitae, et, quatenus affirmative, an confessio praeponenda sit, vel postponenda baptismo conferendo sub conditione.’

‘Sanctissimus,’ auditis votis Emorum, ‘dixit: Carolum Ferdinandum’ (Wipperman) ‘esse rebaptizandum sub conditione, et, collato baptismo, eius praeteritae vitae peccata confiteatur, et ab eis sub conditione absolvatur.’

Nunc autem humiliter quaero an decretum supra allegatum obliget non tantum in Anglia, pro qua latum est, sed etiam in hac provincia ecclesiastica et in aliis regionibus?

Quebeci die 29 maii 1869.

✠ C. F. Archiepiscopus QUEBECENSIS.

RESPONSUM

ILLME ET RME. DOMINE,

Quoad dubium ab A. T. litteris diei 29 elapsi mensis maii propositum atque sacramentalem confessionem attingens a neoconversis exigendam, observandum occurrit responsum S. O. Feriae V, loco IV, diei 17 decembris elapsi anni, licet Episcopis Angliae tantummodo rogantibus datum, universalem legem continere, proindeque non solum in Anglia, sed in aliis etiam regionibus obligare. Hinc patet quod nullatenus permitti possit ut praedictae decisioni contraria sententia doceatur.

Romae ex aed. S. C. P. F. die 10 iulii 1869.

AL. C. BARNABO, *Praef.*

IOANNES SIMEONI, *Secretarius.*

FACULTIES FOR CONFESSION ON BOARD SHIP

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DECRETUM

CIRCA FACULTATES AUDIENDI CONFESSIONES FIDELIUM

NAVIGANTIUM

In Congregatione Generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita fer. IV. die 4 Aprilis 1900, quum disceptatum fuisset super facultate Sacerdotum iter transmarinum facientium excipiendi Fidelium eiusdem itineris comitum Sacramentales Confessiones, Emi. ac Rmi. DD. Cardinales in universa Christiana Republica Inquisitores Generales, ad omnem in posterum hac super re dubitandi rationem atque anxietatibus occasionem removendam, decreverunt ac declararunt: 'Sacerdotes quoscumque transmarinum iter arripientes, dummodo a proprio Ordinario Confessiones excipiendi facultatem habeant, posse in navi toto itinere durante Fidelium secum navigantium Confessiones excipere, quamvis forte inter ipsum iter transeundum, vel etiam aliquandiu consistendum sit diversis in locis diversorum Ordinariorum iurisdictioni subiectis.

Hanc autem Emorum Patrum resolutionem SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII per facultates Emo. D. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario impertitas, benigne adprobare et confirmare dignatus est.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

EXCOMMUNICATION OF ITALIAN PRIESTS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DECLARATUR EXCOMMUNICATIONEM MAJOREM INCURSAM FUISSE

A DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS

DECRETUM

Feria IV, die 13 Iunii 1900

Sacerdotem Paulum Miraglia e dioecesi Pactensi, sed in Placentina degentem, ob plura eademque gravissima crimina atque immania scandala, quibus, incredibili audacia atque obstinatione, Placentinam Ecclesiam diu contristavit, Decreto huius Supremae Congregationis S. Officii lato feria IV. die 15 Aprilis 1896,¹ praevia monitione canonica, a fidelium communione remotum fuisse, compertum est.

¹ Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iv., p. 100.

Cum tamen nihil is exinde melior effectus, sed in deteriora in dies proruens, eousque temeritatis ac pervicaciae novissime devenit, ut ab haeretico viro Iosepho Renato Vilatte, episcopalem characterem iactante, hunc in finem Placentiam arcessito, in Episcopum consecrari sacrilego ausu attentaverit atque episcopales vestes et insignia, perinde ac si verus Episcopus censendus foret, publice deferre non dubitaverit; haec eadem Suprema S. Officii Congregatio, ne tantum facinus impunitum maneat ac ne ex legitima auctoritatis silentio scandalum fideles ultra patiantur, ipsum sacerdotem Paulum Miraglia eiusque complicem Iosephum Renatum Vilatte maiorem excommunicationem, ad normam Constitutionis 'Apostolicae Sedis' Summo Pontifici speciali modo reservatam, iterum iterumque multiplici ex causa incurrisse, praesenti Decreto expressim declarat; fideles insimul graviter admonens ut eos omnino devitent.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Officii die, mense et anno supradictis.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Not.

PRECEDENCE OF THIRD ORDERS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM DECLARATIO

CIRCA PRAECEDENTIAM TERTIORUM ORDINUM

In Congregatione Generali diei 6 Aprilis 1900, proposito dubio circa praecedentiam Tertiariorum Ordinis S. Francisci aliorumque Ordinum Regularium in Processionibus, Emi. Patres declarandum esse censuerunt: 'Tertiarios S. Francisci, necnon aliorum Ordinum, tum solummodo habere ius praecedentiae in Processionibus, cum iidem collegialiter incedunt sub propria Cruce ac veste uniformi induti, vulgo SACCO.'

Facta de praemissis relatione SSmo D. N. Leoni Pp. XIII in Audientia habita supradictis die, mense et anno ab Emo Praefecto S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, Sanctitas Sua praefatam declarationem approbavit et publicari mandavit.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

A PANICI, *Secretarius*.

THE SCAPULAR OF THE SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS
AND MARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

RITUS ET FORMULA BENEDICTIONIS ATQUE IMPOSITIONIS SCAPULARIS
SACRORUM CORDIUM IESU ET MARIAE

‘Suscepturus Scapulare Sacrorum Cordium Iesu et Mariae genuflectat, et Sacerdos apostolica facultate pollens, stola alba indutus, capite detecto, dicat’:

V. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit coelum et terram.

V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS

Clementissime Deus, qui ad peccatorum salutem et miserorum perfructum Cor Filii tui Iesu Christi caritate et misericordia plenum et Cor Beatae Mariae Virginis eidem simillimum esse voluisti, hoc scapulare in honorem et memoriam eorumdem Sacrorum Cordium gestandum bene dicere digneris, ut hic famulus indutus meritis et intercessione ipsius Deiparae Virginis secundum Cor Iesu inveniri mereatur. Per eundem Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

‘Postea Sacerdos Scapulare aspergit aqua benedicta illudque imponit, dicens’:

Accipe, Frater, Scapulare Sacrorum Cordium Iesu et Mariae, ut sub eius protectione et custodia, utriusque Sacratissimi Cordis virtutes recolendo et imitando, resurrectionis gloriae dignus efficiaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum Nostrum.¹ Amen.

‘Deinde una vice cum adscripto dicat sive latino sive vernaculo idiomate sequentes preces iaculatorias’:

Cor Iesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis.

Cor Mariae immaculatum, ora pro nobis.

DECRETUM

Quum postremo hoc tempore per acta Sacrorum Rituum Con-

¹ Si scapulare mulieri imponatur, dicatur: *haec famula*, etc. *Accipe Soror*, etc. Si vero pluribus, tum omnia plurali numero dicantur.

gregationis, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII ad cultum ac pietatem erga Divinum Cor Iesu atque Purissimum Cor Deiparae Virginus Christifidelium animos magis magisque excitare atque inflammare studuerit, Rmus. Dnus. Ioannes Ludovicus Robert, Massiliensis Episcopus, tempus opportunum atque utile advenisse censuit ad ipsum Beatissimum Patrem accedendi enixeque rogandi, tum suo tum Antistitae ac filiarum Cordes Iesu nomine, ut scapulare eiusdem Sacri Cordis Iesu in agonia facti necnon Amantissimi Cordis Mariae perdolentis speciali ritu et formula benedicendum atque imponendum adprobare dignaretur. Hoc autem scapulare ex privata fidelium devotione iamdiu adhibitum, constat ex duabus de more partibus laneis albi coloris per chordulam seu vittam coniunctis, quarum una praefert emblemata duorum cordium, Iesu nempe iis insignibus ornati, quibus repraesentari solet, et Immaculatae Matris Mariae gladio perforati, subiectis utrique instrumentis Dominicae Passionis; altera vero pars exhibet sanctam crucem ex panno rubri coloris. Sanctitas porro Sua, exquisita Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis sententia, supradescriptum scapulare una cum proprio ritu ac formula benedictionis et impositionis adhibendis ab iis tantum Sacerdotibus quibus ab Apostolica Sede facultas facta fuerit, adprobare dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 4 Aprilis 1900.

CAI. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Pro-Datarius*,
S. R. C. Pro-Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secr.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

By Rev. Francis Gigot, Professor of Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. New York: Benziger Brothers.

FROM the Sulpitian fathers in the United States we expect nothing but the choicest fruits of Catholic scholarship. The appearance of *Clerical Studies* created this expectation. And most emphatically the work before us is to be placed in the same category. We have in it a combination of sound erudition and lucid exposition with a studied and thoughtful ministration to the needs of those entering on a course of Biblical science.

It is no mere platitude to say that, during the present century, no science has struck off so far from the beaten track of ages as this same Biblical science. The higher criticism has arisen, and its adherents have vied with each other in the originality and boldness of their theories. The secrets of the hieroglyphics have been unfolded, and the mounds of Mesopotamia have unbosomed their treasures. Many who stand eminent in the sciences of folklore and comparative religion have played fast and loose with the orthodox supernaturalism of Judaism and Christianity. In the face of such startling changes, the apologist and the Catholic scholar must be alive to the necessity of meeting destructive criticism on its own grounds, opposing fact to theory, showing up the vagaries of so many of the critics, and, maybe, of evoking testimony to divine truth from the mouths of would-be blasphemers. It is the duty of the Catholic scholar to secure for true science the germ of truth, which tends to obtain a temporary acceptance for even the most baseless theories. The duty is an instant one, for the fascinating evolution-idea has been imported, and worked for all it is worth here also. It has served to attract and retain the attention of the multitude. Indeed, to-day few sciences are more in favour with the general reader, as the phenomenal circulation in England of popular works on Biblical criticism and archæology amply proves. We, therefore, want to hear the truth from Catholic savants, for to-day, in face of the new dangers, the Catholic Church is, on a new score, by the deeds of her children, the guardian of God's Word. These remarks will serve to show

how sacred is the duty which Father Gigot has voluntarily undertaken. And nobly has he discharged it. We cannot conceive how any young student, with opportunities and a leaning for this branch of study, could master this work without, in addition to acquiring a wide range of positive knowledge, being stirred to high endeavour in defence of God's Word according to the measure of his abilities. The general division of the subjects forming the general introduction is pretty much the conventional one. The first part deals with Biblical canonicity—a full and critical survey of the various canons; the second is devoted to 'lower' or textual criticism of the Bible generally, while the third deals critically and historically with the various systems of interpretations. There is added an all important appendix—why call it an appendix?—on the history, proof, nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration. But if the plan is conventional, the treatment of the various subjects is not such in the sense of being nerveless. Vigour as well as up-to-date erudition is evidenced on every one of its five hundred and sixty pages. With a kindly eye to the young student's wants, Father Gigot has prefixed a most useful synopsis to the beginning of each chapter. In the realms of hard fact we looked for fulness, accuracy and the latest results of scientific research, and we found them all. In matters of doctrine and opinion we found our author progressive without having progressed into the borderland lying between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Where everything is so admirably treated it is difficult to single out portions deserving of special notice. Perhaps particular mention is due to his powerful marshalling of the evidence in favour of the Deuterocanonical parts of the Old Testament. With Corluy and Loisy he regards St. Jerome's attitude towards them as evincing him 'a strong but involuntary witness to a Canon which is still that of the Christian Church.' Two chapters of novel and peculiar interest deal with the Apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments. The history of the Hebrew language is narrated with almost the life and freshness of a biographical sketch. As we have said, at every stage the author avails himself of the most recent advances in Biblical science. The reader is made perfectly confident that he is being put in possession of the best and latest finds that modern research has unearthed. To give an instance—the famous Palimpsest Syriac MSS. discovered in 1892, by Mrs. Lewis, comes in for due mention. Frequent reference—mostly in invaluable foot-notes—almost tempts the student to follow

up the study on a larger scale. The honoured names of Vigouroux, Loisy, Bickell, Martin, to name but a few, occur so often as to make their bearers become as everyday acquaintances to the student.

We looked with special interest for his appraisal of the results of the higher criticism and his treatment of the intricate question of inspiration. However, for the former we shall have to possess our souls in patience until his forthcoming volumes on Special Introduction appear. We noticed with much pleasure a history of the doctrine of inspiration, in view of the fact that minds unfriendly to dogma are at work upon similar lines tracing its growth and history according to their idea. But we think our author is somewhat briefer upon the nature of inspiration than the importance of the subject allows. He distinguishes three orthodox Catholic theories of inspiration. With the first—which he calls the theory of divine dictation—he has but scant sympathy, since it reduces the human author to a mere mechanical amanuensis. The second, which is a theory of verbal inspiration allowing the human writer to play a more considerable part, would appear to be the opinion of his choice. The third, or *limited illumination* theory, according to which God gives ‘an impulse to write on a given topic and a general indication of things already known which He wishes should enter into the composition of the book,’ appears to him to be against the spirit of the encyclical of Leo XIII. Yet we feel certain that the most satisfactory theory of divine authorship is that in which God is conceived as being the author of the *res et sententiae* though not of the individual words. Undoubtedly He also exercises a general supervision over the choice of suitable words to convey the divine idea. There are enough difficulties for our Catholic apologists to meet without adding those arising out of verbal inspiration, especially since neither the letter nor the spirit of the encyclical seems to require it. Truth, however, to say our author does not seem to be pertinaciously attached to any one theory. Father Gigot’s attitude towards the admission of non-inspired *obiter dicta* into Holy Writ is as uncompromising as the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* itself. Many that are seemingly such are amply explained by the distinction between absolute and relative truths.

We have carried our remarks to some length because we highly esteem the value of the present work. It may seem

almost ungenerous to deprecate the frequent use of unusual words. Thus 'concordant' and 'disparate' are only some shades more English than 'concorporant' and 'comparticant' of the early Rhemish version of the Bible. Yet we repeat that to call Father Gigot's volume a nearly ideal classbook is hardly fulsome praise. Those who desire such a work, and who have not already Cornely's *Introduction* would do well to provide themselves with Father Gigot's. Moreover it makes an attractive volume, produced in Benziger's best style, enriched with a copious index and nineteen plates full of interest and instruction. We are confident the forthcoming volumes on Special Introduction will be eagerly awaited. We are, furthermore, convinced that if they are in keeping with the volume before us, Father Gigot's work will need only to be known to become the classbook in all our colleges. And who that knows will deny that such a work is sorely needed.

P. L.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA. Vol. III.
Guggenberger.

WE must apologise to our readers for our delay in introducing to them the above-mentioned work, to which the author has aptly given the title the *Social Revolution*, because the history of the world, which it professes to narrate, for the last two centuries, is but one long story of surprising revolutions both in the social and political world. The volume is divided into three books, the first of which, after an introduction containing such important chapters as 'The Making of Russia,' 'The American Colonies,' 'The Division of Poland,' briefly unfolds to the reader the causes of the political and social revolution of the eighteenth century. These causes, according to the learned author, may be divided into internal and external: the internal being the spread of false philosophical theories and, as a natural consequence, an utter disregard for ecclesiastical and civil authority; the chief external cause being the success of the American war of freedom. The second book treats of the great French revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and their effects on the other countries of the old world as well as on the American States. The third book brings us through all the changes in European and American politics down to the late Greco-Turkish and Spanish-American wars. Though we were disposed to regard with little favour a work which

professes to set forth in four hundred and twenty-five pages the history of the world for the last two centuries, yet the many good points of the present volume has done much to remove our prejudices. The narrative though, of course, very much condensed, is clear and pleasing, whilst the methodical and skilful handling of the various events which claimed his attention clearly indicates the logical mind, and sound philosophical training of the author.

The work is intended for Catholic colleges, and reading circles, and for self-instruction. We have little hesitation in saying that for Catholic schools, where so many subjects must be brought under the notice of the pupils, as well as the general reader who may not have time to devote himself to a lengthened perusal of all the intricacies of history, the present work will be found satisfactory and convenient. The fact that the learned author is a member of the Society of Jesus, and a distinguished professor of a great American college, is a sufficient guarantee of the reliability of the work from a Catholic standpoint, whilst the skilful blending of ecclesiastical and secular history is worthy of the highest recommendation, especially, in these days, when even Catholic writers are more or less inclined to under-rate the influence of the Church upon past as well as present-day society. We do not, of course, recommend the work as perfect; like all things human it has its faults, and in this connection, we may be pardoned for remarking that the Americanism of the author—if we may use the expression—has led him to give a prominence and importance to events in the history of America which an historian from the other side of the Atlantic would hardly give, were he engaged in unfolding the story of the human race for the last two hundred years. Valuable aid is given to the student for the fruitful perusal of the work by the different styles of type which have been used to indicate the relative importance of the events narrated, as well as by the maps indicating the many changes in European countries and possessions during the last two centuries, and by the tables at the end of the chapters setting forth the genealogies and the principal events with dates; whilst the very exhaustive list of books of reference serves at once as a guarantee of the reliability and research of the author, and as an indication of the source from which the reader may derive a fuller account of any event in which he may be specially interested.

J. M.C.

LECTURES FOR BOYS. Vols. II. and III. By Very Rev. Cuthbert Doyle, O.S.B. London : R. & T. Washbourne.

MOST priests have felt and acknowledged the want that exists in these countries for some good handbook on Catholic belief which they might put with confidence into the hands of our growing-up boys. By none has it been felt more keenly than by those in charge of or in any way connected with our primary and intermediate educational establishments. Books of the sort are hardly to be found. Those that do exist are not for some reason or other all that might be desired. Their point of view, their treatment, their subject-matter, their whole tone and temper are not quite what would be best calculated to catch and keep the interest of the young. Juvenile literature in most departments has been making strides of late years towards perfection of form and substance. It is only in religion that we are yet awaiting the juvenile classic, or even any decent make-shift instead. One is forced to admit that in this special department educational facilities for our boys are much in the same way as when Catholic education began in these countries.

The present volumes are an attempt (not wholly unsuccessful) at supplying the need. So, at least, we gather from the title. We have not received the first volume, and speak, therefore, under correction of the author's purpose ; yet we think our surmise to be fairly within the truth. In any case the volumes under review will, without doubt, work out towards the end indicated, and will certainly be a very appreciable help to anyone having to do with the training of our boys. The author has taken to himself a very large field of subjects, dogmatic and moral, and manages their treatment with a certain amount of freshness and versatility. At times one might question his method of arrangement. It is not always easy to make the connection between the several chapters. This is, however, only a detail. Each chapter is, in itself, admirably arranged and worked out and has a certain completeness within itself which makes it independent, in a good measure, of its setting.

The author's general treatment is, as we have said, almost complete—one heading often extending over many chapters. Dogmas are explained and proved, and objections against them answered. In this connection the volumes will prove useful to a much larger audience than 'our boys.' As we read over some

of the chapters we were forced to admit that many of us who are not boys at all might peruse herein with profit.

Admitting the comprehensiveness of the volumes as an excellence from one point of view, we suspect, however, that it will prove a defect if the purpose of their author be as we have indicated. The field is too large, and the treatment often, we think, too exacting for the youthful intelligence. Objections, especially, are sometimes noticed of which few boys, we think, can have any personal or other experience; we would also have wished a fresher and lighter method of treatment in many of the chapters.

The book is well brought out by the publishers, beautifully printed and strongly bound.

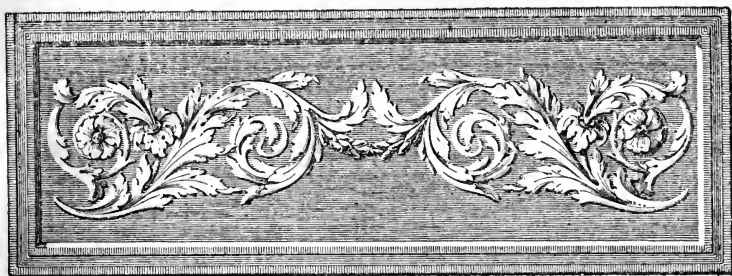
P. D.

THE PRUDENT CHRISTIAN. By the Rev. J. Fletcher, D.D.

Revised by the Very Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P. Dublin:
Jas. Duffy & Co. 1900.

A HANDY little volume of meditations. We can confidently recommend Father Fletcher's *Prudent Christian* to our readers. There is nothing new or startling in the choice or handling of the contents. The headings of the chapters are so venerable as—'The Necessity of Meditation,' 'The Esteem of our Salvation,' 'Death,' 'Judgment,' 'Hell,' and 'Heaven.' The treatment is the natural unstudied out-pouring of an earnest soul in presence of these awful mysteries. There is, however, a freshness of expression and illustration, dissociable from all genuine thought, that cannot fail to attract even the superficial thinker, and an amount of thought-provoking considerations that will profit him. The treatment reminds one very much of St. Alphonsus, and we are certain that all lovers of the saint's works—and who of us is not?—will welcome this of Father Fletcher's. The name of Father Sheehan on the title-page is a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence and devotional earnestness of the book.

P. D.



THE ETHICS OF PATRIOTISM

AMONG the various disputed questions of current politics there are many that belong to the region of mere opinion, and the voter, in taking one side or the other, is lightly swayed by sentiment, or party ties, or motives of expediency. There are others, again, involving technicalities on which the mind of the mere layman must needs be guided by the voice of experts or constitutional lawyers. And though in all these questions the citizen must act according to his conscience, at least in this, that he does what he deems best for the common welfare, it can hardly be said that, as a rule, the issue involved in deciding for or against a particular policy is, in itself, a moral question. For this reason the moralist or the theologian can have no special claim to speak on these matters; and, save in exceptional circumstances, they would hardly seem to be an appropriate subject for discussion in these pages.

But there are other questions decided at the polls, or debated in Parliament, that are of far deeper moment, and directly involve a grave moral issue. Such is the case with legislation directed against the interests of religion or the sanctity of the Christian family. Which of us would think of such minor matters as the triumph of this or that political party if we had to vote on laws that made polygamy legal, or revived a policy of religious persecution?

Such is, surely, the case when the question at issue is that of peace or war. Not that war is something essentially wrong, or that good Catholics and religious-minded men must always oppose it, as they would resist legislation hostile to morality or religion. But a policy of war always involves a grave moral question; it can never be a mere matter of interest or of expediency. A just and necessary war may be a solemn and sacred duty; an unjust war is at once a calamity and a public crime; and no question in politics is a surer test of the moral fibre and character of a nation than this question of peace or war.

We are at present passing through a national crisis of this kind; for with needless haste the Government has called on the country to pass judgment on their war policy. It is a season for anxiety and searching of hearts. Some politicians in England are apprehensive as to the results of a 'khaki' election; they are filled with fear that it may lead to a further break up and weakening of the once powerful Liberal party, which, under our present system of party government, might well be a matter of regret, even for those who are of another way of thinking in politics. But to a thoughtful observer it will probably appear that we are really in presence of a much graver danger. It is not merely the interests of a school of politicians, or the due equilibrium of constitutional government, but some of the most fundamental moral principles that are being placed in jeopardy.

There are some among us who hold that, in spite of the blunders of our commanders and the sufferings of our soldiers, the present war will prove a real benefit to England and the empire, by rallying all the various forces in one common effort in support of the mother country. We need not stay to examine the precise value of this supposed accession of strength and unity; but we fear that the price at which it is won, if won it be, may be something yet greater than all the blood and all the treasure that have been poured out like water on the sunburnt soil of Africa. Those who make the most of the alleged gain to the empire appeal to the past record of the British people, and argue that this

accession of new power will be a benefit to the world at large, for it will strengthen the forces that make for peace, and justice, and freedom. We would not scrutinise that record too closely, for we fear it is not all so bright as we Britons fondly imagine. But, be this as it may, there seems to be some reason for thinking that it is just this boasted love of peace, and right, and freedom, that is now being bartered away for the bauble of empire.

We speak of fear for the future. But in truth it is the facts of the present that fill us with grave misgivings. For already our peace-loving people have been kindled with a military fire and fever that bodes ill for the world's peace and harmony. Let us not be misunderstood. We are not for peace at any price. There are, as we have already said, occasions when war is really necessary. But, for our part, we believe that those occasions are very rare. And, in any case, war should only be accepted in the last resort, and waged as a sacred duty in the cause of justice. It should never be lightly undertaken, as a move in the game of politics, to promote the interests of a party, or to gratify popular passions. Nor is this all. A war that is just in itself may not be urged on and encouraged in an immoral manner. When two nations are actually at war, it is difficult, no doubt, to treat each other with justice and forbearance. But this is none the less a duty. And it is a grave offence for anyone to spread false charges against the enemy and endeavour to inflame popular passions.

We would fain hope that these general principles would be admitted by all Catholics—nay, by all Christian or non-Christian moralists. There is, indeed, an extreme school which would forbid all warfare whatever. But, so far as we are aware, no writers affecting any kind of morality would defend the proposition that war may be waged without a grave reason, or conducted without regard to the principles of justice. In these matters, however, practice is often far more bold than theory. And we may thus find men of unquestionable probity giving practical approval to a course which they would not be prepared to maintain as an abstract principle. Many good people among us, many excellent

Catholics, are loud in support of the present war with the Transvaal. But how many of them have carefully weighed the reasons for and against the war, and convinced themselves of its justice? And if they have not done this, may not their patriotic support of the Government be little less than participation in a public crime? Here we may be reminded of the difference in this matter between the people and their rulers. It is the principle of moral theology that, although no one can lawfully take part in a war which he certainly knows to be unjust, the soldier is safe in obeying his orders. It is not his place, nor is he generally competent, to deal with affairs of state and the motives and object of the war in which he is sent to fight and suffer. And may not the same be said of the mass of ordinary civilians? May not they safely support their country in any war, and leave the decision to the wisdom of their rulers? In a measure, and under certain circumstances, this may well be true. But we venture to think that the principle has a very limited application in these days of popular government and the 'new Diplomacy.'

When the affairs of the nation were managed by the king and the ministers of his choice; when the people had no knowledge of the negotiations, and no voice in the council; it was natural that they should have little direct concern with these questions of high politics. But now the case is altered. Who are the ministers responsible at the present moment, and whence comes their authority? The votes of a few thousand working-men cast the other way five years ago would have left the affairs of the nation in other, possibly in safer, hands. Nor is this all. The ministers already in office are influenced in no small measure by indications of the popular feeling. The man in the street is, in some sense, regarded as an authority by the men in the Cabinet. Undoubtedly the ministers still retain their own responsibility. The chief credit for a wise course, and the chief burden of guilt, will rest with them. But it will not be fair to give them all the praise or all the blame. We should be sorry to think that any of the present ministers could be so guilty as to make a war for the sake

of gaining votes or popularity. But it is safe to say that they would have been kept back from it, if they had felt that it was against the will of the people. If Mr. Stead and Mr. Courtney had been able to gather large and enthusiastic meetings in favour of a policy of peace ; if war meetings had been broken up by a Radical rabble ; if the majority of the London papers had opposed the war, and Tory editors had been forced to resign because they dared to support it ; this 'inevitable' war would most certainly have been avoided. It can hardly be denied that all those who took part in the popular clamour in support of the war policy have their full share in the responsibility—whether for good or for evil. If that war be wise and just, they may claim something of the credit for saving the country ; and if it be unjust, they must share in the burden of guilt.

It can hardly be necessary for an Englishman writing in an Irish periodical to offer any reason against the present war with the Boer Republics. On this matter, Catholic Ireland has already spoken through her representatives with no uncertain or divided voice. And, even apart from this consideration, one who, like the present writer, believes the war to be unjust, is scarcely called upon to bring forward any positive reasons to prove that injustice. Every war is an evil, unless it can be shown that there is some just and weighty cause that renders it right and necessary. The burden of proof rests with the supporters of a war policy ; and all that its opponents need do is to meet their arguments and show their insufficiency. At first sight, this might seem a formidable task in the case of the present war. For who can lightly undertake to sift all the miscellaneous evidence, or stem the bewildering stream of argumentation that has flooded our popular platforms and the pages of Jingo journals ? But the task should not really prove as serious as it seems. For if there be a true cause for the war, if some great cause, some just principle, be the motive force of this popular movement, it will surely stand out clearly so that all may see it. The same dominant note will be struck in all the divers speeches and papers or pamphlets. The real motive may be set forth in a thousand

different ways, now with passionate rhetoric, now with calm reasoning, but it will still be the same in substance. When we see it before us we may differ as to its merits and its importance, or its sufficiency as a *casus belli*. But at least there will be no doubt as to what is the real issue.

On the other hand, if the war be waged under the influence of popular passion, or racial hatred, or feelings of revenge for former defeats, or a desire of gain, or other sordid motives that dare not be avowed; its apologists will have to put forward some decent and plausible pretext to clothe its evil nature with imputed righteousness. But as this is not the real issue, the advocates will soon find it difficult, if not impossible, to agree in the same tale. Various pretexts will be adopted in succession. New reasons will be found more effective than those put forward at first, and the original motives will be laid aside and forgotten.

Which has been the case here? What, after all, is the real issue? At the outset much was made of the grievances of the Outlanders, and the terms on which those patriotic Englishmen who wished to become Transvaalers should be admitted to the franchise. But the unsatisfactory nature of this pretext was soon apparent. It was found that a considerable number of these same suffering Outlanders were fighting for the 'tyrannous oligarchy' against the Britons who came to bring them franchise and freedom. Some apologists fall back on the transparent argument that the Boers were the aggressors. We are asked to believe that the war is just, because it is defensive; and all the trouble is ascribed to the Boer ultimatum. This is really an appeal to popular ignorance. For the massing of troops on a frontier is recognised as a menace of war, and the state which is menaced is entitled to protest or demand explanations, or, in the last resort, to forestall the threatened invasion. Can it be said that the dispatch of British troops implied no hostile intention? Were they simply sent to protect the colonies? This might be a reasonable explanation, if the subject in dispute between the two Governments had been some Dutch grievance at the Cape, and the Boer President had demanded redress in forcible and threatening language.

But in the actual circumstances, the movement conveyed a very different meaning. The question at issue was the submission of the Republic to the insistent demands of England. And it is now frankly admitted by the responsible minister that our Government was determined to secure what it sought by peaceable means if possible, or, if necessary, by exerting the force of the empire. Unless the Boers were prepared to yield, the war would still have come, and the course they adopted merely decided whether it should begin in circumstances that gave them an advantage, or wait for England's convenience.

Before long, however, the plea that the war was one of defence was put in shape that gave it some semblance of reason. The initial failures in the field led our wounded vanity to exaggerate the Boer armaments. And from realizing the possibility of being driven into the sea, our apologists came to 'the great afterthought' of a Dutch conspiracy for effecting that purpose. This argument was so attractive to some writers that they soon came to set it in the front of their defence. The war was now represented as just and necessary, not because it was fought in the interest of the injured Outlanders, or for British suzerainty, or paramountcy or what not; but because we were compelled to crush this gigantic Dutch conspiracy. This would certainly be ample reason to justify the war and make it appear purely defensive on our part—if we could have some satisfactory proof of this alleged conspiracy. And it would clearly put the Boers in the wrong from the first. But how could it justify the action of those statesmen who entered on a war before they were aware of this alarming Dutch combination?

With the recent discovery of the correspondence between the Boer authorities and Cape Dutch statesmen, or English members of Parliament, the case for the war has entered on a new phase, and we find a revived interest in those earlier questions which had been overshadowed by this ingenious theory. Anxious to turn the discovery to some advantage against their opponents, our apologists make much of the letters, and we may find them

triumphantly appealing to the strong remonstrance of a Cape Dutch statesman urging President Kruger to yield on the subject of the franchise. This language of friendly advice, it is urged, shows that the obstinate President was in the wrong, and the English interference was therefore justified. But if this was the course adopted and the counsel given by Cape Dutch statesmen, what has become of the famous conspiracy ?

Unhappily, this vacillating insistence now on the Outlanders, now on Afrikaner conspiracies, does not exhaust the list of pretexts or motives for the war policy. Eagerness for annexation is clearly a common factor in most apologies for the war. And the fact is, certainly, significant ; for all wars do not end in annexation of the vanquished, and when a war is waged for some just reason, many of its advocates will be satisfied when that end is obtained without seeking to annex any territory. It is, at least, a little curious that few, if any, of our politicians are found to take this line. But, besides this unblushing greed of aggrandisement, we find in too many instances plain tokens of a yet meaner motive, a desire for vengeance. The cry of *avenge Majuba* has often served to rally the forces of the war party. And even such men as Lord Roberts and Lord Salisbury have stooped to pander to this unworthy weakness.

Now, it may be that, in all this, the war apologists have done themselves an injustice. In the natural excitement of an honest indignation, they may not be able to express their reasons clearly and coherently ; but, after all, the reasons may be there. And whatever may be the case with violent politicians or heedless enthusiasts, we make no doubt that the more thoughtful defenders of the war do honestly believe that it is just and necessary, and could give us an intelligible and consistent account of the grounds of their opinion. As may be gathered from what has been said above, we are unable to share that view of the controversy. But, on a large and somewhat complex question like the present, we should be loth to assume an attitude of authority. If we claim the right to judge of the facts and the evidence for ourselves, we are ready to allow the same right to others.

And, however convinced any one of us may be that his own view is right, if he is wise he will judge the views of others with forbearance, and remember that on some points he may himself be mistaken. We may hope, indeed, that in the present matter the mistakes on either side, and the difference that divides us, are a question of fact rather than one of moral principles. If the facts of the case were seen by some of our opponents as they appear to us, they, too, would join us in condemning the war; and, if we could accept their version of the question at issue, we might soon arrive at the same conclusion.

But, at least in some quarters, we fear that the difference is deeper than this. And not only are facts misread or misrepresented, but important moral principles are gravely compromised or called in question. We see this in those organs of opinion, in which serious charges against the enemy are lightly made and lightly accepted. And it is yet more apparent in the line openly adopted by certain champions of the war, and in the treatment too commonly accorded to its opponents. Besides those who have consistently supported the Government from the first, there are others who condemn its policy in unsparing terms, but argue that, now the war has begun, we must 'see it through.' To do Mr. Chamberlain justice, it must be added that he has protested strongly against this doctrine. But, to judge by the attitude adopted towards pro-Boers, as they are called, it would seem to be very widely accepted. For those Englishmen who still oppose the war are too often treated as traitors to the cause of their country.

It is true that we are often apt to assert broad principles when we are only thinking of some particular application. And philosophers who distinguish between inductive and deductive logic have omitted to notice a third form of argumentation which is, perhaps, more common than either of the others. We may venture to call it political logic, from the subject-matter in which it is of most frequent occurrence. In outward form it agrees with the old deductive syllogism. But instead of the truth of the conclusion being drawn from the principle set forth in the major premiss, that principle

is really founded on the conclusion. Hence it may be that many who now maintain the strange doctrine that a patriotic citizen is bound to support the Government of his country in any war against a foreign foe, are only generalizing their own conception of our duty in the present war, which they themselves deem just and necessary. They are not contemplating the application of this principle to other cases. Be this as it may, the principle itself is being asserted without reserve, and we cannot suffer it to pass without a word of protest.

In one way this is a matter of yet deeper moment than the question of the justice or injustice of the present war. For, if once this principle be admitted, it will serve for many future occasions, and may go far to corrupt such notions of political morality as may still linger amongst us. And its pernicious effect may possibly be felt in other ways, besides in the encouragement given to unjust and wanton warfare. Perhaps, in the long run, patriotism itself will suffer the most; for those who have been asked to sanction crimes in the name of their country may come to refuse it their lawful service.

This would certainly be a grave evil. For a sound and enlightened patriotism is a moral quality of no light importance. As the social order is really, though indirectly, ordained of God, all men are bound to render obedience to the lawful authorities of their own nation, and do what lies in them to maintain its good estate. The true love of country, giving loyal service to its rightful calls, is no mere matter of sentiment, but a sacred duty. When our country is engaged in a just and necessary war, the strife of parties should cease for a while, and the voice of faction should be silent. Undoubtedly patriotism is a duty; but, like other laws and moral obligations, it has its just limits and conditions. If it be strained too far, it may clash with higher laws and duties yet more sacred.

We confess we should have some difficulty in attempting to prove that there is, and can be, no obligation laid upon us to support the Government of our country in a course of wrong and injustice. For we could only prove it from

something more clear and more certain, and to find this were no easy matter. Perhaps the most ready way to enforce the truth of that which should be so obvious, is the old method of the *reductio ad absurdum*. In other words, let us take some concrete example to show whither this new patriotic principle would logically lead us. Whether the present war be unjust or no, it will be allowed on all hands that it would be a great crime for a strong power to make a wanton and unprovoked attack upon some weaker state, for the sole object of gain and conquest. Now, let us suppose that some evil-minded ministers held the reins of government in this country—we have had such in the past, and we may have them again in the future. Let us suppose that having the ear of a weak sovereign and the support of a corrupt majority in Parliament, and having bought the consent of neighbouring nations, they set about the conquest of some weaker state, such as Belgium or Holland. If the preparations for the war became known in this country, every honest Englishman would do his best to prevent the aggression, and save the national honour. We will suppose that there is a strong feeling in many quarters, and the iniquity of the ministers is clear and unquestioned. There is thus a reasonable hope for a triumph of the right—when suddenly the Government hastens on the war and begins the projected invasion. What will be the consequence? Instantly all those who were preparing to hurl the guilty ministers from office find the ground cut from under their feet. There is still no doubt that the war is a wicked, wanton aggression; but they must not move a finger to stop it. Their country is at war, and they must support the Government. The crime has begun, and they must 'see it through.'

Or let us take a different example, and see how the new patriotism will work in the case of weaker nations. Let us suppose that some dispute arises between Holland and Germany. The more prudent party in the smaller state very reasonably urges the importance of timely concessions, in order to avoid a conflict with their powerful neighbour. Ministerial measures seem likely to lead to this calamity,

and the Opposition statesmen use every effort to check or change them. But a headstrong Government pursues its fatal course, and war breaks out. German armies pour into the Netherlands, and the little state is threatened with ruin, if not with extinction. It might seem the wiser course to counsel a change of policy, and offer some tardy concessions, in order to conciliate the forbearance of the invaders, and save the land from further evils. May the members of the Opposition make this last effort? 'No,' says the new patriotism, 'the country is at war, you must support the Government, and see this through!' Such is the logical and natural outcome of this new patriotic principle. It is, forsooth, a duty to support and approve what we know to be a crime; and the love of country is to lead us to help on a course that will bring the land we love to ruin or dishonour.

We venture to hope that even those who loosely use this language in the present discussion would scarcely accept the validity of the principle in these extreme cases. And, however much they may rail at those who oppose the present war, they must admit the possibility of a war so wicked, or so rash and reckless, that even they must stand out against it. But, in this, we are not entirely left to speculation on hypothetical possibilities. Even in their utterances on this war, we may see plain tokens that our friends the Jingoists do not really believe in this precious principle, which they use as a convenient stick to beat pro-Boers withal. Have we not been told of Free-Staters or Transvaalers who were opposed to the policy of Steyn and Kruger? Have we not heard that now this party, and now the other, was sick of the war with Britain, and the Presidents would soon be forced to abandon the struggle? It never seemed to occur to those who gleefully repeated these rumours, or cited the wise words of enlightened 'pro-British' Dutchmen, that these men were under any obligation to support the Government of their country in a wrong-headed war policy, or that once the war was begun, all patriotic Boers must unite to 'see it through.' In their case it would seem that a 'Stop the war' policy was the sign of an enlightened patriotism.

But, if in any of these instances, the opponents of war were justified in continuing their opposition even while hostilities were raging, the same must surely be true of the English peace party of to-day, supposing that there is a like guilt or a like danger in this war with the Boer Republics. The true duty of a patriot is to serve his country in every just cause, and to seek above all things to save that country from shame and disaster. If the policy pursued by the present Unionist Government is unrighteous or fraught with future danger—however the guilt may be screened by specious pretexts or the danger obscured by a fleeting advantage—the advocates and abettors of that policy are the real traitors, and the truest and best patriots are to be found among those that oppose it. As may be sufficiently seen from what has been said already, we believe that this is actually the case; and in our view the honour of England and the future well-being of her people are being put in jeopardy by a false and fatal policy. Those who raise the immoral cry, ‘Our country, right or wrong!’ can have no real love of country. For to love the land, is to wish it well, to seek its real good, to hold it in honour. We would fain hope that England has still some patriots left, whose love of country is based on their love of right, of truth, and of freedom; who can say to their land in the words of the knightly lover,

I could not love thee, Dear, so much,
Loved I not Honour more.

Those who take up this position might well retort the charge of treason or want of patriotism upon those who support the war policy. But for our part we should be sorry to bring such serious charges against all the Government champions. We make no doubt that many among them are animated by a genuine love of country, and trusting to the voice of their leaders they believe the war to be just and necessary. The gallant sacrifices made by so many brave Irishmen and Englishmen may well excite our admiration—though we could wish that they were offered in a worthier cause. And there are those

among the supporters of the war who would never be willing champions of wrong or oppression. However much we may deem them mistaken, we are ready, at any rate, to allow the uprightness of their motives and the purity of their patriotism. It could be wished that some of them were prepared to make the same attempt to form a just estimate of the position of their opponents. If we look at the journals on their side, even at those of the better sort, we can find but few tokens of this common fairness. Opposition to the war is too frequently accounted as little better than treason, or ascribed to the meanest motives. The chorus of condemnation abroad, that conscience of the world to which so many appealed in the Dreyfus case, is taken as the outcome of envy of England. The gallant resistance offered by the Irish party is put down to national hatred or political faction. And as for England itself, an attempt is made to belittle the opposition and make a show of unanimity. Possibly, this bold assertion may be to readily accepted abroad, or even in Ireland. We should not be greatly surprised to find that some intelligent outsiders were under the impression that England is practically unanimous, with the exception of an inconsiderable minority.

It is not to be denied that the war party makes the most noise, whether in the press or in public meetings and celebrations. But though these things may serve to show what is the feeling of the majority, they can hardly help us to any accurate estimate of its precise proportions. There will always be a considerable number of men who are not represented by popular clamour. Even a parliamentary election would not be a sure test, for under the present system of registration many are without votes, and in any case the issue will be confused by the conflicting influence of many other political questions. But if we cannot estimate the numbers of the party of peace, we may still find some satisfactory indications of its strength in the country. On the one hand, the names appended to the protest of authors and the list of the Conciliation Committee, together with the utterances of such men as John Morley and Leonard Courtney, suffice to show how much of the best thought of

England is arrayed against the Government war policy. When the noise and excitement of the hour passes away, the wise words of these men may yet bear fruit in the future. On the other hand, the strong line of opposition taken by John Burns, and the Labour members generally, is an indication of a feeling widely prevailing among British working-men. This, again, is a hopeful sign; for there can be little doubt that the power of the Labour party is gradually growing. And ere long it may be more than a match for those older parties that are now infected with the military fever. The wide difference between these two classes of the thinkers and the toilers adds weight to their witness in the cause of peace and justice. For neither is likely to be much influenced by the other, and the truth of their cause is the sole bond between them. Happily they both receive welcome help in the struggle from the united forces of Irish nationalism—help that carries a greater moral weight because it is clearly not dictated by party interests.

Before we leave the subject it may be well to draw a distinction between what has been said against the war and what has been said on the general principles of patriotism. The first depends, in great measure, on questions of fact, and there is, consequently, much room for difference of opinion; and many Catholic readers—at least in England—may be unable to agree with us. And we fear that there would be little use in asking them to come over to help us. It is otherwise with the question of principles. Here we would fain hope that our Catholic opponents on the other matter are really at one with us. They support this unhappy war because they think it just; they would not support injustice and robbery. And we may venture to appeal to them to join us in protest against the pernicious principle that citizens should support their country in injustice; to raise their voices against the campaign of calumny directed against the Boers and their friends in England; to set their own defence of the war on some nobler basis than pride of race, or revenge, or prejudice, and vindicate the true principles of Christian patriotism.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

SHAKSPEARE'S IDEA OF REPROBATION AS FORMULATED IN 'LADY MACBETH'

H AZLITT calls *Macbeth* 'an unruly chaos of strange and forbidden things.' The description is true in so far as the genius of Shakspeare has fashioned the externals of the tragedy into due dramatic correspondence with the inner workings of a guilt-laden soul. The play deals with conscience—the hell-haunted conscience of a lady, high-born, high-mettled, high-placed, but prayerless, God-forsaking, God-forsaken. Lady Macbeth is the central figure of a drama that has no music in it; and in Lady Macbeth we seem to see Shakspeare's portraiture of a human spirit reprobate—reprobate in the theological sense: reprobate because Christless. Shakspeare, who knew his Bible, has built up the Macbeths, more especially the wife, as if designing them to fall within the category of those described in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: 'As they liked not to have God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a reprobate sense.'

In an admirable chapter of his *Folia Literaria*, discussing certain points of resemblance between *Macbeth* and *Paradise Lost*, Professor Hales observes:—

Shakspeare and Milton are, in these great works, each in his own way, thinking of the same transcendent problem, viz., the freedom of man's will. As to Adam, so to Macbeth, the old, old questions arise: Were they capable of resisting the terrible forces arrayed against them? Could they have delivered themselves from evil? How did they come to fall so miserably? Whence was engendered the weakness that undid them? How far were they responsible for so disastrous a debility? What is the parentage of crime?

To these questions, which involve one another, a succinct answer can be given *en bloc*. Everywhere in his plays Shakspeare makes his position clear upon these matters, in voicing his assent to the traditions of the old order of things

that had given place to the new in 'Merrie England.' There is remarkable attestation in *Macbeth* that Shakspeare had laid to heart the text 'My grace is sufficient for thee' in the wonderful scene wherein Malcolm unfolds his true self:—

I am yet
Unknown to woman; never was foresworn;
Scarcely have coveted what was mine own;
At no time broke my faith; would not betray
The devil to his fellow, and delight
No less in truth than life.

If this passage be compared with that other which precedes it in the same scene, wherein Malcolm imparts his counterfeit self to Macduff so as to test the latter's good faith, we shall readily find the premises of a valid syllogism of which the conclusion is true, viz., 'By the grace of God I am what I am'—chaste, true, open-handed, loyal, just. As distinguished from the 'fix'd fate' teaching of the materialists of the new learning, this is the free-will doctrine of the Catholic Church; and it is Shakspeare's doctrine whencesoever he got it. The university of Wittenberg, the headquarters of the new rationalism of the sixteenth century, had expressly taught that 'Man has not free-will to act in natural and civil duties.' In 'Doctor Faustus,' Marlowe sketched a student of this university, who 'for a consideration' had signed with his own blood a bond with Satan to yield up his soul at the expiration of twenty-four years. When the bond is about to fall due, Faustus resists the entreaties of his friends to sue for God's mercy on the ground that having accepted 'the consideration' he is no longer a free agent to cancel the compact.¹ His final impenitence does not proceed from positive despair. His soul is not atrophied. He speaks words of solemn warning to his friends. His belief is great in the efficacy and universality of the Atonement, and in the wisdom and power of prayer. But his faith in fatalism is greater and chokes the better

¹ 'For vain pleasure of twenty-four years hath Faustus lost eternal joy and felicity. I writ them a bill with mine own blood: the date is expired; the time will come, and he will fetch me.'—*Faustus*, Act V., scene 3.

The whole of this (the final) scene points in this direction. Note especially: 'O would I had never seen Wertenberg!' and, 'The devil will come and Faustus must be damn'd.'

promptings of his soul. The virus of the doctrine he had imbibed at Wittenberg is in him, weakening the will-power, as it did in Hamlet's case.¹ But Lady Macbeth's will-power remains unbroken to the end; her will has first subdued her nature; her purpose has then, and once for all, fascinated her will. Long sunk in spiritual inanition, her final impenitence proceeds from rigidity and immobility of soul. She utters no prayer, and makes no sign, because she believes prayers powerless, and pardon impossible. Self-reliant and self-centred, her sole aim is to secure 'present safety,' escape from her present throes. She is content to jump the life to come. Faustus was by no means so content. In Marlowe's hands Faustus is fated to be damned; Shakspeare by many a subtle side-touch traces the genesis and evolution of Lady Macbeth's self-elected damnation. For instance we may note:—

1. Her knowledge of holiness, as is made plain by her comment on her husband's letter in Act I., sc. 5, 19-21. Her's then is, at the outset, a sin against grace.

2. Her incredulous note of dastardly exultation to the bearer of the news of the king's visit: 'Thou'rt mad to say it': Act I., sc. 5, 31.

3. Her utter recklessness of undoing: Act I., sc. 7, 70-71.

4. Her utter callousness in the murder scene: Act II., sc. 2.

5. Her spiritual blindness after her fall:—

'Tis safer to be that which we destroy
Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy.

Act. III., sc. 2.

What are these but a logical sequence of phases in the evolution of the reprobate?

It is not easy to see the precise value of the discovery that the subject of *Paradise Lost* and the subject of *Macbeth* are the same, viz., the ruin of man. The

¹ On Shakspeare's probable purpose in sending Hamlet 'to school in Wittenberg' (even anachronistically), while Laertes goes to the university of Paris, see a masterly article by the Rev. J. Darlington, S.J., in the *New Ireland Review* for January, 1898.

similarity as to motive and action in both the epic and the drama needs neither to be emphasized nor minimized, and does not necessarily extend to the artist's conception of the character and motive of each and every character in either. 'Find the motive of a play which is at the back of the artist's mind,' says Father Darlington, in the article just referred to, 'and you have a master-key to unlock every difficulty.' Nothing could be truer. But the central motive of a play is not necessarily identical with the artist's conception of one particular personage, but is rather the resultant of the motives of all the characters in action. If Shakspeare's inner motive or thing signified in *Macbeth* was to bring on the stage the mystery of the temptation and fall of man, Eve would be the intellectual conception in Shakspeare's mind figured by Lady Macbeth; and whatever is true of Eve's character and motive as represented in Catholic theology, would be true of the character and motive of her antitype, Lady Macbeth. But *is* Lady Macbeth an antitype of Eve? The parallelism between Eve and Lady Macbeth is, no doubt, plausible and tempting. Eve was the cause of Adam's undoing. So was Lady Macbeth of her husband's. Shakspeare evidently makes the woman the immediate cause—as Eve to Adam. Utility was the highest standard of morality with Lady Macbeth. [Shakspeare's ideas about utility—or what he calls 'commodity'—are discernible from the Bastard's famous speech at the close of Act II. of *King John*; and there is nothing in Shakspeare which more clearly differentiates him from the other dramatists of his period in respect of the moral sense. Utility seems to have been a vice of the new religion in Shakspeare's day, bearing the same relation to moral conduct as the new rationalism bore to the old belief.] Utility, likewise, occasioned the fall of Eve. Eve plucked the forbidden fruit as Lady Macbeth clutched at the forbidden throne for reasons of utility, as contrasted with reasons of justice and obedience to divine command. Both the apple and the throne were fair to see and pleasant to have—'naughty, but nice.' So far everything seems similar between Eve and Lady Macbeth. Unfortunately, however, for the theory

that in thinking of Macbeth's wife Shakspeare was thinking of Adam's, the likeness is, after all, a necessary likeness. The parallelism goes just that length which it *must* go; then the lines diverge as far as heaven and hell asunder. All great crimes have broad and general features of resemblance in respect of motive and development. The power to abstract and generalize these common features, however helpful to the detective, may prove a pitfall to the critic.

The chief objection to this interpretation of the inner motive of *Macbeth* lies in the very fact that it creates an element of pity for the wife. It constitutes the husband the real criminal. In a sense, no doubt, he *was*; but not, we believe, in Shakspeare's sense. For the playwright has taken far greater pains to disabuse us of all sense of pity for Lady Macbeth than for her lord. Professor Hales in the *Folia*, and Father Darlington in the first of his able essays on the *Catholicity of Shakspeare's Plays*, tacitly make the very assumption which Shakspeare has taken laboured pains to counteract. Their position is this:—The head of the woman failed to guide the weaker vessel. Vacillating, uxorious, unprincipled, he left his impulsive wife a free hand. The wife is the sentiment, the husband the reason. If the reason does not operate, the sentiment brings disaster. *Hence, if Macbeth failed his wife as guiding principle, there is pity for the woman* who thus brought about his ruin and her own.

But what evidence does the play itself furnish of the poet's mind upon this matter? There is absolutely nothing in Lady Macbeth's nature and character to raise our pity for her doom. The whole tenor of the situations in the play where she appears—not excepting the sleep-walking scene—are so contrived as if on set purpose to eliminate all sense of pity for the pitiless. In this connection a note of her nature is sounded as by way of anticipation. Of the babe at her breast she can say:—

I would while it was smiling in my face,
Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums
And dash'd the brains out.

Her treachery alone were enough to discount our compassion.

We do not pity Lucan for his fate, as we remember his betrayal of his fellow-plotters, and impeachment of his noble mother.¹ We do not pity Judas because he 'went and hanged himself.' Nor is there pity for the impenitent thief, who rejected the crucial grace and joined the blasphemers. There are situations in *Macbeth* of intense pathos as well as of intense horror; but it may fairly be asked: How is pity for Lady Macduff consistent and co-ordinate with pity for Lady Macbeth? Even in the marvellous scene, in which Shakspeare surpasses Webster on Webster's own ground of 'power to move a horror skilfully—to touch a soul to the quick,'² those who affect to see an appeal to pity see farther than the two eye-witnesses. The gentlewoman's attitude is one of cold and guarded reserve; the doctor's, one of horror, perplexity, prayer. Here where, if anywhere, pity should be most pronounced, there is no note of pity. Shakspeare was right: final impenitence overleaps the province of divine mercy and that of human pity. Undeserved suffering, or else suffering deserved yet nobly borne—these two alone unlock the well-springs of pity in the human breast. Lady Macbeth's agonies are of neither kind. As in the life temporal, so in the life spiritual 'there is a tide in the affairs of men.' From the rank shore of her self-sufficiency she had calmly watched the blessed flood ebbing slowly from her feet. There is a temptation which proves, and a victory which decides. There is a 'sin unto death,' as well a crowning grace unto everlasting life. Shakspeare created Lady Macbeth to be, not a moral suasive, but a moral deterrent. She cleanses the sick soul through terror, and terror alone.

What, then, is the secret? Why does the poet seek to dam up in our souls all pity for this woman? One of Milton's impracticable theories was that incompatibility of temperament justifies divorce. Shakspeare rather seems to think that in the selection of a life-mate caution and wise discernment should be employed beforehand. The Macbeths

¹ See *Tac. Ann.*, xv. 57.

² Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*.

form the exceptional case—that of a woman whose sole womanly trait is physical weakness, mating a man whose sole manly trait is physical courage. Shakspeare probably felt that these exceptional cases are not uncommon, particularly in the higher grades of society. Many of the world's greatest crimes have been the offspring of such mal-alliances; and in Isabella of France, wife of Edward II., in Joan I. of Naples, in Catherine II. of Russia, the voice of history has, in some sort, sanctioned the fearful creation of the Tragic Muse. These women, and such as these, with their commanding gifts and graces of intellect and person, might almost be considered historic counterparts of Lady Macbeth. Like her—though she is differentiated from them by a strongly marked individualism of her own—these famous, or infamous, women belong to the most insidious and pernicious class of malefactor—that of the smiling, bewitching, cultured criminal of high life, whose brain is subtle, whose purpose is inexorable, whose nerve is iron, whose hand is sure. We think, therefore, that in the play of *Macbeth* Shakspeare had not so much in view the abstract question of the origin of evil, as the concrete question of the evil, temporal and spiritual, which may be expected to await an ill-sorted marriage. In *Macbeth* and his wife the natural positions are reversed. In all things wherein moral courage and spiritual guidance are required, the wife was the head; the husband, the weaker vessel; the wife, the reason; the husband, the sentiment; the wife, the reprobate will; the husband, the willing tool. Potential holiness had wedded actual unholiness. She had taken his measure from the start: he was 'without the illness' that should attend ambition:—

What thou wouldst highly
That wouldst thou holily.

And in the sequel, 'What's done cannot be undone.' After the murder *Macbeth* has conscience-prickings; *Lady Macbeth* has none. The psychological attitude of the reprobate is that of stolid defiance: such is *Lady Macbeth's* attitude throughout. The sense of sin is heavy upon her;

how could it be otherwise? So she builds herself 'a lordly pleasure house.' This is the meaning of the banquet scene. She strives, as so many strive, to lull remorse by rushing into the tumult of society. She feels the want of human companionship, for the partner of her crime is not good company. 'She has light by her continually,' for she feels lonely, not with the blessed loneliness of repentance, but the awful desolation of remorse. 'For what is remorse but repentance without God, without Christ, without hope?'¹ 'Earth is become iron, and heaven brass' to her. She will not tread in the footprints of Him Who trod the wine-press alone. So the end is despair.

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton, in his puritanic and self-righteous way, justifies God's chastisement of Adam and Eve in this life. Shakspeare, linked to Catholic ideals and traditions, less self-conscious (save, perhaps, of his sins), and despite his sympathy for sinners, elsewhere broadly evident, shows in *Macbeth* what obstinate persistence in sin inevitably entails *hereafter*. He selects an all devouring passion, whose fruit is a series of aggravated murders, succeeded by an aggravation of chastisements which culminate, at least in Lady Macbeth's case, in despair, suicide, and final impenitence. 'The story of Adam,' says Professor Hales, 'is perpetually repeated; it is a faithful image of what goes on every day in the world. Every day paradises are lost. Happily, too, in some sort the lost paradises are regained.' So far, so good. But Shakspeare's purpose in *Macbeth* is not to vindicate the ways of God to man, but to show what men and women may become without God and His Christ. Shakspeare never divorces religion from morality. Macbeth and his wife are religionless, prayerless, Christless—that is to say, they have elected to place themselves in the same position which Adam and Eve would have occupied after the fall, had there been no promise of a redeemer. For to believe in one's inability to repent is to be without hope of salvation;

¹ From the seventeenth of a selection of sermons preached in the chapel of Harrow School, by Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., and entitled *Memorials of Harrow Sundays*.

and to be without hope of salvation is practically equivalent to being without the promise of a saviour. 'Know you not your own selves that Christ Jesus is in you? *Unless, perhaps, you be reprobates.*' Macbeth and his wife are not what Adam and Eve were either before the fall or after it. They are what all Christless men and women are *in posse*; and what all men and women would be *in esse*, were it not for the Word made Flesh. *Sine Tuo Numine nihil est in homine.* In *Macbeth* Shakspeare begins where Milton ends, tracing God's justice to 'the one supreme appeal,' not with the dogmatism of a self-elected vindicator, but with reverence, which is 'the angel of the world.'

With what deftness of dramatic strength and subtlety Shakspeare moulds this woman to the full stature of unrighteousness necessary to his purpose! How carefully he guards against any interpretation of her into the semblance of a *lusus naturae*! She is not a monstrosity. She is not an abstraction. She is not an impossibility. She is a woman of flesh and blood—and a woman she remains to the end. For the poet with consummate art has brought her sex into prominence just in those situations where she stands forth in all the hideousness of the relentless murderess. 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh: 'do we not seem to hear a woman's heart wildly throbbing as she says:—

From this time
Such I account thy love ;—

Come to my woman's breasts
And take my milk for gall ;—

I have given suck and know
How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me ;—

Had he not resembl'd
My father as he slept, I had done 't.

The very gifts of the woman—her air of sweetness, her seeming sincerity, her graceful hospitality, her courtliness, self-possession, social tact—serve but to build her up into an appalling incarnation of wickedness. Shakspeare everywhere

shows a fondness for psychology, and was well aware that very abandoned souls may be 'very nice people.'

There is no art
To tell the mind's construction in the face

Lady Macbeth, then, is a woman 'desperately wicked,' yet—a woman.

Into what special orbit of wickedness has the poet launched his creation? What is this woman's predominant passion? Precisely that which is best calculated to ensure the fulfilment of the poet's aim in creating her. Her's is not the 'summer-seeming' lust of the flesh, for there is not a trace of it in the tragedy. Nor yet the lust of blood: she is not cruel for cruelty's sake. Bloodguiltiness leagues with motive; yet she has no injury to revenge. Neither is her's the vulgar ambition that covets the trappings and baubles of 'the golden round' for vanity and imbecility to bedizen themselves withal. Practically, even though unconsciously, she identifies herself with the arch-fiend's *non-serviam* ;—

Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.

Her's is the lust of power—power for itself alone—power that will

Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell

rather than suffer abatement—power, which shall to all her

Nights and days to come
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.

Other lusts may be transitory—may burn out in their own fires. When this lust coils round the heart of woman, a more than masculine mercilessness demonizes her nature, and conscience from being the throne of God becomes the footstool of Satan. Thus, we conceive, Shakspeare abstracted the moral and spiritual effects of the power-lust, and concreted them in Lady Macbeth.

Before the murder of the king, Macbeth expresses his willingness, nay, his anxiety, to withdraw from the 'deed of

dreadful note,' which in its inception was but a 'flighty purpose':—

We will proceed no further in this business.

Did, then, Duncan's murder eventuate, on the part of Macbeth's wife, from the suddenness of an overmastering temptation? Shakspeare answers emphatically, no. There are consultations betwixt the guilty pair before the play begins:—

What beast was't then
That made you break this enterprise to me?
Nor time nor place
Did *then* adhere and yet you would make both:
They have made themselves and that their fitness *now*
Does unmake you.

It is peculiar to the power-lust that it knows no sudden, overwhelming temptations. It is based on the coldest reckonings of *pro* and *con*. Hence, it has a gradual growth and a normal development. The words of the satirist are the words of the theologian: *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*. No extenuation, therefore, of sudden and overmastering temptation, no palliation of passion redeems Lady Macbeth from desperate wickedness, so as to evoke a tear of pity at the close. On the other hand, no enormity, whether in action or utterance or avowed intention, is left unrevealed or unrecorded, which can aggravate her guilt or accentuate her doom. In this connection the incident of Duncan's greeting gift of the diamond may not be without significance. By her very acceptance of the king's jewel as his souvenir of her hypocritical and murderous hospitality, Lady Macbeth may be said to forfeit 'to the common enemy of man' the 'eternal jewel' of the King of kings.

Lady Macbeth is an awful example of what a gifted woman may become, who is without woman's surest safeguard—deep moral and religious feeling. In the gruesome horror, in the appalling ghastliness of the sleep-walking scene, the fact is borne in upon the soul of the beholder that Sin is an Illusion, and that the greater the sin the greater the illusion; and the text that sums up all the verities of

human life stands clear as a scroll in letters of fire: 'What fruit had you in those things of which you are now ashamed? For the end of them is death.' It is plain that before the play opens Lady Macbeth had defied conscience, trampling, so to speak, under her feet God's preventive grace, which He denies to none. Her mind, thus become an open avenue to the devil's agents, first discerns the possibility of the realization of her premeditated scheme from the suggestions of the weird sisters conveyed to her in her husband's letter. At one bound her imagination jumps the life to come. The lurid hell-lights of the road to the throne fascinate her. How fearlessly she would pioneer her husband to the goal of blood! 'Give *me* the daggers.' (For she who had nerve to 'gild the faces of the grooms' had nerve to kill the king.) And with what 'even-handed justice' she precedes her husband to the *wages* of blood—the doom of death! For 'the wages of sin is death.'

Before the murder Lady Macbeth had turned her back on God, sealing her ears to the high behests and solemn ordinances of His commandment, which are as voices from eternity to the soul. After the murder she feels in want of God; but now God has turned His back on *her*. For woe unto those who bow down before ill-gotten power as their idol of worship. Thus, she who had been unyielding to touch of pity for the august and sleeping victim—she who had stood unfaltering, undismayed, amid the terrors of that grim night of blood—she who had been undeterred by the the greater terrors of the night beyond the grave—now feels the burden of 'that perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart,' and tastes the bitterness of the chalice of 'hell-broth' of her own concocting, which she must drain to the dregs. In isolation from man, in still further isolation from God, not one day of satisfaction shall she know, not one hour of peace, not one moment of the sleep of forgetfulness shall there be for her, who 'hath murder'd sleep.' The angel of conscience, at first disregarded and despised, at last degraded and dethroned, seems in the sleep-walking scene to rise up a 'nemesis of retribution,' a torch-bearer to 'the everlasting bonfire.' To have seen Sarah Siddons, or Helen Faucit

rehearse the guilty queen's remorseful, unrepenting struggles to wash, not the blood from her hands, but the blood from her soul, were worth a thousand homilies. Truly 'the wages of sin is death;' and after death 'hell is murky.' Thus, as he re-echoes the doctor's prayer, the beholder feels his soul purged and purified through that fear which is the beginning of wisdom: and though he be not criminal, bows down before the Almighty in humility and trembling, because of the possibilities of wickedness that lurk within his heart, biding an outlet, and in humble thankfulness also for His infinite mercy and unspeakable loving-kindness.

'Subtract from many modern poets all that may be found in Shakspeare,' says Colton,¹ 'and trash will remain.' There is much truth in this rough apophthegm. The *sursum corda* of the olden times has given place to the *deorsum mentes* of modern days. The high literary ideals and aspirations of the ages of faith, hope, and charity have in great measure perished with the ages which produced them. The old fires which, fitfully renascent, even yet from time to time 'flash forth a stream of heroic rays,' serve but to remind us of the light and warmth, the beauty and the glory that we have lost. Nowadays, in poetry, we have for the most part the 'literature of despair;' while in fiction we have the literature of carnalism. Horace deplored the decadence of the drama in his day, and assigned a reason for the decadence:—

Iam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.²

Is the twentieth century of the Christian era likely to be better off in this regard? Tragedy no longer purifies the passions, but titillates the senses. Comedy, gone mad, blasphemes the sacred or ridicules the Decalogue. The great poets and playwrights of the elder time are no longer with us, and cannot be born again. If they could come back, they would not be understood, and would receive no

¹ *Lacon*, p. 290, in the edition of 1866.

² *Ep. Lib.*, ii. 1.

honour. Nor are they required. An age of material advancement demands material, not intellectual, amusement, and gets it 'ready made to order.' Men and women, nowadays, expend their intellectual energies in piling up the means of material prosperity, and have very little energy left for the cult of the spiritual whether in art or in life.

The world is too much with us : early and late,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

If this couplet stated a fact morally certain when it was penned, the fact is metaphysically certain now. The cotemporary theatre is sacred to the glorification of

The varying vanities, from every part,
That shift the moving toyshop of the heart.

Shakspeare, it has been said, 'spells ruin' at the present day to a theatrical manager. Occasionally a lessee, with more pluck than prudence, may put on the boards one of the masterpieces; but 'to draw,' *i.e.*, 'to pay,' it must be 'gorgeously mounted,' and blazoned forth as being so. Yet in truth scenic accessories are not a necessary appanage of Shakspeare's theatre. He never dreamed of them, and those who love him do not need them. He makes his appeal, not to the eye and the senses, but to the reason and the soul. Milton alone—'mighty mouth'd inventor of harmonies'—has written, or could write, what might fitly be the motto of the master's theatre :—

The rather thou celestial light
Shine inward, and the mind thro' all her powers
Irradiate ; *there plant eyes.*

'Shakspeare in his plays [says Father Darlington] shows us human nature on this side of the grave—living, loving, working, sinning, and struggling against sin, in the light of the same illumination, which accounts for the universality and excellence of the *Summa*, the *Divine Comedy*, and the *Imitation*.' The reason is because Shakspeare's soul was steeped in the spiritual beauty of the ages of faith and chivalry. A sturdy, big-browed Warwickshire lad, fresh from his native heath, unacquainted with, and uncontaminated by, university

life and training, goes up to 'mighty London town' with his 'little Latin, and less Greek,' but with his imperial intellect and his imagination 'in a fine phrenzy rolling.' In those days the dividing line of social intercourse between gentleman and yeoman was not so strictly drawn as it is now, so that the ardent youth is attracted to, and welcomed by, 'the choicests wits and spirits,' that is, by the best minds of both universities. His receptive and assimilative nature imbibes from the association all that was lofty and excellent in their methods of thought and forms of speech, with but slight and superficial admixture of the profane and the obscene. For nature, by some strange and secret alchemy of her own, had infused into Shakspeare—Saxon as he was—the genuine *Kelticus furor*: the hunger and thirst for that moral beauty which is God's righteousness—the Kelt's keen and clear insight into the splendours and the terrors of the invisible world. 'How tremendous,' said Keats, 'must have been Shakspeare's conception of ultimates!' There are ultimates not only of the world of art and the imagination, but also of man as a being spiritual and responsible. The grand ultimates of man—what are these? The death that awaits him, the judgment that is in store for him, the hell that yawns for him, or—the heaven that Christ has won for him, if only he abide in obedience to that other ultimate which comprehends all things—the will of God which is the law of life.

These were the subjects, so far as we can infer from his mature life-work, which formed the staple matter of Shakspeare's musings. And how in moments grave or gay or serious or severe, a thought or a phrase of his comes to us like the ripple of an echo in the brain, bearing with it gentle solace, or wise warning, or sure guidance!

His is a presence to be felt and known
In darkness and in light.

In his earlier and middle-time plays, Shakspeare deals with knotty problems of human life; in the plays of his later time he seems to scan with curious and enquiring eyes, as if from some far-off shore, the darker and deeper mysteries

of death. To say that he is ever true to nature is the widest and vaguest commonplace of criticism :—

To him the mighty mother did unveil
Her awful face.

Shakspeare is ever keenly alive, not merely to the harmonies of external nature and 'the music of the spheres,' but more especially to that strange diapason of 'order in disorder' which swells and surges in the human heart like pulses of the sea, because of the attractions of the senses and the oscillations of the will. The good and the bad jostle one another on the stage of actual life. The divine fiat is : 'Let both grow together till the harvest.' The good and the bad strut and fret their hour upon the stage of Shakspeare. The play that harrows us with the aspect of 'devilish Macbeth' and his 'fiendlike queen' in the phrenzied throes of their despair, gives us also glimpses of two sainted kings. In his plays, generally, and markedly in *Macbeth*, Shakspeare points the solemn warning of Holy Writ :— 'They that have done good things shall enter into the resurrection of life ; and they that have done evil things into the resurrection of judgment.'

JOHN D. COLCLOUGH.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION: ITS CAUSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

III

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER

THE family of Chichester was of great antiquity in Devon. One of them, Walleran de Cirencester, was Bishop of Exeter in 1128. Arthur, the future deputy, second son of Sir John Chichester and Gertrude Courtenay, was born at Raleigh, an ancient inheritance of their house. He studied at Oxford; but being convicted for robbery while there, he fled into Ireland for safety. His friends used their influence in his behalf, and obtained his pardon; after which he entered the army of Queen Elizabeth. That he distinguished himself in the field there can be no doubt, for Henry IV. conferred on him the honour of knighthood in acknowledgment of his valour. He commanded a ship of war in Elizabeth's time (1587), and served under Sir Francis Drake in Portugal and the West Indies. He came to Ireland with the Earl of Essex; and, on that deputy's retirement, he figured in various actions under Mountjoy in Ulster till 1603, when he was named a privy councillor, appointed governor of Carrickfergus; sergeant-major of the army (somewhat similar to the rank of general), which gave him command over the whole troops of Ulster; admiral of Lough Neagh, and commander of the fort of Mountjoy, etc. During these employments he often had reason to admit that he had been foiled by the military genius of O'Neill, who regarded him as a very poor general. Sir Arthur was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 3rd February, 1604-5, and held that office for the long period of ten years, during which time he was created a peer: he was appointed lord high treasurer, and held that office till his death in February, 1624-5.

Sir Arthur [writes Father Meehan], deficient in depth of intelligence, but thoroughly skilled in every species of low

intrigue, was malignant, cruel, devoid of sympathy, and solely intent on his own aggrandizement. His physiognomy was repulsive and petrifying; so much so, that, looking at his engraved portrait, one is inclined to wonder that he ever sat to a painter. His religion was puritanism of the most morose character, which he learned in the school of the fanatical Cartwright.¹

With these qualifications he was regarded by King James as the fittest man to enforce his policy in Ireland, of which he appointed him deputy-general early in February, 1603, to hold during pleasure in the absence of the lieutenant-general, Mountjoy, with a third part of all the allowances made to the latter. In the following year, as we have seen, he was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland. He inaugurated his *régime* by what he termed 'a reformation of religion,' and directed all his evil energies against the professors of that faith of which one of his own blood had been a bishop in the reign of King Stephen. In 1605, by the king's order, Chichester published a proclamation which revived the old penal statutes of Elizabeth against all who dared to remain faithful to the ancient religion, or who did not conform to the faith of the king. Donning the robe of sanctity, the better to cover the cruelty of his nature, he might well have said, in the words of Richard the Third:—

And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends, stolen forth of holy Writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.²

Sir John Davies was his chief adviser, and the partner in his diabolical cruelties. Chichester was married to a daughter of Sir John Perrott,³ the man who treacherously captured Hugh Roe O'Donnell at Rathmullan, and lodged him as a prisoner in Dublin castle. Of this marriage there was but one child born, which died a few weeks after its birth. A merciful Providence thus saved the land from being cursed by any direct progeny of this inhuman monster.

¹ *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

² 'Richard the Third,' Act I., Scene 3.

³ 'This deputy was supposed to be the son of Henry the Eighth, and had much of his towering spirit in him. When he was condemned, he asked the lieutenant of the Tower whether the Queen would sacrifice her brother to his frisking adversaries, meaning the Lord Chancellor Hatton, who, he said, came into court by the Galliard. He was condemned on the priest's forged letter, and died suddenly in the Tower.'—Cox's *History of Ireland.*

Sir Arthur was the founder of the fortunes and acquirer of the immense estates (though not the direct ancestor) of the Donegall and Templemore families. The natural position of Carrickfergus, and its relative magnitude and importance, pointed it out as a species of centre; and this accordingly was his first position. His castle of *Joymount* was situated near the town, while his grants lay north, west, and south, in the barony of Carrickfergus, Upper and Lower Belfast, and Castlereagh. The districts enumerated extend from Islandmagee to Belfast, and thence up the valley of the Lagan, including the modern Falls, Carnmoney, Shankhill, Ballynafeigh, etc. Of course these were merely a part of the grants made to Sir Arthur and his family throughout Ulster.

In 1609, he had a grant of the entire barony of Innishowen, then called O'Doghertie's Country, and rated worth upwards of £1,000 per annum. The following year he was granted the Castle of Dungannon, with 1,320 acres of land. . . . His grants of land in other counties were also extensive.²

Strange as it may seem—

Though ever greedy and grasping, Chichester [says Mr. Pinkerton] was never mean or miserly; and, either from natural inclination, or to further his political aims, he freely lavished large sums of money on mere objects of display. During the last Parliament he held in Dublin, he spent ten thousand pounds (an immense sum at that time) on show and liveries; and the Irish people long after looked with scorn on his successors in the Lord Deputyship, whose private fortunes rendered them unable to approach the display made by Lord Deputy Chichester.³

A glimpse into this man's character and disposition may be got from his own letters, as well as from the writings of his *confrères* in the work of the Plantation. The Rev. George Hill, writing of him, tells us—

Sir Arthur Chichester's policy was, that 'hunger would be a better, because speedier, means of destruction to employ against the Irish than the sword.' But, as far as possible, he wielded

¹ For fuller particulars about this man and his possessions see *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, and Fr. Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, from which works most of the foregoing facts have been gleaned.

² McSkimin's *History of Carrickfergus*.

³ Mr. W. Pinkerton in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii.

both with the most revolting and fiendish complacency. He speaks of a journey that he made at this time from Carrickfergus to the neighbourhood of Dungannon, along the banks of Lough Neagh, in the following terms :—‘ I burned all along the Lough within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death ; we kill man, woman, and child, horse, beast, and what-soever we find.’ After detailing the circumstances of a similar journey into the Route, he concludes in these words :—‘ I have often sayd and written, yt is famine that must consume them ; our swords and other indeavours worke not that speedie effect which is expected ; for their overthrowes are safeties to the speedy runners, upon which we kill no multitudes.’ This stolid monster, but famous statesman and soldier [concludes Mr. Hill], died full of honours, and lies buried in Carrickfergus.¹

In a letter* addressed to King James, Chichester, at the end of his term as deputy, mentions all the good and meritorious works he had done in his majesty's service. Among these he enumerates the transportation of a number of the Irish youth. He thus tells his bold and statesman-like act :—

Besides the cutting off manye badd members, and disloyall offenders within land ; I have sent away aboue six thousand of this same inclinacon, and profession into the warrs of Sweden, whereof but a fewe are yet returned backe, and this was an act of no small difficultie.²

Father Meehan tells us who these six thousand were. After the deputy had got Sir Cahir out of the way—

The remnant of the Clan O'Doherty were driven to the mountain fastnesses by Chichester's orders [says he], and suffered to remain there till he had found a way of getting rid of them forever. He, himself, had set his heart on obtaining a grant of O'Doherty's lands, but his holding might be imperilled were he to suffer ‘ idle kerne and swordsmen ’ to bide there as his tenants. What, then, was he to do with them, or rather how was he to clear them out ? His counsellors, Davies and Caulfield, solved the difficulty by advising him to seize the able-bodied peasantry, and send them off by hundreds to perish in Livonia and Russia, under the banner of Gustavus Adolphus, then fighting the battle of Protestantism against the Catholic house of Austria.

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ix.

Chichester adopted the suggestion, appointed Caulfield to the place of muster-master ; and, as Sir John Davies tells us, swept Inishowen of six thousand of its inhabitants, who were thus inhumanly compelled to shed their blood in a cause which their consciences could not have approved.¹

This is his triumph, this the joy accurst,
That ranks him among demons all but first.²

What was written at a subsequent period of Townshend, lord-lieutenant in 1771, might, with greater truth, have been written of Chichester, that—

His conduct in government was a disgrace to him whom he represented, a reproach to those who appointed him, and a scourge to those whom he governed. . . . His wisdom was fraud ; his policy, corruption ; his fortitude, contempt of character ; his friendship, distrust ; his enmity, revenge ; and his exploit, the ruin of a country.³

The passion for robbery which had banished him in his early years from Oxford, remained with him to the end, verifying the words of Job : ' His bones shall be filled with the vices of his youth, and they shall sleep with him in the dust.'⁴ A second ' Veiled Prophet of Khorassan,' worshipped by his followers, he seems to have been the embodiment of every vice, unrelieved, as far as we can discover, by a single redeeming quality. Puritanism of the gloomiest form was his substitute for religion. Hard-hearted, avaricious, and insatiable, his was ever the cry of the horse-leech, ' Give ! give !' Human misery and suffering could evoke no sympathy from him, for he loved to gloat over the agonies of the victims of his tyranny. Caligula wished of old that the entire Roman people had but one head, that at a single blow he could sever it from the body, and thus destroy them. Chichester's sentiments towards the Irish people were similar. As a pretext for further oppression, he revived, as we have seen, all the odious religious penalties of Elizabeth that he might the better goad on the chieftains to rebellion, and thus find an excuse for seizing on their

¹ *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

² ' he Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.'

³ Baratariana.

⁴ Job xx. 11.

estates. This *ruse de guerre* of zeal for religion is the ordinary cloak for robbery with men of his stamp,

And yet this act, to varnish o'er the shame
Of sacrilege, must bear devotion's name ;

but his was the gospel according to Josue—the extirpation of the Irish Amorrites. His Biblical studies had evidently never extended so far as the Sermon on the Mount.

To such a state of utter and unspeakable misery had he at this time reduced Ulster, that the words of the prophecy of Jeremias against the Jews were literally fulfilled in the case of Chichester's victims: 'I will feed them with the flesh of their sons, and with the flesh of their daughters: and they shall eat everyone the flesh of his friend in the siege, and in the distress wherewith their enemies, and they that seek their lives, shall straiten them.'¹ Lest we may be thought to exaggerate, we shall, from the pages of his own historian, who evidently relates with great complacency the doings of the deputy, adduce a few examples of the appalling famine created by this ruler. Fynes Moryson,² in his *History of Ireland*, thus writes:—

Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the Rebels corn, and using all Means to famish them, let me by two or three Examples show the miserable Estate to which the Rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other Commanders of the Forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their Return homeward, saw a most horrible Spectacle of three Children (whereof the eldest was not above ten years old) all eating and gnawing with their Teeth the Entrails of their dead Mother, upon whose flesh they had fed for 20 Days past, etc.

¹ Jeremias xix. 9.

² Fynes Moryson was a literary man, a fellow of Peter House, Cambridge; and brother of Sir Richard Moryson, governor of Dundalk. Having come on account of delicate health to stay sometime with his brother, he was in Dundalk when the fight at Carlingford occurred in which Mountjoy's secretary was killed. Moryson was at once appointed to the vacant place, and wrote a minute narrative of the rise, progress, and suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, which he named 'A History of Ireland, from the year 1559 to 1603.' This *History* throws a lurid light upon the iniquities of English rule in Ireland at that time, and is particularly valuable on account of the source from which it comes.

He then enters into all the details, which are too loathsome to be repeated, and then goes on as follows :—

Formerly mention hath been made in the Lord Deputie's Letters, of Carcases, scattered in many Places, all dead of Famine. And no doubt the Famine was so great, the Rebel Soldiers taking all the common People had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon, (so as they besides fed not only on Hawks, Kites, and unsavoury Birds of Prey, but on Horse-flesh, and other things unfit for Man's Feeding,) the common sort of the Rebels were driven to unspeakable Extremities (beyond the Record of most Histories that ever I did read in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite task, yet will I not pass it over without adding some few Instances. Captain Trever and many honest Gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness, that some old Women of these Parts, used to make a Fire in the Fields, and divers little Children driving out the Cattle in the cold Mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprized, killed, and eaten, which last was discovered by a great Girl breaking from them by Strength of her Body, and Capt. Trever sending out Soldiers to know the Truth, they found the Children's Skulls and Bones, and apprehended the old Women, who were executed for the Fact. The Captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent Garrisons of the Northern Parts can witness, that upon the making of Peace, and receiving the Rebels to Mercy, it was a common Practice among the Common Sort of them (I mean such as were swordsmen) to thrust long needles into the horses of our English Troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's Throat for a Share of them. And no Spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Towns, and especially in Wasted Countries, than to see Multitudes of these poor People dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating Nettles, Docks, and all things they could rend up above Ground. These and very many like lamentable Effects followed their Rebellion, and no doubt the Rebels had been utterly destroyed by Famine had not a general Peace followed Tyrone's submission (besides Mercy formerly extended to many others) by which the Rebels had Liberty to seek Relief among the subjects of Ireland, and to be transported into England and France, where great multitudes of them lived for some years after the Peace made.

A few pages before this Moryson tells us that a reason assigned by Mountjoy for coming to a settlement was the lamentable state of the country :—

Out of human commiseration, having with our Eyes daily seen the lamentable Estate of that country, wherein we found

everywhere Men dead of Famine, insomuch that O'Hagan protested unto us that between Tullogh Oge and Toome there lay unburied 1,000 Dead, and since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were about 3,000 starved in Tyrone. And sure the poor People of those Parts never yet had the Means to know God, or to acknowledge any other Sovereign than the O'Neals, which makes me more commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter.

Certainly the gentle, soothing methods of civilization adopted by Mountjoy, and so faithfully carried out by Chichester, were well calculated to bring the people to the knowledge of God, and to an humble submission to the English sovereign in preference to The O'Neill! Chichester created a desert, and called it peace. As we proceed we shall have occasion to see, from time to time, further examples of the merciless policy of this statesman, whom his royal master loads with praises for his successful government of Ireland.

Chichester died in London in February, 1625, but in the October following, his remains were brought to Carrickfergus to be interred with those of his wife and infant child. As his presence in Ireland during his life had been one of that unfortunate country's greatest curses, he seemed desirous of perpetuating that curse even in death by having his body interred in Irish soil.

The Rev. Alex. Spicer, spiritual attendant on Chichester in his last illness, wrote 'An Elegie on the much-lamented Death of the Right Honorable Sir Arthur Chichester,' etc., which was published in London in 1625, and was actually republished at a subsequent period, so enamoured were the people of London of the life of this new Protestant saint. In a bombastic and inflated style, Spicer speculates on what will be the feelings of Ireland in general, and of Carrickfergus in particular, when the remains of the deceased hero reach its shores. Of course the writer does not intend to be either sarcastic or ironical, but were he describing the very revulsion of the soil to receive the putrid corpse of the erewhile tyrant and persecutor, he could scarcely have written

more happily. He thus concludes his doleful lamentation :—

'Tis well Knockfergus stands upon a rocke,
For otherwise the fierce, impetuous shooke
Of dismall outeries when the corpes come hither,
Will make the Fort, and Wall, and Houses shiver,
Or crumble into dust like Jericho,
When Joshua's ram's horns were observed to blow.
Yea, the whole Realme will make a doleful cry,
To make an Earthquake for his Elegie.¹

In M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus* there is a very detailed description given of the Chichester monument in the church of that town, and a copy of the epitaphs upon it. One stanza runs thus :—

The wildest rebell, he be power did tame
& by true justice gayned an honored name;
Then now, Though he in heaven with angells be,
Let vs on earth still loue his memorie.

The qualifications required for the canonization of an English Protestant statesman—particularly of one who had served in Ireland—were, apparently, simple enough. Murder, robbery, rapine, fire and sword, the starvation of innocent and unoffending people, self-aggrandisement *per fas et nefas*—these, with a few other similar virtues, seem at all times to have been deemed sufficient. Cromwell, on his death-bed, asked his chaplain if it were possible for a man once in grace to go to perdition. 'No,' replied the chaplain. 'Then,' said Oliver, 'I am safe, for I know I was once in grace.'

Some such soothing nostrum must Spicer have administered to Chichester, since, according to that elegaic writer, the erewhile deputy died in the odour of sanctity. We have no desire of inquiring about Chichester's home beyond the grave, whether or not 'he in heaven with angells be.' It is enough for us to know that he died in London, and was interred in Carrickfergus.

But all that afterwards came to pass;
And whether he finds it dull or pleasant,
Is kept a secret for the present,
At his own particular desire.²

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ix.

² Longfellow's *Golden Legend*.

Chichester is a fair sample of the rulers that England has for centuries placed over this country, and though his vices and inhuman atrocities stand out more prominently than those of others, it is because he had a longer tenure of office and more opportunities for evil. From the days of Strongbow to those of Castlereagh, there has scarcely been a lull in the storm of persecution, and the more successful any ruler was in exterminating 'the mere Irish,' by so much the higher did he stand in British estimation. Men such as Docwra, Chichester, Fitz-Williams, Carew, Coote, Bingham, Cromwell, and Castlereagh, were the instruments chosen to sustain the throne of England—a throne which has been built out of the ruins of conquered nations, and cemented by the blood of the millions slaughtered to gratify her insatiable ambition. With Chichester in the north, Bingham in the west, and Carew in the south, Ireland, at that time, suffered from a triple 'Scourge of God' worse a hundred times than Attila, who first claimed that unenviable title for himself.

We have deemed it necessary to give in such lengthened detail this sketch of the character of Chichester, inasmuch as he acted so prominent a part in banishing the earls, and still more so on account of his effecting the ruin of the young chieftain of Inishowen for sake of the peninsula which for ages had belonged to the Clan O'Doherty, but which the deputy had resolved to make his own.

IV

SIR CAHIR'S RISING

We have seen how Sir Cahir was surrounded by spies, who were noting his every movement, and putting on his every action the most sinister construction; how Chichester had got him bound—himself under a bond for £1,000 English, and Lord Gormanstown and Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams in 50 marks Irish, each, that he would not leave the kingdom without a licence to do so; and that, when summoned at any time, he should appear before the deputy in Dublin upon twenty days' warning, etc. He had reduced him to

much the same condition as a modern ticket-of-leave prisoner, who, seeming to be at liberty, is still in the hands of the government as securely as if in his prison cell. We have also seen that the man who succeeded Docwra as governor of Derry was no friend of Sir Cahir. Sir George Paulett was a man of the most insolent nature, of an ungovernable temper, and of a brutal and truculent disposition. This is the character which he bore even amongst the English themselves. Thus, in the answer of Sir W. Cole to the informations of Sir W. Hamilton, addressed to the lords of the committees of both kingdoms, dated 11th January, 1644, he says that—

His passionate demeanour in his office was not only the occasion of the loss of his own life, but of the loss also of the lives of many of this nation there, and the burning of that town, with the kindling of a violent, though, as it happened, but short rebellion, in the country thereabouts, which did put the State there to much unnecessary expenses in the suppressing of it.

The lords of the council, writing to Chichester on 20th May, 1608, and complaining of 'the foul and shameful loss of the places taken of late by O'Dogherty,' say :—

This misfortune proceeded from the fault and want of courage of those that had the charge of them, and especially of Paulett himself. Had not the rebels taken away his life, it could not, in justice, have been left him by the State.¹

Writing to the Privy Council, Chichester says :—

It is reported likewise that he [Paulett] was so odious to the soldiers, and to the rest of the inhabitants of the town besides, that they would have done him a mischief in the tumult if he had escaped the rebels and come in amongst them.²

Like every insolent bully, he was a coward, as is shown by the foregoing from the *State Papers*, by his conduct in going to attack Burt castle in the absence of its master, and desisting from the attack when he found it was guarded; and particularly did he display his cowardice at the time Sir Cahir sacked Derry, when, instead of defending the city, he fled and hid himself. In his letter to Sir Cahir, already

¹ *S. P.*, anno 1608.

² *Ibid.*, May 4th, 1608.

quoted, we get a fair insight into the brutal nature of the man. Yet this was the man before whom Sir Cahir had to appear on a business transaction in the spring of 1608, and which meeting was the spark destined to kindle the flames of a short-lived, but disastrous insurrection.

Both the Rev. George Hill and Mr. William James Doherty, in his *Inis-Owen and Tyrconnell*, seem to confound dates about the sending of Paulett's insulting letter to Sir Cahir, and the personal attack made on the latter in Paulett's office in Derry. The letter, as we see by its date, was sent in November, 1607, whereas the personal attack on Sir Cahir was made in the following spring. It was the receipt of that letter that made it afterwards so hard on Sir Cahir to have to call at Paulett's office. The occasion of his coming to Paulett's office, according to Father Meehan, was that he had sold three thousand acres of land to Sir Richard Hansard, which the latter intended to plant with English settlers, and that the necessary papers for the transfer of the property had to be signed there. If this sale did take place it was not ratified, as Sir Cahir's leaving Paulett's office shows. Cox states that he had sold three thousand acres of land to Captain Harte. Though we have carefully searched for some proof of these statements, we can find none whatever. We do not believe that he had previously sold any of his lands, especially as in the re-grant made by the king (but which came only after his death), *all* his lands were restored to him, except a specified portion near Derry, and three hundred acres around Culmore fort, which were reserved for the benefit and accommodation of the garrison there. In the re-grant it was thus specified that all the territory of Inishowen, which had belonged to his father, was re-granted to Sir Cahir, 'the said quarter of Ballyarnett, the half-quarter of Laharden, on which the said castle of Coolemore is built, together with three hundred acres of land to the said castle allotted and apperteyninge excepted.'¹ And again, when the grant of O'Doherty's country was made to Chichester by formal document bearing date the 22nd February, 1610, the whole terri-

¹ *Ordnance Memoir of Templemore.*

tory of Inishowen was given him, except one thousand three hundred acres, 'reserved for the better maintenance of the city of Londonderry and the fort of Culmore.' In any case he had to call at Paulett's office on some business, and when there an altercation took place between them. Sir Cahir, no doubt, suspected Paulett of having sent in reports against him to Chichester, which occasioned his being summoned to Dublin by the deputy, and being bound in such heavy recognisances; and probably he upraided him of this. The taunt raised the brutal ire of the governor, who struck O'Doherty a violent blow on the face with his clenched fist. Paulett, as O'Sullivan tells us, was surrounded with armed followers or guards, whereas Sir Cahir was unarmed and alone—'Paletum armatis stipatum nudus militibus aggredi non ausus.' He did not return the blow, which he knew would be to him certain death, but rushed out of the office to his friends the MacDevitts, who were in the town. The Four Masters thus relate the incident:—

Great dissensions and strife arose between the Governor of Derry, Sir George Pawlett, and O'Doherty (Cahir, the son of John Oge). The Governor not only offered him insult and abuse by word, but also inflicted chastisement of his body; so that he would rather have suffered death than live to brook such insult and dishonour, or defer or delay to take revenge for it; and he was filled with anger and fury, so that he nearly ran to distraction and madness. What he did was to consult with his friends how he should take revenge for the insult which was inflicted upon him. What they first unanimously resolved, on the 3rd of May, was to invite to him Captain Hart, who was at Cuil-mor (a fort on the margin of Lough Foyle, below the Derry we have mentioned), and to take him prisoner. [This was done] and he obtained the fort on his release. He repaired immediately at daybreak to Derry, and awoke the soldiers of that town with the sword. The Governor was slain by Owen, the son of Niall, son of Gerald O'Doherty, and Lieutenant Corbie by John, the son of Hugh, son of Hugh Duv O'Donnell. Many others were slain besides these. Captain Henry Vaughan and the wife of the Bishop of the town were taken prisoners. They afterwards plundered and burned the town, and carried away immense spoils from thence.¹

As the MacDevitts were supposed to have instigated the

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1608.

burning of the city, they were known afterwards by the soubriquet of 'Burn-derrys.'

Before coming to the calumnies of Cox in narrating this event, we think it well to give the account furnished by more impartial writers. The Rev. George Hill gives a succinct and clear statement of the reasons for Sir Cahir's discontent, and of the motives that urged him into his premature rebellion. After stating that Docwra had engaged to get a re-grant of all his father's estates for Sir Cahir on condition of the latter being placed in his hands by the MacDevitts, he goes on to say:—

But it soon afterwards appeared that the best portion of Inishowen, namely, the island of Inch, with its valuable fishings, had been granted to Sir Ralph Bingley. Although Docwra did his best to have his engagement to Sir Cahir made good, he failed in doing so, from the amount of powerful opposition to him. O'Dogherty, naturally, became discontented; and, in the meantime, Docwra felt so indignant, on account of certain treatment received from the government by himself, that he sold out his property in and around Derry to an Englishman named Pawlett, who was wholly unfitted (even according to the expressed opinion of Chichester himself), both from his arrogance and inexperience, for the duties of deputy-governor of Derry, which he required to discharge during Sir Henry Docwra's absence. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, having lost his fishings, which were then the readiest and most valuable sources of revenue on his estates, was compelled to sell certain lands to Sir Richard Hansard; and, for this purpose, he required to visit Derry, and even to enter Pawlett's office, to await the arrival of the purchaser, and of Captain Hart, who was to witness the sale. Whilst there, an altercation arose between him and Pawlett, during which the latter struck him with his clenched fist in the face! O'Dogherty not wishing, perhaps, to try conclusions with Pawlett in the same vulgar style, or afraid lest the official bully might summon other equally unscrupulous parties to his aid, rushed from the office, and, unfortunately, before his rage had time to cool, met his two foster-brothers, the MacDevitts, in the street. On hearing the cause of his excitement, they replied in furious terms, that there was only one way of meeting such an insult, pledging themselves that they would be ready to march on Derry at the head of all the fighting men of the clan at a given hour! They but too faithfully kept to their determination, slaying Pawlett, sacking Derry, and summoning sympathisers far and near to arise and avenge their wrongs. The revolt attracted many Irish, especially from the county of Armagh; and its suppression required the services of picked troops,

including such men as Lambert and Wingfield. The struggle lasted only about three months, commencing early in the May of 1608, and going on to the 5th of July, on which day O'Dogherty was slain whilst skirmishing at a place called Duinn, or Doone, in Kilmacrenan. The king had, previously to the commencement of the revolt, written a very decided letter to Chichester, requiring that Sir Cahir should receive an immediate grant of all his family estates, including the island of Inch, with its fishing. There was ample time to have communicated the contents of this letter to Sir Cahir, and thus have prevented the revolt; but, unfortunately, the letter was entrusted to one of Chichester's servants in London, and, *perhaps*, did not reach the deputy until after O'Dogherty had taken the field. At all events, O'Dogherty's body had hardly time to blacken in the sun on the spikes where its severed fragments were exposed, when Chichester's application for the barony of Inishowen reached the council in London, through this same servant, John Strowd, and another named Francis Annesly. Although there were other and powerful applicants for Inishowen, the deputy out-stripped, or out-manceuvred them all, and secured the whole large spoil for himself.¹

MacGeoghegan, in his *History of Ireland*, thus relates the circumstances of Sir Cahir's rising:—

His [King James] oppressive tyranny at length drove O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, to take up arms in defence of the Catholics, A.D. 1608. He was a young nobleman, aged about twenty years, and the most powerful in the north of Ireland, after the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Maguire, had left the country. He raised what forces he was able, and attacked by night the city of Derry, which he took, and put the garrison, together with the governor, George Palet, to the sword, after setting the Catholics at liberty. He then marched against Culmore, which was a strong castle built on the borders of Lough Foyle, adjoining the sea. Of this he also became master, and found in it twelve pieces of cannon—he put a garrison into it, and gave the command to Felim McDavet: after which he ravaged the lands of the English, over whom he gained several battles, and spread terror through the whole province.

We come now to the story of this uprising as told by Cox,² whose tale of horrors has been so generally accepted,

¹ *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 61, 62.

² Richard Cox, author of a *History of Ireland*, was born at Bandon, co. Cork, in 1650. He was first articled to an attorney, afterwards entered Gray's Inn, was called to the Bar, then returned to Ireland, where for a time he turned his attention to farming. He was appointed Recorder of Kinsale in

and, unfortunately, incorporated in the works of so many excellent Irish writers. As Cox's *History* is a work now rarely met with, and consequently unfamiliar to most of our readers, we shall give *in extenso* the extract relating to the account of Sir Cahir's rising and the circumstances which accompanied it.

But [writes Cox], notwithstanding all the care that was taken to keep the kingdom quiet, the hopes and expectations of aid from Spain easily put the rebellious spirit in a ferment; inso-much, that Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, proprietor of Inisowen, a gentleman of great hopes, but of few years, not exceeding one-and-twenty, was (by assurances from the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell of speedy and effectual aid) persuaded to begin the war; his main design was upon Derry, which he surprised and burned; he also murdered the Governor, Sir George Pawlett, and all the Protestants, except the Bishop's wife that was ransomed; he also surprised Culmore and the magazine there, and burned two thousand heretical books (as he called them) refusing to let them be redeemed for an hundred pounds. And this rebellion became the more formidable, because it was fomented and encouraged by the priests, who affirmed that *all were martyrs who died in the service.*

1680; but the zeal which at all times he exhibited in defence of Protestantism rendered his life unsafe in that place. He withdrew to England, and settled at Bristol, where he wrote his *History of Ireland*, which was published in 1689. He returned to Ireland as secretary to his friend and patron, Sir Robert Southwell. His services in this capacity were rewarded by a justiceship in the Common Pleas, and by being made military governor of the city and county of Cork. His conduct in this position has been censured on account of the rigour he exercised upon the natives, whom he treated as a conquered and hostile people. In 1703 he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from which after four years he was dismissed. Afterwards he was appointed to the post of Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, but on the accession of George I. he was removed from the Bench and from his seat in the Privy Council, and fell under censure of the House of Commons for his too great attachment to the power of the Crown. He retired into private life, and died in 1733, aged 83 years. His chief work was '*Hibernia Anglicana; or the History of Ireland, from the Conquest thereof by the English, to the present Time.*'—Abridged from *Ree's Cyclopædia*.

As a sample of the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic spirit of Cox we may adduce that famous passage from the second volume of his *History*, p. 206, when writing of the execution of Charles I. :—

'And now how gladly would I draw a Curtain over that Dismal and Unhappy Thirtieth of January wherein the Royal Father of our Country suffered Martyrdom. Oh! that I could say, They were Irish Men that did that Abominable Fact, or that I could justly lay it at the Door of the Papists! But how much soever they might obliquely or designedly Contribute to it, 'tis certain it was actually done by others.'

But for the better understanding this matter, it is necessary to inform the reader, that Queen Elizabeth, finding it convenient to plant a garrison at Lough Foyle, made several attempts to that purpose, but they all miscarried until Sir Henry Dockwra landed at Kilmore or Culmore, and erected a small castle there ; and a month after he took Derry without resistance, and built two forts and a good house there ; but afterwards, viz., Anno 1617, that place was built by the Londoners, and became a fair and strong city, well known by the name of London-Derry.

This Sir Henry Dockwra also built the castles of Dunalong and Lifford, and afterwards assigned the government of Derry to Sir George Pawlett, a Hampshire gentleman, and the command of Culmore to Captain Hart, a man of great courage.

After Sir John O'Dogharty's death, his son Cahir shewing great inclinations to the English ; and being a youth of great hopes was not only graced with knighthood, and made a justice of peace and a commissioner in most of the commissions that came to that country, but was also treated with all due respect upon all occasions, and he on the other side contracted an intimate friendship with the chief of the English, and particularly with Captain Hart, Governor of Culmore, to whose son he was godfather, and to whom he had sold three thousand acres of land for ready money.

Hereupon Sir Cahir invited Captain Hart for dinner, and he came accordingly with his wife and the little child (Sir Cahir's god-child) and were liberally treated ; but after dinner Captain Hart was called aside, and plainly told by O'Dogharty, that he had received affronts from the English, and especially from Sir George Pawlett (who, they say, gave him a box on the ear) and was resolved to be revenged, and in order to it, he must have Culmore ; which if the Captain would quietly surrender, he should receive no harm, but if not, then the lives of himself, wife and child should pay for his obstinacy ; and thereupon several armed men rushed into the room, and kept a swaggering to make those threats more terrible ; nevertheless Captain Hart's courage was proof against them all, and thereupon Sir Cahir ordered the armed men to execute him.

But in the nick of time in came both their wives, and Hart's wife immediately fell into a swoon at this dismal spectacle : whereupon the Lady Dogharty was greatly troubled, and dissuaded her husband from this violent course.

Upon this Sir Cahir sent his own lady and Captain Hart into another room, and only kept Hart's wife and some few soldiers with him ; and, as soon as she came to herself, he told her that, unless she would go along with his soldiers, and get them a peaceable entrance into Culmore, herself, her husband, and child should be murdered ; at which she was so terrified, that she

submitted to the undertaking, and went with the rebels to the castle that night, and told the sentry a formal story that her husband had broke his leg. Whereupon she was, without scruple, admitted in by the soldiers that knew her voice; but the fatal consequence of this folly was the murder of all the garrison (not excepting her own brother, who had come thither to see her), and the plunder of all they had; so that she was utterly undone, although her life and her husband's was saved.

May 1st, 1608. } Moreover, being fledged with this success, the rebels, about two o'clock in the morning, attempted the fort and town of Derry so surprisingly that they took them with little or no resistance, and they murdered the garrison and the Governor, Sir George Pawlett, and plundered the town, and burned it to ashes; they also took the Bishop of Derry's wife and children, whom they kept prisoners, and then proceeded to besiege the Castle of Lifford.

Undoubtedly, the government well enough understood that this rebellion was designed to be the most general that had ever been in Ireland, and that the confederates had better assurance, or, at least, a stronger expectation, of foreign aid than in any rebellion heretofore, and that the censures of Salamancha and Valladolid had convinced all the popish clergy of the unlawfulness to assist a heretical power, heretical prince, or people against the Church; and, therefore, it was resolved in council to nip this rebellion in the bud, if possible; and, accordingly, Sir Richard Wingfield was first sent with a detachment to hold the rebels in play, and was followed by the Lord Deputy and the rest of the army. Nevertheless, O'Dogharty held out five months with various success; and, perhaps, had done so much longer, 'succours being coming to him from all parts of the kingdom' (Sullivan, 212), if he had not been slain by an accidental shot, which ended his rebellion with his life. There were some of the rebels taken and executed, who, Mr. Sullivan says, died martyrs for denying the king's supremacy; and yet, he confesses, they were concerned in this rebellion; so gross are the cheats which the Irish historians and priests do put upon their deluded countrymen.

Such is the story told by this veracious historian, who takes care not to give a single authority in support of his statements! He knew his reckless assertions were not likely to be controverted by any Irish writer at that time, and as his so-called *History of Ireland* teemed with the vilest calumnies against the unfortunate people of his native country, he well understood how acceptable it would be to English readers. One Irish writer did, indeed, venture to

refute some of the falsehoods in Cox's book, for which that gentleman threw the writer into prison. Perhaps, this was only a refined method of protecting copyright.

Cox and his copyists charge Sir Cahir with the wanton and cold-blooded murder of the whole garrison at Culmore, and also of that of Mrs. Hart's brother, who was there on a visit at the time; and, secondly, with the murder of all in the city of Derry when he took possession of it; and, lastly, with burning a library at Culmore, consisting of two thousand volumes, to save which, the bishop offered one hundred pounds, or, as others say, a hundred pounds weight of silver. This was said to be the bishop's library, and that it contained some valuable manuscripts. Cox wrote almost a century after the occurrence of the events he narrates, and, apart from his malice and hatred of everything Irish, could not be expected to have the same intimate knowledge of the circumstances as those who took part in them; and in refutation of his calumnies we shall, therefore, adduce the testimony of the principal actors in the scene. If any one knew anything of the massacre at Culmore, it surely would be Captain Hart, who was governor of the fort. He was in danger of being suspected of being privy to Sir Cahir's rising, and it was a matter of necessity for him to so explain the circumstances that no blame could attach to himself. His story differs widely from the blood-curdling romance of Cox and those who follow him.

After narrating the circumstances of Sir Cahir inviting him and his wife to dine with him and Lady O'Doherty at Buncrana, he tells that after dinner Sir Cahir took him apart to another room, and after complaining how he had been, and was being, treated by the English, of how he had been insulted by Paulett, and more to this effect, declared his intention of defending himself, and demanded of him (Hart) the keys of the fortress of Culmore. Hart refused; Sir Cahir then threatened his life unless he complied with his request. The noise of the argument between them attracted the attention of the ladies, who rushed into the apartment. Mrs. Hart, terrified by the danger of her husband and children being murdered, consented to go with

Sir Cahir to Culmore, accompanied by her husband. When about a quarter of a mile from the fort, Sir Cahir left Hart in charge of six men, and going on with twenty followers, got Mrs. Hart to call on the garrison to come forth to assist Captain Hart who had broken his arm. Knowing her voice, the men rushed forth to assist their captain, and Sir Cahir walked in and took possession of the place.

This [says Hart, in his relation to the Government] the poor men instantly did, not mistrusting any such treachery; and no sooner were they out of the door but they were taken, and the house immediately entered, and the rest that were lodged without were surprised and taken in the beds; and when he had thus possessed the house he sent for him [Hart], and told him they should have no harm; but they were put down into the cellar, and there locked in and kept until that Friday following, at which time O'Doherty came from the Derry and told him that now he should see it was not blood that he sought for, for that he had brought down all those people whom he had taken in the house, with Lieutenant Baker, yielded by composition, and some others whom he had otherwise taken, and there meant to set them over the water to go to Coleraine, telling him that if he listed he should go, and his wife and children with him, along with the rest, which he chose rather to do than to lie in that miserable calamity. His infant son, whom he left at Buncranoeche [Buncranagh] the more to terrify his woful mother, he had sent to them two days before; and he told him that the gunner, with the rest of the warders whom he had taken, had run to the Lifford, whilst he and his company were busy in their surprising Derry, which he since hears is true.

This is the just sum of his account, of which he begs his lordship's charitable censure.¹

A question naturally suggests itself to us here: Is Captain Hart's story about the dinner at Buncrana, and the events that followed it, true? Hart is represented as being the best of the English settlers; but certain circumstances tend to throw a doubt on his narrative. First of all, he had given up his faith for the sake of promotion and favour with the Government;² secondly, he was suspected of treachery in this matter by the Government, and was a prisoner in Dublin castle,³ awaiting his trial by court-

¹ S. P., anno 1608.

² Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 325, n. 230.

³ S. P., p. 496.

martial, at the time he wrote his account of the taking of Culmore, and the lords of the council did not seem to attach much importance to his statement: 'As for Captain Hart,' say they, 'they have nothing but his own report to extenuate the suspicion of his disloyalty; but for any conceit of his being worthy of any trust again, they must say plainly they see little cause, and that for many reasons.'¹ Lastly, his statement is supported by no other authority except his own. Neither his wife nor Lady O'Doherty, who were both present on the occasion, was examined; whilst Sir Cahir and Phelim Reaugh were prevented by death from giving their version of the story. Hart was naturally interested in giving to events a colour favourable to himself, and we are, therefore, justified in discounting his statements, and in receiving them with a certain amount of distrust. But, even if we receive fully what he narrates, there is little to the discredit of Sir Cahir. Such, too, is the opinion of an impartial English historian, Gardiner, when writing of this event:—

The chief obstacle in the way of the conspirators [says he] was the difficulty of obtaining arms. Since Chichester's proclamation for a general disarmament it was almost impossible to procure weapons in quantities sufficient to give a rebellion the chances of even a momentary success. O'Dogharty, however, knew that arms were to be obtained at the fort of Culmore, which guarded the entrance to the Foyle. Such a prize as this could only be obtained by stratagem.¹

This writer sees no treachery in the business but merely a *stratagem* usual in warfare.

The opinion of this same writer as to the character of Sir Cahir is in strong contrast to that of Cox, Ledwich, and the other Irish calumniators of the hapless young chieftain:—

He was not [says Gardiner] a mean and treacherous enemy like Neill Garve. Under other circumstances he might have lived a useful, and even a noble life. He had set his life upon the throw; but it is impossible not to feel compunction on reading

¹ S. P. 1608, p. 529.

² Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, 1603-1616, vol. i., p. 430, ed. 1863.

the Deputy's letter, in which he announces that the body of the man who had spared the prisoners of Derry had been taken, and that he intended to give orders that it should be quartered, and that the fragments should be set up on the walls of the town where he had shown an example of mercy to a conquered enemy.¹

At p. 432 he writes : ' To his honour it must be said that the prisoners were all released, according to promise. Except in actual conflict no English blood was shed in the whole course of the rebellion.' This testimony from an impartial English writer is valuable, and should put to the blush some of our Irish historiographers.

This sufficiently disposes of Cox's fabricated tale of the slaughter of the garrison at Culmore, of the murder of the brother of Mrs. Hart, who is represented as there on a visit, of the cold-blooded massacre of the inhabitants of Derry, with all the other concomitant horrors. As Sir Cahir told Hart, ' it was not blood he wanted ; ' it was arms and ammunition he wanted for his men ; for some short time before this he had disposed of nearly all the arms he had to the English, which shows how little he then contemplated a rising like the present.

O'Sullivan makes no mention of the slaughter at Culmore, though he narrates the events of the taking of that fortress.² But, perhaps, nothing exculpates Sir Cahir more strongly than the inquisitions held by Chichester himself at Lifford, on the 13th of August following. It was the policy of this statesman to blacken the character of all the Irish, but especially of those on whose lands he wanted to seize. He had exultingly announced the young chieftain's death to the council in London, as a direct visitation from heaven, depicted him as a rebel, a traitor, etc., described his rising in rebellion, and his taking of Culmore, but says not a single word of a slaughter there. In the peculiar Latin in which the inquisitions are couched, it is merely stated that after leaving Buncrana, Sir Cahir, Phelim Reagh MacDavid, and their followers went ' abinde usque ad fortilagium de Culmore in dict' co' Donegall, *modo guerrino, pgresser,* &

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-5.

² *Catholic History*, tom. iv., lib. i., cap. v.

fortilagiũ illud, unacũ divers' peciis bombard' & al' armatur' bellicis ejusdẽ dni Regis in eodẽ existen', in manus & possession' & ceper' & penes se detinuer', &c.' No reference here to a massacre, and assuredly had there been even the shadow of a foundation for such a charge, Chichester and Sir John Davies would have pictured it in the most glowing colours. They merely say that Sir Cahir and his followers went to Culmore in a warlike manner—*modo guerrino*—that they took the fortress, rifled it of its arms and ammunition, and kept possession of the fort. Thus, then, the horrid phantom of murder at Culmore, evoked by the imagination of the mendacious Cox, vanishes into thin air before the light of historical truth.

Having disposed of Cox's story of the murder of the garrison at Culmore, we shall now examine the truth of his statement about the wholesale slaughter of the garrison at Derry. He tells us that Sir Cahir marched from Culmore and came to Derry, which he found unprotected, entered the city with his armed followers, and murdered the garrison together with the governor, Sir George Paulett, etc. Now, it so happened that one of the principal men in the city was Lieutenant Baker, who was taken prisoner on the occasion, and who afterwards wrote for the council a 'Report of the Surprise of the Citie of Derrie.' In that report he says :—

The fort of Culmore being taken by treachery on Monday at night, the 18th April, 1608, by Sir Cahir O'Doghertie, Kt., Phelime Reaugh McDaved, Donell Og McCalley, and others of that plot, with the O'Gallachors [O'Gallaghers] of Tyrconnell, the said rebels being four score and ten in number, or thereabouts, marched on and came to the citie of Derrie on the next day by two of the clock in the morning, and there, at the bogside, divided themselves into two bodies. The one, where Sir Cahir was, to assault the nether fort, where the store-house was, and the other conducted by Phelime, entered on the backside of the Governor's house, and came into the court and broke open the doors, whereat Sir George Powlett, governor of the place, being somewhat dark, escaped through the company to ancient Corbet's house, where within short space he was killed by the said Phelime. Lieutenant Gordon, lying in his chamber within the higher fort, and hearing the shot, issued forth naked upon the rampier toward the court of guard,

with his rapier and dagger, where, with one soldier in his company, he set upon the enemy, and killed two of them, using most comfortable words of courage to the soldiers to stand to it and fight for their lives ; but the enemy being far more in number, one struck him on the forehead with a stone, whereat, being somewhat amazed, they rushed upon him, and killed him and the soldier also. Ancient Corbet meeting with Phelime Reaugh within the said higher fort, fought with and wounded him in the head, and by all likelihood had killed him if one of the rebels had not come behind him and cut off his leg, and so he was killed by the enemy ; and thus by the death of the governor, the lieutenant, ancient, two soldiers, and two of the townsmen, the upper fort was taken and presently burned by the said rebels. Sir Cahir, with the other half of the rebels, assaulted the nether fort, and, finding the watchmen asleep, entered without resistance, killed Mr. Harris, under sheriff of Dunegall, and hurt one more. The townsmen, knowing both the forts to be taken and the enemy to be master thereof, run, some one way and some another. Lieutenant Baker, being then present in the city, gathered some sixteen of the town, one of the sheriffs, and four soldiers, went towards the nether fort with resolution to enter and retake the same, and in the gate was wounded by the said Sir Cahir with a pike in the arm, and the sheriff was shot in the shoulder ; whereat the said Lieutenant, looking back on the company and encouraging them to stand to it, and seeing but four or five left, and the enemy strong, retired into the town, and there gathered together six or seven score men, women, and children, and manned the house of Sheriff Babbington and kept the same ; as likewise manned the house of the Lord Bishop of Derrie with his own men and two or three soldiers, and brought the said Lord Bishop's wife and gentlewomen into the said Babbington's house, thinking them most safe with himself ; and the said two houses were kept until the next day about noon, in which time by their own confession they killed of the enemy eight and hurt seven, and lost of their company but one in the Lord Bishop's house, and one hurt. But the rebels being strong, the number still increasing, and the said Lieutenant having many with him, as is aforesaid, and destitute of victuals and munition, and seeing a piece brought by the enemy from Culmore, and ready mounted to batter the said houses, and being out of all hope of relief at that time and wearied with the lamentable outcry of women and children, after much parley and messages to and fro, yielded the said houses upon condition that every man should depart with his sword and clothes, and likewise all women and children with their clothes (except Mrs. Susan Montgomery, the Lord Bishop's wife, who is kept prisoner with the said Cahir,) to such place as the said Lieutenant should deem most fit for the safety of him and his company. And this is as much as the said Lieutenant can say

touching the surprising of the said city and such accidents as fell out during the said two days; and, in witness of truth, he has unto this present relation set his hand the 3rd day of May, 1608.

Signed: JOHN BAKER.¹

The dire slaughter of the garrison and of the unoffending inhabitants becomes thus 'small by degrees and beautifully less,' and resolves itself—even according to Chichester himself in his account to the council—into eight killed on each side, or sixteen in all. There was no desire on the part of Sir Cahir and his followers to kill any one, and the terms on which the garrison and women were allowed to leave redounds to his immortal credit. He did not, as Wingfield did a few weeks after this when besieging Burt castle, promise to let all the inmates leave in safety, and then, as soon as they had capitulated, put every one to the sword, except those who could purchase their lives with a heavy ransom; and when he, at the suggestion of Nial Garve, detained the wife of Bishop Montgomery as a hostage for the delivery of Nial's son from Dublin castle, he treated her as a lady with all courtesy and respect, and, to secure her immunity from all possible annoyance or inconvenience, sent her to his own wife, Lady O'Doherty, at Burt castle. How this contrasts with the treatment of his own poor sister, the wife of Oghy Oge O'Hanlon, by the English a couple of months after this! As we have already seen, that poor lady, a day or two after her confinement, was obliged to fly into the woods, where she was found by an English soldier, was stripped by him of her garments, and left to die of cold and hunger. Yet this occurrence is related by Davies with the utmost indifference, whilst the lamentations about Mrs. Montgomery's being kept a prisoner are of the most heartrending nature.

The next charge against Sir Cahir is that of having burned the house and valuable library of Bishop Montgomery in Derry. Others say the library was burned at Culmore by Phelim Reagh MacDevitt when he was leaving that place, though what took the library to Culmore is a mystery.

¹ S. P. for 1608.

It is said, as we have already mentioned, that the bishop offered a large sum to have the library saved, though his lordship was in Dublin at the time and knew nothing of what was taking place in Derry. We are, moreover, gravely told that this library consisted of several hundred volumes, nay, of two thousand, among which were many valuable printed books as well as manuscripts. This story is too absurd to need refutation. The idea of an avaricious seegrabber troubling his head about books is too preposterous to claim a moment's attention. We grant there may have been manuscripts in his house, but if there were, they were merely his rent-books, or the titles of the lands out of which he had cozened poor O'Cahan. That was evidently the only class of literature to which this pious Scotchman was addicted, and the only gospel he studied in his episcopal career. This is clearly one of the many calumnies invented against Sir Cahir for which we have not a single tittle of contemporary evidence.

Another charge preferred against Sir Cahir is his treachery in inviting Captain Hart to dine with him in order to take from him the keys of Culmore fort. In the first place this was not designed by Sir Cahir himself, but was the suggestion of his evil adviser, Nial Garve. In the next place it was merely a leaf taken from the ordinary mode of action of the English themselves. It was a common thing for them to pretend reconciliation with some adversary, invite him to a banquet, and slay him there. Thus—

Brien MacArt O'Neill, of Clanaboy, was invited by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to a banquet in Belfast; and there, in the midst of the festival, two hundred of Brian's retinue were slain before his eyes, and then he and his wife were carried off prisoners to Dublin.¹

But an example which came home to Sir Cahir more immediately was that of his own grandfather, Shane O'Neill. The writer of the essay from which we have just quoted tells it briefly thus:—

Almost from the time of her accession, in 1558, Queen Elizabeth had been striving for the destruction of Shane O'Neill

¹ I. E. RECORD, May, 1900.

the head of all the clans of Tyrconnell [*recte*, Tyrone]; Neill Grey was offered a hundred marks to murder Shane, but could not earn them; one Smythe sent poisoned wine to Shane, who would not drink it. Only in 1567 was Elizabeth's wish gratified, when Piers, an agent of Earl Sussex, persuaded Alister Oge McDonnell with the Antrim Scots to murder Shane with his wife and fifty followers in the camp of North Clanaboy in county Antrim.¹

Shane had fled to them for protection after being worsted by his enemies, and during a banquet apparently given in his honour the Scots murdered him as recorded. Hundreds of similar instances could be adduced, so that Sir Cahir had English precedent for what he did. Unlike the English, however, he had no intention of murder; for as his after conduct showed, and as he himself assured Hart, 'it was not blood he wanted.' Had he been desirous of bloodshed, he could easily have murdered Hart and his wife at Buncrana, the garrison at Culmore, as well as that of Derry; but he magnanimously spared them, and actually assisted them to cross the ferry at Culmore in order to get to Coleraine where they would be secure. There is not much in this to be ashamed of.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

To be continued.]

¹ I E. RECORD, May, 1900.

THE WORK OF THE FEIS CEOIL ASSOCIATION: A HISTORY AND AN APPEAL

A MOVEMENT for the revival, development, and encouragement of Irish music, for the bringing forth and training of Irish musical power, both creative and executive; for the fostering of a healthy national self-consciousness in an art where from time immemorial we have claimed, and justly claimed, that we are capable of standing beside the world's best—surely a movement, professing such purposes, is one to stir the deepest interest of every Irishman who cares to deserve his name. If, furthermore, the lapse of four years has shown that a design so admirable is being carried out with combined zeal and prudence; that difficulties are avoided or overcome; that mistakes and triumphs alike are turned to profit for the future; and that one success is made the parent of another: then such a movement would seem to possess every qualification for attracting to itself the hearty support of every friend of Ireland and every lover of music.

I am convinced that all this may be truthfully said of the 'Feis Ceoil' movement; and it is this conviction which induces me to solicit from the editor of the *I.E. RECORD* an opportunity of setting before the Irish clergy in general the claims to their sympathy and encouragement which that national organisation and its work possess. I am sure they only require to know it to become its warm friends. No national object, rightly worked out by the right people, has ever failed to look to the clergy as its chief supporters, or has looked in vain. It is with this encouraging thought that I write in these pages of the work, hopes, and intents of the Feis Ceoil Association. The cause is good enough to need no eminent or eloquent advocacy.

I will first briefly state the nature of the organisation; then give some account of its history; then indicate what can be done to further its objects.

The words 'Feis Ceoil' mean 'Musical Festival;' but the Association which takes them for a name must not be understood as restricting itself to the work of organising any particular celebrations in any particular centres. Its scope is far wider; it devotes itself with all the fulness which its resources allow to the following objects:—

(1.) To promote the study and cultivation of Irish music. Here the word Irish is used in a strict but not a narrow sense. It describes all music which is characteristically Irish, whether of the remotest antiquity or of to-day, whether the simplest tune or the elaborate work of an artist, whether Irish from intrinsic peculiarities or from the instrument on which it is meant to be played.

(2.) To promote the general cultivation of music in Ireland. Here opens up a vast and, it must be admitted, a very fallow field. Much has been done, even within a few years past, to promote the cultivation of music in Ireland, but how much still remains to be done! In our schools, in our churches, among all classes in our country towns, what an absence of musical knowledge, what limited powers of performance, what incapacity for original work of any value! And that in a land where there is found the strongest love of music, the greatest natural capacity, and a treasure of traditional national song and tune which the popular music of no land on earth can surpass, and that of few can rival. The Feis Ceoil Committee is eager to do everything that is in the power of a single committee to develop, stimulate, and assist talent in every part of the country; it desires to co-operate for that end with all local effort. It is obvious that in the beginning its influence must chiefly radiate from two or three of the largest centres, the difficulty of finding suitable halls for musical performances (not to mention other obstacles), being even in these centres themselves a serious obstruction to performances or competitions. But, wherever local committees are formed to promote musical interests of any kind, they will find the Feis Committee eager to co-operate with them; its desire is to 'spread

the light' unrestrictedly. Vocal and instrumental music of every kind, whether solo or in combination, the efforts of the solitary *virtuoso*, or the brotherly fulness of the brass band, all, but especially what is characteristic and national, will be welcomed at the Feis competitions, and are objects of the zeal of the Feis Committee; and in all it will be ready to assist local committees.

To make suggestions as to what form local effort should take would lie beyond the scope of this article. Valuable light might be derived from the records and other literature published by the Committee, and these they are always ready to diffuse.

(3.) To hold an annual musical festival, Feis Ceoil, consisting of prize competitions and concerts, similar to that held in 1897. The concerts are usually four or five in number, and the competitions embrace music of every kind cultivated in the country. This festival may be held in any important centre where a local committee shall be formed to carry out the work in conjunction with the central committee. So far only Dublin and Belfast have found it feasible to make themselves the scene of the annual celebration.

(4.) To collect and preserve by publication the old airs of Ireland. It is sad to think how much must have perished during the ages when no such effort as this was made. And even when a better time dawned, the good work done by men like Bunting, Moore, and Petrie, was seriously lessened in value by the prevalence of ignorance, prejudice, and narrow views, which were not without damaging influence upon their patriotic labours. They rejected, modified and adapted in accordance with a supposed standard of musical perfection, instead of valuing and jealously preserving those antique and national peculiarities which belong to the true perfection of all music, whether popular or classical. The Feis Ceoil Association have, therefore, set themselves to encourage the collection and secure the preservation, ere they perish, of the beautiful and characteristic old airs which, never yet transcribed, wrongly transcribed, or spoiled by alteration, linger in their genuine form in many a remote corner and many a

faithful memory, whence foreign importations have not yet quite driven them out. To be quite driven out, to die and be forgotten, seems to be the fate awaiting them all. For great indeed must be the energy, the enthusiasm and the prudence that would successfully labour to arrest the progress of a lamentable denationalization in this as in all other musical matters. It is amazing how completely, even in many remote villages and country districts, the London music-hall ditty and the melodeon have taken the place of anything national in tune or instrument. I am not in the least an exclusionist in musical matters; it would be, I consider, an interesting theme of discussion (not now, however, to be entered upon) how far one should tolerate or welcome foreign elements as calculated to enrich a native art store and quicken native art-capacity. But here the excess and the danger are manifest. Every low and unworthy influence, including especially that snobbishness which is ashamed of being Irish, is arrayed against our national music. An earnest effort must be made, if the admirable legacy of centuries of Irish passion and sentiment, if the beautiful tunes that cheered or soothed or roused a sensitive and naturally artistic race, our own forefathers, are not to perish irrevocably. Much has been done during the past four years. Armed with the phonograph and with the enthusiasm of one or two collectors like Mr. P. J. M'Call or Mrs. Houston of Coleraine, the Irish Feis Ceoil Committee has already rescued some dozens of genuinely Irish melodies from the oblivion or corruption to which they were hastening. These have been subjected to a careful process of verification and comparison with collections already printed, and those that have survived all tests are at present under the care of Mr. Brendan Rogers, approaching the final term of publication. The Committee will be able to continue and augment this good work in the future only if the public will enable them to reward the labours of the collector, to remunerate the services of the musicians who have so far acted gratuitously as arrangers for publication, and to bear the expenses of printing in suitable and attractive form.

On the details of the organization of the Feis Ceoil

Association I may be very brief. There are the usual officials, an executive committee, sub-committees (musical and financial), and a body of members. The executive committee will include representatives of all local committees. The annual subscription, entitling to membership, is one guinea. Every member shall have a vote at a general meeting. He (or she) shall be entitled to free admission to all public lectures, performances, concerts, and competitions held during the festival week. On this arrangement we may remark that it notably diminishes the merit of subscription for one who can give full attendance during these functions; he very largely gets present value for his money.

In the foregoing account of the duties undertaken by the Feis Ceoil Committee, I have almost unavoidably touched upon the sketch of its history, which was the second portion of my subject. It shall now be briefly unfolded.

The first Feis Ceoil was held in May, 1897—the first fruits of a scheme which had been long maturing and developing. It may be said to have first appeared above ground in a correspondence published so far back as 1894, in the Dublin *Evening Telegraph*, between Mr. T. O'Neill Russell, Miss Annie Patterson, Mus.D., and some others. On April 4th, 1895, a public meeting was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Dillon. The speakers included the Earl of Mayo, the Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, the Rev. T. A. Finlay, Dr. Sigerson, Mr. George Coffey, and some leading musicians. A second public meeting took place on 15th June, 1896, under the presidency of Sir Robert Sexton. Some twelve thousand circulars were issued, asking for public support in the form of guarantees or subscriptions. The result was that a guarantee fund of £2,000 was obtained, the Dublin Corporation allowing a certain portion of its grant for music to be administered by the Committee in co-operation with the Royal Irish Academy of Music. The Royal Irish Academy and the National Literary Society gave the use of rooms. The clergy, Catholic and Protestant, the press of all shades of opinion, and many eminent public

men warmly encouraged the movement. Among those who actively interested themselves were Sir Christopher Nixon, Mr. W. R. J. Molloy, The O'Donoghue, Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue, Count and Countess Plunkett, Mr. Alfred P. Graves, besides others already alluded to. Miss Edith Oldham, becoming one of the hon. secretaries, commenced a career of unfaltering and judicious activity on behalf of the good work, which has happily continued up to the present day, and remains one of the chief factors and promises of further successes. Belfast was brought to interest itself practically in the scheme; we shall see with what good results. Cork, however,—it is sad to have to say it, but candour is best,—Cork hung back, and has continued to hang back, from this national movement. It has sent to the competitions a couple of good bands, a piper, an euphonium player, and one solitary soprano singer. At least that is all I can find in the prize-lists; no choirs, no violinists, no 'cellists, no composers, no singers but that solitary young lady! And then—hardly any subscribers! When, in 1897, the promoters of the movement arranged for a meeting in Cork, similar to those which were held in Dublin and Belfast, barely a dozen persons responded to the summons. No doubt there are one or two regrettable hindrances to musical effort at Cork, such as the want of a suitable hall for large musical performances. Still it is impossible to regard without great surprise as well as regret, the indifference displayed towards the Feis Ceoil movement by a city which has always laid claim to more than ordinary musical taste and capacity, and which unquestionably possesses musicians capable of developing in every sense the talent which lies around them.

One of the great problems, or rather a whole nest of problems, which had to be faced was this—how far purely Irish help was to be sought, and purely Irish talent to be utilised and encouraged. Some did not believe in relying upon native orchestral resources in their actual undeveloped condition. Dr. Villiers Stanford, the first President of the Association, insisted that the best foreign band available, the Hallé Orchestra, should be engaged over from

Manchester for the festival concerts, and should perform not only Irish music, but also works by representative composers of other nationalities. To the great majority this seemed a needless incurring of expense, a needless slur upon the resources of the country, and too wide a departure from the main purposes of the festival. Not long before so competent an authority as Sir Arthur Sullivan had spoken warmly of the orchestral resources possessed by Dublin. The dispute ended with the resignation of Dr. Stanford, and the final resolution to draw upon native talent only for concert performances.

The next question was: Who are to be eligible to compete? Here it was decided to throw open the gates pretty widely. For the performers' competitions, a residence of three months in Ireland was declared sufficient qualification. The term 'Irish composer' was allowed to include (1) those of Irish birth or parentage, whether resident in Ireland or elsewhere; and (2) those of British or foreign parentage resident in Ireland for over three years. It has been found, as was expected, that stricter limits would have resulted in much barrenness in the composition competitions; native talent has been too little stimulated and cultivated to afford us a large harvest of creative work. It is to be hoped that, as time goes on, competitors with names racy of the soil will arise to produce even better work than has yet appeared from the pens, mainly foreign, of some of the prize-winners. It is obvious that there is no ground on which the Feis Association has more reason to appeal earnestly to the Irish public for pecuniary support than the necessity of offering large prizes which will educe the latent powers of our composers. Only large prizes will induce musicians, often hard-worked and struggling, to undertake the fatigue and trouble of an extensive and complex composition such as a cantata or a longish orchestral composition, nay, even of a smaller and simpler work, while having to face the uncertainty of success, the certainty of the labour and of the entrance-fee. Again, it is only large prizes which will have any effect in stimulating musical study, in inducing the young to qualify themselves to produce art works of

real value. Instead, therefore, of grumbling that gifted residents among us like Signor Esposito and Dr. Koeller have secured well-earned prizes, let us endeavour to supply the Association with the means it requires for stimulating more effectively the creative powers, the diligence, and the competitive instincts of our own rising musicians.

A third question was: Who are to judge? Here it was very properly decided to seek help only from musicians wholly unconnected with the Feis, and as independent as possible of local and personal influences which could excite any suspicion of injustice. The judges, therefore, in the more important competitions have usually been fetched from over-seas. An elaborate system of safeguards has been provided to secure unbiassed justice in the various awards; and so far there has been, it would seem, a complete and remarkable absence of ground of complaint on the score of partiality.

Many details, by no means devoid of interest, might be given as to the four Feisanna which have already taken place, the competitors, and the performances; but they would overflow my present limits of space. The number of entries was, from the beginning, quite a surprise, and in everything except the solo competitions the number has, happily, gone up each year. The first and third annual festivals have been held in Dublin; the second and fourth in Belfast. In general the North of Ireland has thrown itself into the movement with a vigour which contrasts with the apathy displayed, unhappily, so far by the South and West. There are small Ulster towns which number more subscribers to the Feis than whole counties of Munster and Connaught. The successful competitors, also, have very largely represented the North. In the Feis held in Dublin in 1899, out of *seventy-four* prizes of all kinds offered or awarded, absolutely *only two* went to natives of Munster and Connaught, and one of these was a third prize! Evidently the West is not at all awake in this matter, nor the South either. In no other way can this monstrous inequality be accounted for.

There is another respect, also, in which one would like to

see the balance struck somewhat more fairly. So far the pecuniary support of the movement has come far more largely from those who profess the religion of the minority than from Catholic pastors or people. Of course, I need not be reminded in what proportion the wealth of the country is divided among Protestants and Catholics. Yet I think the discrepancy I am at present noticing is much larger than it ought to be. It is easy enough, only too easy, to enumerate the subscribers of distinguished generosity on the Catholic side. Mr. Edward Martyn stands far ahead, then we have The O'Donoghue, Mr. P. J. M'Call, Dr. Sigerson, and two or three occasional donors. Among the very few Catholic clergymen we find his Eminence Cardinal Logue, the Most Rev. Drs. Henry, Sheehan, and Brown (Bishop of Cloyne), Very Rev. Francis O'Neill (Dunshaughlin), Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A., the Very Rev. Arthur Canon Ryan, and the Rev. W. Delany, S.J. No doubt the chief reason for the extreme brevity of the list is to be found in the fact that no sufficiently direct appeal was made, and no sufficiently clear case made out, to a class of men who are sure to be found prominent in every movement by which they have once come to see that Irish moral or intellectual interests can be powerfully served. It is hoped that this article, imperfect though it be, will go far to supply this defect, and by attracting the friendly attention of our clergy, higher and lower, to the objects and working of the Feis Ceoil Association, will secure generous and necessary help for unselfish efforts of unquestionable national importance.

So far the Feis has been worked at a pecuniary loss, though an ever-decreasing loss. The deficit on the first season was about £400, that on the last about £47.

In what way can the work of the Association be helped? Speaking most generally, in three ways: the first is co-operation with its aims by local or personal effort for the preservation or cultivation of Irish music, for the development of musical talent, especially on the lines of choral or orchestral or theoretical work, for the cultivation of skill on peculiarly Irish instruments, such as the harp and the

bagpipes.¹ I have already said that the Central Committee are eager to encourage in every way such local or personal enterprise.

Secondly, you can help the work of the Feis Ceoil by becoming an annual subscriber. And the assurance is well worth repeating that the payment of one guinea not only confers membership of the Association (with right of suffrage) for the year, but also entitles to free admission to all concerts and competitions organized by the Committee.

Thirdly, you can powerfully aid by donations to the prize fund. The donation may be given for the general purpose of prize-money, or for the encouragement of some particular branch. Some benefactors display their preference for an instrumental solo, others for a full-voiced chorus; some will encourage the simple song with Irish words and tune, others some elaborate modern combination; some will think of the rank and file of the bands, others of the poor perspiring conductors. You can found a new special prize, taking care that the amount supplied covers the expenses of adjudication. It cannot be too clearly realized that the fruitful working of the whole Feis Ceoil enterprise depends mainly upon the Committee being able to offer substantial and attractive prizes. So far they have been compelled to change rather in the direction of curtailment than of increase; let us hope that an upward movement may now begin.

I end by indicating who are the persons at present carrying on the work of the Feis Ceoil. During the present month President and Vice-Presidents will be elected; for last year, when the annual festival took place in Belfast, the Lord Mayor of that city was President; the Vice-Presidents were—for Leinster, Lord Ashbourne and Count Plunkett; for Munster, Lord Castletown and Mr. A. W. Shaw; for Ulster, Lord O'Neill and Mr. James Musgrave; for

¹ As the mention of this instrument may excite prejudice in some minds, it is well to remark that the capabilities of the Irish pipes are not to be fairly judged from the performances nearly always (till, at least, quite recently) heard upon it. These performances were the result of the degradation into which the instrument had fallen, owing to its utter neglect by musicians of any cultivation.

Connaught, O'Connor Don and Mr. Edward Martyn. The Hon. Secretaries are Miss Edith Oldham and Mr. George Coffey. The offices are at 19, Lincoln-place, Dublin, to which all communications should be addressed. The Central Executive Committee consists of some thirty musicians and others, whom the actual working of four years has shown to be willing and able to devote time and trouble to practical business which is often of a dull and troublesome character. Musicians and also Irishmen have sometimes been accused of a quarrelsome disposition; the charge is, of course, in both cases, quite unfair; nevertheless, it will be readily understood that those who undertake to manage a competitive arena on which Irish musicians are to contend must not look for a life of wholly unruffled peace. No one of the Committee derives any profit from his pains except whatever credit with his countrymen his efforts may happen to gain him. All is most economically worked; at present not the slightest paid help is employed. Nor can the Committee reward their own services by showing favour to friends; as already explained, they leave to outsiders the office of judging.

From whatever point of view, then, the claims to public support of the Irish Feis Ceoil Committee be regarded, it would seem that these claims are such as may be respectfully and very warmly urged upon the attention of all patriotic Irishmen, and particularly of the Irish clergy. The Committee will endeavour to acknowledge the support they receive by striving more zealously towards realizing the best ideals of such friends; by more carefully cherishing all the roots and cultivating all the branches of Irish musical art—a tree whose bells ought to chime more sympathetically to the Irish soul than any that made melody from the fairy willows of bardic fable.

GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J.

THE OFFICE AND MASS FOR THE DEAD¹

WHEN Ireland was known throughout the world as the 'Island of Saints and Scholars,' the liturgical music of the Church resounded from end to end of the land. In cathedrals and monasteries the holy Sacrifice of the Mass was daily offered with all that solemn grandeur with which the Liturgy has surrounded it. Day and night the Divine Office was rendered by priests and monks and sacred virgins to the magnificent melodies which the genius of early Christianity had evolved. A sad period followed, when priests and nuns were hunted from the country, and religious functions could be performed only stealthily and in hidden places. After a long night the dawn of a second day came at last. Once more the Catholic Church in Ireland is free to exist and to thrive, and the number of magnificent cathedrals and fine parish and regular churches that have been erected by a poor people are a splendid proof that the old faith could not be extinguished in Ireland.

But though splendid structures have been erected as worthy places where worship should be offered to the Almighty, though in most cases they have been beautifully furnished and decorated,—in the forms of the worship itself we have not yet gone back to the ancient models. A little music at Low Mass, even in cathedral churches, takes the place of the grand ceremonies of High Mass, and a tiny Benediction service is the only substitute for the solemn forms for the Church's own prayer.

Only in one instance the imposing liturgical forms have generally been restored, namely, at the Office and Mass for the Dead. It seems that that peculiar regard for the dear departed, which appears to be characteristic of the Irish race, prompted them to use in this one instance all that

¹ 'Officium Defunctorum et Ordo Exsequiarum pro Adultis et Parvulis una cum Missa et Absolutione Defunctorum.' Cura Gulielmi J. Walsh, Archiepiscopi Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primatis. Editio tertia novis curis expolita et aucta.

the ceremonial of the Church provides. The Office and Mass for the Dead, then, being the only relics of the solemn Liturgy of former times, there is a strong reason why we should cherish them in a special manner, and make every effort to have them always worthily carried out.

But there is another reason still stronger which, with reluctance, I must touch. A great change is taking place in our times. There is, thank God, still amongst the vast majority of Irish Catholics a strong and living faith. But that simplicity of faith which took everything for good that came from the priests, that implicit trust which never doubted their action, is dying away. A spirit of doubt and suspicion is gradually permeating the country, a disposition to criticise the actions of the priests and to distrust their intentions is finding its way from the continent into this island. Under these circumstances it is a sacred duty of the clergy to avoid anything that could impair the piety or faith of the people. But it must be confessed that the Office and Mass of the Dead are, in many places, gone through in a manner that is not calculated to edify the people. These sacred ceremonies are carried out in a way that savours of irreverence, and might produce the impression that the priests themselves do not believe in the supernatural reality of what they are doing. Is not this careless manner apt to induce the faithful to say their own prayers carelessly? Is not this apparent want of reverence a grave danger to their faith? These are strong expressions, and, as I said already, I use them reluctantly. But years of observation and reflection have convinced me that there is a really grave danger here.

On the other hand, I have the greatest confidence that to have this abuse eradicated, it is sufficient to bring it clearly under the notice of the priests of Ireland; that to remedy the evil, they have but to be made fully conscious of its existence. With this confidence I venture to make a few suggestions, which I hope will tend to give back to those religious ceremonies that beauty of form which makes them a worthy offering to God and an incentive to the piety of the faithful.

The two principal evils I perceive in the rendering of the Office and Mass for the Dead are shouting and hurrying. While perceptible in both the functions mentioned, they are particularly observable in the recitation of the Office. First, as to shouting; it is difficult to understand how this bad habit sprang up. It is severe on the voice and painful to the ear. It is, moreover, quite meaningless. No doubt, a strong tone is sometimes wanted in music to express strong emotion, but how could one's feelings remain at the highest pitch of intensity during the singing of several psalms? Moreover the form of the rendering of the Office, the recitation on a monotone, insinuates nothing of passionateness. Even a more elaborate form, the singing of the psalms to the psalm-tones, suggests calm meditation rather than excited emotion. All the more the simple recitation, being devoid of all musical modulation, seems clearly to point out that nothing but the simplest and most unaffected declamation of the verses is the proper method of rendering them. When thus performed, even this plain recitation, which appears to have put off every adornment of art, may be supremely beautiful. A sweet tone resultant from a number of well produced voices, striking the ear with that medium strength that can be endured for a long time, varied in its quality by the different vowels of the text, rhythmically enlivened by the accentuation of the words and regulated by the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry, can produce a highly artistic effect. I have frequently listened to the simple recitation of the Office by some pious monks, and felt enchanted by the musical effect of their choral prayer. But what do we hear at many of our Dead Offices? The chanters start at the top of their voices, and the choir falls in with a deafening noise. The two choir sides seem to compete as to which of them can produce the biggest sound. The man with the most powerful voice is the hero. He who cannot make his voice heard beside him is despised as useless.

This kind of recitation always reminds me of an incident told in the Book of Kings. The prophet Elias one day challenged the priests of Baal to show by a miracle who was the true God. The priests of Baal 'called

on the name of Baal from morning even till noon, saying: O Baal, hear us. But there was no voice, no one that answered: and they leaped over the altar that they had made. And when it was now noon, Elias jested at them, saying: Try with a louder voice: for he is a god, and perhaps he is talking, or is in an inn, or on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep, and must be awaked. So they cried with a loud voice, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets till they were all covered with blood.' Surely we do not believe that the efficacy of our prayers is in proportion to its loudness. Let the chanters, therefore, intone in a medium pitch of voice, say on *f* or *g*, with a strength of tone just sufficient to be easily heard in the whole choir, aiming rather at beauty and distinctness of sound than at imposing volume. The choir then should join in a similar manner, each man listening to his neighbours, and trying to blend his voice with theirs. This, indeed, means a certain self-denial, and a constant self-control. But let us do it with a good intention, and our sacrifice will add to the efficacy of our prayer for the departed.

The second fault that interferes with the dignity of our Offices is hurrying. On this subject I find it still more inconvenient to write. I am sure this fault does not arise from any conscious desire to get through the Office in the shortest possible time. I have far too high an opinion of the priesthood of Ireland to entertain such a thought. But the fact remains that the recitation of the Office in many places is spoiled of any appearance of devotion by an undue rapidity of utterance. To remedy this it is necessary that all concerned should make a conscious effort to keep the pace within reasonable limits. The surest way, however, to suppress any tendency to hurrying is, I think, the due observance of the pause at the asterisk. I have already alluded to the specific poetic form of the psalms, the parallelism of sentences. This parallelism is brought out in the choral rendering of the psalms by a pause between the corresponding members. Thus a sensible rhythm is constituted, which forms one of the greatest charms of psalmody. In the singing of the psalms this pause is emphasized by a

melodic inflection at the end of the first half of the verse. In the simple recitation the moment of silence between the two halves is the only means of externating the poetic form of the psalms. By the law of the Church the observance of this pause is made obligatory even in the mere recitation of the psalms. I will not discuss the question here, whether this law binds in the case of the Dead Offices, such as we have in this country. But I should like to point out clearly that the pause at the asterisk is a most essential element of the dignity and beauty of psalm recitation. As to the duration of this pause, opinion may be divided. It appears that in the middle ages, in the singing of psalms, it was made very long. But it is essential, and probably sufficient for the mere recitation, that there should be a perceptible moment of absolute silence in the middle of each verse.

There is one other point of a general character to be touched on, namely, the question of unity of version in the melodies to be sung. This, naturally, is of more importance in the Mass than in the Office; but there it is of great consequence. The state of the question, as everybody knows, is this: When the solemn celebration of Catholic worship was first resumed in this country, choir-books were introduced from France, containing what in that country, at that time, was considered as Gregorian Chant. Then, in the year 1868, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, being anxious to have an official or 'authentic' version of the Gregorian Chant, commissioned Pustet of Ratisbon to issue a reprint of the Gradual published, with the authority of that same Congregation, by the Medicean printing establishment in Rome in 1614 and 1615, and hence called *Editio Medicea*. This edition of the Gradual, together with an edition of the Antiphonarium, was recommended by the Holy See to all the bishops of the Church, and, in accordance with this recommendation, prescribed for this country by the National Synod of Maynooth in 1875. Since that time all the young priests have been trained in the 'new' chant, while many of the older priests still adhere to the 'old' form. The inconveniences of this are manifest, and it is equally manifest that there is only one remedy for this, namely, the

universal adoption of the 'new' form. The difficulties that are against this I can fully appreciate. It is very hard to give up what one has learned and cherished since the days of youth, to throw away the books dear from their use on so many solemn occasions, and to go to the trouble of unlearning the familiar, and learning the strange. I also admit that there may be a question as to which version is the more beautiful; in fact, I am inclined myself to believe that the old version is preferable in many ways to the new one. But what are all these considerations when there is question of obedience and unity? The Roman books have been introduced by legitimate authority, and there is no way of having our Dead Offices rendered properly except by the general adoption of the authentic version.

This adoption is made all the more easy, as the new edition of the Manual under review places at our disposal a book which for convenience, completeness, and reliability could scarcely be surpassed. The *Ordo Exsequiarum*, edited by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, even in its earlier editions, has been justly admired as a most useful compilation. The present (third) edition has been completely recast in its arrangements, and most carefully revised and supplemented. In this little book the whole ceremony of the burial of the dead, including the Office, the Mass, and the Absolution, is presented in such a manner that each portion of this varied function is given completely and in the proper order, under whatever circumstances the ceremony, or any part of it, may take place; so that at no point does any necessity arise of referring to an earlier part of the book. Moreover, very full directions, with quotations from approved authors or decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, are given, so that almost any doubtful point can be cleared up on the spot, and without reference to any other book. Amongst the decrees of the S.R.C. quoted, we notice several of the year 1899, so that the book is well up to date. The completeness of the publication is exemplified by the insertion, in the Collection of Prayers for the Dead, of several Collects from the Missal not usually found in that collection. The only thing that might, perhaps, be desired as an addition

to the book would be the Epistles and Gospels of the Mass. There is a particular reason for having the Epistles, as, in cases where the singing choir have to get ready for the rendering of the Gradual, this should be done towards the end of the Epistle, so as to avoid unnecessary delay. But it must be admitted that in the vast majority of cases no need for this will be felt. Notwithstanding its completeness, however, the book is by no means unhandy, its one hundred and ninety-one pages of clear print, on strong paper, forming a volume of only five-sixteenths of an inch in thickness.

Through the book we find a number of useful indications as to the rendering of the chants alternately by chanters and choir. We propose to deal with this subject at some length, especially as some strange customs with regard to this prevail. It may be well, by way of introduction, to say a few words of a general character about the two principal forms of alternate singing in the Liturgy, the *responsorial* and *antiphonal*.

The responsorial method of singing psalms, which appears to have been the common one in the Western Church during the first few centuries, may best be illustrated by the *Responsorium breve* of Compline. The chanters sing the verse *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*. This the choir repeat as a kind of answer, and it thus is their *Responsorium*. Then the chanters sing a second verse, *Redemisti nos, Domine Deus veritatis*, and the choir repeat part of their Response, *commendo spiritum meum*. Then the chanters sing a third verse, the Doxology, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto*, and the choir again repeat their *Responsorium*. This, the true form of the responsorial singing, obtains, in the present Liturgy, only at the *Responsoria brevia* of the minor hours. At the *Responsoria proluxa* of Matins and similar Responses the first repetition of the Response is dispensed with. The chanters then only intone the Response, and the choir take it up at once. Again, in other Responses, such as the Gradual of the Mass, all repetitions have disappeared, and the fact that a certain chant is a *Responsorium* can be ascertained only by historical investigation.

In antiphonal singing, which had its origin in the Eastern Church, the choir is divided into two parts, which sing the psalm verses alternately. The two choir sides then sing *against* each other as it were; hence the name Antiphone. St. Ambrose is said to have introduced the singing of Antiphones into the Western Church. By this we have probably to understand that he introduced the antiphonal method of chanting. For in the early centuries the word *antiphona* means antiphonal singing. At a later period—it is not quite certain when this happened—in conjunction with antiphonal singing, a kind of refrain was introduced, a short verse with a melody different in style from the psalmodic form of both antiphonal and responsorial singing. This verse, which we now know by the name of Antiphon, was formerly frequently repeated during the singing of the psalm. At a later period it was sung three times, before and after the psalm, and after the Doxology. Nowadays it is sung only before the psalm and after the Doxology.

A good example of the responsorial style we meet in the first chant given in the book under review, the *Subvenite, Sancti Dei*. The expression in the rubric preceding it, *Clero alternatim respondente*, means, of course, ‘the choir singing their response alternately with the chanters singing their verses.’ This Responsorium has two verses—the *Suscipiat te Christus*, and the *Requiem aeternam*, which latter, of course, takes the place of the Doxology.

The next chant in the book, the *Invitatorium*, is an example of the older style of antiphonal singing. The Antiphon *Regem, cui omnia vivunt, venite, adoremus* is repeated, either entirely or partially, after every two verses of the invitatorial psalm *Venite exsultemus Domino*. But according to the present rite the psalm verses are not sung antiphonally by the two choir sides, but rendered by the chanters, the choir singing only the antiphon. Thus the chant has all the appearance of responsorial singing. The division of the last repetition of the antiphon between chanters and choir is particularly strange.

The psalms of the Nocturns and Lauds being sung antiphonally, the antiphons, properly speaking, ought to be

chanted by the two choir sides combined. The prevailing custom in this country is to have them recited by one of the chanters only, and for convenience sake this custom may be retained. It is to be observed, however, that, as the first verse of the first psalm is to be rendered by the senior side, either the junior chanter must recite the first antiphon, or the senior chanter both recite the first antiphon and intone the first verse, and similarly with the following psalms. I would mention here also that the proper place for changing the tone, when the choir has fallen in pitch, is the beginning of the new antiphon.

The lessons of the Matins in a properly constituted choir should be sung by lectors, that is, persons who have received the order of lectorate. Where there are no clerics in minor orders, but only priests, as is usual at our Offices, the junior curates would seem to be the proper persons to be selected for this office. As to the rendering of the lessons, when they are not sung, it would seem to me that they ought not to be spoken, but chanted on one tone, like the psalms. The unity of style, which it is desirable to maintain throughout the Office, seems to demand this.

With reference to the chanting of the Responses after the lessons, his Grace has the following footnote. *In libris liturgicis Responsorio cuique adsignatur cantus suus proprius, Psalmorum cantibus omnino solemnior. Quando igitur officium, omisso cantu, recto tono recitatur, cavendum est ne Responsoria, ut nonnunquam fit, minus solemniter quam Psalmi recitentur: quapropter expedit ut Responsoria singula incipiant Cantores, Clero prosequente a signo ||, usque ad Versiculum: Versiculos recitent Cantores, Clero respondente.* This note, with admirable brevity, explains an inappropriate usage with many of our choirs, gives the reason for its inappropriateness, and points out the remedy. Two things, then, ought to be observed: first, each response ought to be intoned by a chanter, who is thus to indicate the pitch to be taken up by the choir, and, secondly, the verse or verses of the Responsoria ought to be recited also by the chanter, not by the lector. It would seem proper that

the two chanters should alternate in this office, just as the lectors are taken alternately from the senior side and the junior side. The pitch should be about the same as for the psalms.

We are glad to observe that after the ninth lesson the response *Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna* is placed first, the one *Libera me, Domine, de viis inferni*, which in this country is rarely said, being relegated to the second place.

At the Benedictus Antiphon we notice the direction that the choir should join in at the word *resurrectio*. This is as it ought to be. For the intonation comprises only the words *Ego sum*. The chant of the *Benedictus* is printed in full, as is also that of the *Magnificat* at Vespers. We should like to call attention to the pointing of the words *qui oderunt nos* in the fourth verse, where the accented syllable of *oderunt* is placed not on the third last note, but on the second last note, as it ought to be.

The *Introit* of the Mass is an antiphonal chant. Formerly, while the celebrant proceeded to the altar, a whole psalm, or as much of it as was required, was chanted. According to the present Liturgy only one psalm verse, generally the first, and the Doxology are chanted, the antiphon being added before and after. The antiphon, then, after being intoned by the chanters, should be sung right through by the choir, without any further alternation. The psalm verse, according to the present regulations, is divided between chanters and choir, the latter joining, in the Requiem Mass, at the words *exaudi orationem*. In the Requiem Mass the Doxology is omitted, of course, nor is, in this place, the *Requiem aeternam* substituted for it, evidently because the Introit Antiphon consists of these words. After the psalm verse, then, the Antiphon is immediately repeated, and better, as before, with intonation by the chanters.

The *Kyrie* is a kind of antiphonal chant. The present book directs it to be sung by the two choir sides alternately, both joining at the last *Kyrie*. It is allowable, though, to have this alternation replaced by one of the chanters and

choir, the reasons for this method being that sometimes the two choir sides, if divided, might be too weak, and that a little more variety is secured by having the few voices of the chanters changing with the many of the choir. In this arrangement the last *Kyrie* would best be divided, the chanters singing *Kyrie*, and the choir joining at *eleison*.

The *Gradual* is a response, but all the repetitions are omitted in our present Liturgy. The first part, then, the response proper, after being intoned by the chanters, is to be sung by the choir. The verse belongs to the chanters.

The *Tract* is said to have its name from the expression used in mediæval Latin *tractim canere*, which means to sing without any interruption of either antiphon or response. The three verses of the Tract in the Requiem Mass may then either all be sung by the choir, or, preferably, the middle one may be assigned to the chanters, as suggested by his Grace.

The *Sequence* should be sung alternately, either by the two choir sides, or by chanters and choir, or by the select voices performing a harmonized setting and the rest of the choir.

The *Offertory* is an antiphonal chant, formerly consisting of an antiphon and a number of verses. Now generally we have only the antiphon remaining. In the Requiem Mass, however, one verse is left, which is to be assigned to the chanters, all the rest, after the intonation, falling to the choir.

The *Sanctus* again requires some alternation, best of chanters and choir. As it is desirable that the choir should sing the two *Hosanna*, the two verses immediately preceding them, *Pleni sunt coeli* and *Benedictus*, would fall to the chanters. Then, as the first *Sanctus* naturally serves as intonation, the choir would further have the words *Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth*, which is the arrangement suggested by the Archbishop. According to the regulation of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* the *Benedictus* is to be sung after the Elevation. It is quite clear, however, that the whole *Sanctus*, including the *Benedictus*, originally formed one piece of music. This explains why, in the

melody of the Requiem Mass, the first *Hosanna* has no proper cadence, ending, as it does, on the third of the mode. It may not be out of place to point out here that the words *in nomine Domini* in the *Benedictus*, are to be connected not with *qui venit* ('He that comes in the name of the Lord'), but with *Benedictus* ('Blessed be in the name of the Lord').

The *Communio* again is an antiphonal chant, the psalm that used to be sung during the communion of the faithful being now generally omitted and only its antiphon left. In the Requiem Mass alone we have a trace of the former custom, there being the verse *Requiem aeternam*, after which part of the antiphon is repeated. This verse, according to the present regulations, is to be sung by the chanters.

The responses at the various absolutions are mostly taken from the Matins, and are to be chanted like the responses of Matins. The *In paradisum* is an antiphon, as indicated in the rubric, and, after intonation, should be sung right through by the choir.

In an appendix his Grace gives, first, the Vespers of the Dead, which may, sometimes, be wanted; secondly, a simplified version of the *Libera*, approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites; thirdly, a setting of the words of the Gradual, Tract, and Offertory to psalm tones. As these chants are rather difficult and may often be found to be beyond the reach of the choirs, this arrangement will be welcome. In this method, of course, all trace of the former construction of these chants is effaced. It does not matter, therefore, what way any alternation may take place.

Lastly, the appendix contains several settings in four parts of the alternate verses of the *Dies irae* and the Canticle *Benedictus*. The first of the settings of the *Dies irae* is the well-known one also contained in the two former editions of the book. There used to be some difficulty about the arrangement of the parts in this setting. In the edition of 1884 the four parts were printed in a form suitable for mixed voices, but altogether impossible for male voices. In the second edition a different form was printed, which is

manageable by male voices, but is not the form generally adopted. To do away with all uncertainty his Grace has, in the third edition, printed the chant in three forms: first, in the way in which, for male voices, it produces the best effect; secondly, in the form more frequently adopted, in which the total range of the voices is less extended, some changes being made that are necessitated by the inversion of parts; and thirdly, in a form suitable for mixed voices. He has, moreover, set it out in the modern clefs and the proper transposition, so as to indicate what pitch is most suitable for each of the three arrangements. A second harmony for the same Sequence, having for its author the Rev. Dr. Haberl of Ratisbon, and the two settings of the Cantic *Benedictus* already contained in the former editions, conclude this admirable compilation. In the second setting of the *Benedictus*, however, each verse to be harmonized is written out in full, so as to leave no doubt as to the proper method of arranging the syllables to the various melodies of the four parts.

From all we have said it should appear, we think, that there is now at the disposal of the Irish priests, for the celebration of the various functions for our dead, a manual as perfect as could be desired. Let us hope that this little book may be a means to an improved rendering of these solemn functions, for the greater honour of God, the benefit of the departed, and the edification of the living. We also hope that through the adequate rendering of these liturgical services a taste may be created for the other portions of that solemn Liturgy which forms one of the grandest adornments of our Church.

H. BEWERUNGE.

CORRESPONDENCE

A FORGOTTEN CHANTRY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the gracefully-written paper on the above heading, from the pen of Mr. J. B. Cullen, which appears in the current issue of the I. E. RECORD, we are given an account of St. Saviour's Chapelry, New Ross. Mr. Cullen is careful to inform us that numerous 'worthy scribes' have written most erroneously on the various religious houses of New Ross, and he deprecates the 'hopeless confusion' which has been perpetuated by Stanihurst, Holinshed, Hanmer, Ware, &c.

Mr. Cullen tells us that the Dominican Friars established a *locus* or branch house at New Ross in 1267, which is the origin, he says, of the Chapel of St. Saviour's.

Now, first of all, St. Saviour's—in the patronage of the Sovereign and burgesses of Ross—was in existence before the year 1245; and, secondly, the Dominican Friars had no house at Ross.

The Dominicans were given a foundation at Rosbercon, county Kilkenny, in 1267, and Friar Clyn, under date of 1328, tells us that William FitzJohn Roche and others were slain, 'after having been dragged from the *locus* or place of the Friars Preachers at Ros Bargun,' or Rosbercon. This *locus* of the Dominican Friars at Rosbercon was founded by the Graces and Walshes in 1267, and was dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

We next read: 'Some time after the year 1384 the Dominicans of Rosbercon got possession of the Priory of Clonmines, county Wexford, previously held by the Regular Canons of St. Augustine.'

There are two mis-statements in this statement by Mr. Cullen. 1st. The Dominicans did not get possession of the Priory of Clonmines; they merely acquired for a time a *locus* at Clonmines, *cir.* 1400-1450. 2nd. Clonmines was not previously held by the Regular Canons of St. Augustine. It was founded by Art Mac Murrough, in 1384, for the Eremites of St. Augustine, or Augustinian Friars, and was re-established, about the year 1720, at Grantstown, opposite Clonmines, where it still flourishes.

The Churches of St. Mary and St. Evin, New Ross, were inappropriate to St. John's, Kilkenny, although claimed for a long time by the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury. I may add that Luke Blake, March 3rd, 1574, granted Rosbercon Friary in fee to William Keogh and Father William Kearns, chaplain.—Yours faithfully,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Enniscorthy,

September 10th, 1900.

DOCUMENTS

BEATIFICATION OF THE VENERABLE MARY MAGDALEN
MARTINENGO DI BARCAEX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE SUPER BEATIFICATIONE V. S. D. MARIAE
MAGDALENAE MARTINENGO A BARCO

LEO PAPA XIII

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Nulla unquam aetate Ecclesiae Christi Sanctorum gloria defuit. Haec enim non viris tantum sed etiam feminis virtute praeclaris laetatur, quae coelestis Sponsi vestigiis insistentes per arduum quodque virtutis iter vitam constantissime egerunt. Ipsa puellas martyrio insignes primis potissimum temporibus excitavit, ipsa spectandas virginum cohortes protulit, quae posthabita rerum mortalium cura spretisque illecebris ac deliciis mundi sese Deo totas manciparunt. Hae abditae in Christo solitariam et umbratilem vitam agentes, pauperes, omnibus abstinentes supra quam credibile est, contra naturae infirmitatem fortes coelestis Agni qui inter lilia pascitur nuptias inhiarunt, immortalia ab ipso praemia praestolantes. Inter has emicuit Venerabilis Dei Famula Maria Magdalena Martinengo a Barco, quae die quinta mensis Octobris anno reparatae salutis MDCLXXXVII e vetusta ac praenobili inter Italos gente Martinengo Brixiae nata avitum familiae decus longe auxit splendore virtutum, Margaritae nomine in Baptismate appellata a teneris unguiculis pietatis laude floruit vitaeque innocentia. Silentio enim potius ac solitudini quam nugis puerilibus solebat vacare, diu orare, precesque ad plures horas producere, pauperum simul inopiam industrio charitatis studio levare egregiae indolis puella, unice cupiebat. Prima illa aetate magnum vitae discrimen subiit, nam ruri cum forte currenti cisio veheretur, humi lapsa et a praepete rota in pulverem provoluta non nisi praesenti Dei ope tanto e periculo omnio incolumis evasit. In Monasteriis Angelorum ac Spiritus Sancti institutionis causa recepta, sociis ac magistris virtutum omnium se praebuit exemplar. Ibi primum coelesti Sponso florem virginitatis vovit, ibi poenitentiae ac vitae interioris spiritu adducta in religiosam Monialium

Capulatarum familiam coepit cogitare. Quare contempto saeculi fastu, neglectis praedivitis familiae commodis spretisque mundanis nuptiis ac fortiter devictis a patre et consanguineis obiectis difficultatibus, die octava Septembris mensis anno MDCCVI in asceterium Brixienne Monialium Capulatarum in optatum veluti portum laeta confugit, et in ipso iuventutis flore insignis fama et nobilitate virgo miserum induta S. Francis cisagum et aspera fune lumbos praecincta, Mariae Magdalenae nomine assumpto, sollemnia religionis vota nuncupavit. Quibus quidem nuncupatis videri coepit ad religiosae vitae perfectionem concitato cursu contendere. Mira quippe in ipsa elucebat humilitas, singularis et in obtemperando alacritas et in quibusvis molestiis perferendis patientia, accuratissima legum vel minimarum observantia, nunquam intermissum precationis studium cui dies noctesque quum instaret alienato saepe a sensibus animo divinae gratiae donis uberrime perfundebatur. In recolendis autem Christi Domini cruciatibus tanto afficiebatur doloris sensu tantaque inardescebat amoris flamma, ut prope exanimis plerumque languesceret. In afflicto autem corpore assidua illi austeritas, nam puritatis liliū quod a primis annis Deo dicaverat, aspera praecinctum poenitentiae sepe servavit et innocens corpus ieiuniis, flagellis, ciliciis aliisque exquisitis cruciatibus compescuit. Virtutibus enim omnibus heroice perfuncta poenitentiae exempla reliquit admiranda magis quam imitabilia. Ferro etiam atque igne in carnem saeviit: saepe ferreis acubus membras transverberavit cruentaque vulnera ardenti sulphure perstrinxit. Nullis in monasterio pepercit laboribus nec abiectissima quaeque munia detrectavit: vestes sordidiores, cellam angustiores, lectulum equuleo magis quam strato similem in deliciis habuit. Sed cum ob virtutum praestantiam omnium admirationem sibi conciliasset, eam licet invitam ad potiora officia sodales vocarunt. Et primum puellis quae in tyrocinio versarentur ad religiosam vitam exercendis informandisque praeposita fuit commissasque suae fidei et magisterio virgines ab ingrediendum atque excurrendum naviter perfectionis iter exemplo suo confirmavit. Dein munus obiit Rotae Custodis atque hoc in officio vel extra monasterii claustra plures Deo animas salutaribus monitis lucrificavit, brevique universam urbem sanctimoniae suae fama complevit ita ut innumeri fideles ad asceterii crates accederent ut solam Venerabilis Dei famulae vocem audirent. Tandem plenis suffragiis in Abbatissam electa amplum et grave munus tam sancte gessit, ut ipsae moniales testatae sint regimen illius

divinum potius fuisse quam humanum. Triennio ingravescentibus in dies confictata infirmitatibus, quas hilari semper constantique animo pertulit, dissolvi cupiens ut ad coelestes Agni nuptias quas tantopere deperibat advolaret, anno MDCCXXXVII sexto Kalendas Augustas, laboribus magis ac poenitentiis quam aetate confecta, Brixiae, qua in Urbe ante annos quinquaginta lucem hauserat, exitu placidissimo animam efflavit Quae de Venerabilis Dei famula Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo a Barco sanctimonia invaluerat opinio, percrebuit magis postquam ipsa e vivis excessit, accedente praesertim prodigiorum celebritate quae ipsa Dei famula deprecante contigisse ferebantur Haec providentiae divinae illius tumulum illustrantis praeclara documenta, multi enim ex Mariae Magdalenae sepulchro praesentem opem sensere, novos Franciscalibus Capulatis nec non Clero populoque Brixiensi subiicere stimulos ut Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo causa apud Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem ageretur. Probationibus iuridice sumptis riteque perpensis Pius PP. VI re. me. Praedecessor Noster tertio Nonas Maias anno MDCCCLXXXVIII Mariae Magdalenae virtutes heroicum attigisse fastigium solemniter sanxit decreto. Inita est dein actio de miraculis quae ea deprecante divinitus patrata tradebantur, omnibusque de iure absolutis idem Praedecessor Noster Pius PP. VI per decretum quinto Nonas Martias anno MDCCXCIII datum de uno miraculo constare solemniter edixit; Nosque per decretum quinto Nonas Iul. a. MDCCCXCVIII editum de altero miraculo intercessione Venerabilis Famulae Mariae Magdalenae a Deo patrato constare similiter suprema auctoritate Nostra declaravimus. Quum igitur de virtutibus ac de duplici miraculo iam esset prolatum iudicium, illud supererat discutiendum num eadem Venerabilis Dei Famula inter Beatos coelites tuto foret recensenda. Quod praestitit dilectus filius Noster Caietanus S. R. E. Presbyter Cardinalis Aloisi-Masella causae relator in generali Conventu coram Nobis in vaticanis aedibus tertio Kalendas Decembres anni MDCCCXCVIII habito, omnesque tum Cardinales sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, tum qui aderant patres consultores unanimi suffragio affirmative responderunt. Nos vero iterandas esse Deo preces censuimus, ut ad sententiam in tam gravi negotio ferendam coeleste auxilium Nobis compareremus. Dominica vero in Septuagesima superioris anni; Eucharistico litato Sacrificio, adstantibus Cardinalibus Camillo Mazzella Episcopo Praenestino Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefecto,

ac praefato Caetano Aloisi-Masella relatore, et D. Diomede Panici Secretario, nec non R. P. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, decrevimus tuto procedi posse ad solemnem Venerabilis Dei Famulae Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo a Barco Beatificationem. Quae cum ita sint, Nos moti precibus universi Ordinis Franciscalium Capulatorum, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica harum litterarum vi facultatem facimus ut Venerabilis Famula Maria Magdalena Martinengo a Barco Monialis professa Capuccina Beatae nomine in posterum nuncupetur, eiusque corpus et lipsana seu reliquiae non tamen in solemnibus supplicationibus deferendae publicae venerationi proponantur atque imagines radiis decorentur. Praeterea eadem auctoritate Nostra Apostolica concedimus ut de illa recitetur officium et Missa celebretur singulis annis de communi Virginum cum orationibus tamen propriis per Nos approbatis. Eiusmodi vero Missae celebrationem et officii recitationem fieri dumtaxat concedimus in Dioecesi Brixienti atque in templis omnibus atque oratoriis quibus ubique terrarum utitur Franciscalium Capulatorum ordo, ab omnibus fidelibus tam saecularibus quam regularibus qui Horas canonicas recitare teneantur. Denique concedimus ut solemnia Beatificationis Venerabilis Dei Famulae Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo a Barco in dioecesi, ac templis supradictis celebrentur cum officio et Missa duplicis maioris ritus, quod quidem fieri praecipimus diebus per Ordinarium designandis intra annum postquam eadem solemnia in Patriarchali Basilica Vaticana fuerint celebrata. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ac decretis de non-cultu editis caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, dummodo manu Secretarii dictae Congregationis subscripta et Praefecti sigillo munita sint, eadem prorsus in disceptationibus etiam iudicialibus fides habeatur quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi hisce litteris ostensis haberetur. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XVIII Aprilis MCM, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesima tertio.

L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

DECREE RELATING TO RELICS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

URBIS ET ORBIS DE IIS QUAE INTER INSIGNES RELIQUIAS
ADNUMERANDA SUNT

A pluribus locorum Ordinariis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia diluenda proposita sunt; videlicet:

Dubium I. Utrum pars anterior brachii, quae antibrachium dicitur, ab alia parte superiori eiusdem brachii separata, haberi possit uti Reliquia insignis?

Dubium II. Utrum idem sit dicendum de eadem parte superiori brachii, quatenus nempe et ipsa uti insignis Reliquia haberi queat?

Dubium III. Utrum cor, lingua, manus, si ex miraculo intactae conserventur, haberi debeant uti Reliquiae insignes?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, re mature perpensa exquisitoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae, ad tria proposita dubia rescribendum censuit:

'Affirmative.' Et ita respondit ac declaravit:

Die 27 Junii 1899.

DOXOLOGY OF THE HYMN VENI CREATOR, &c.

DECRETUM

CIRCA DOXOLOGIAM HYMNI VENI CREATOR, ETC.

Cum Commissio Liturgica quaestionem extendisset super conclusione Hymni *Veni Creator Spiritus*, utrum scilicet consultius esset necne eam semper immutatam dicere; Sacra Rituum Congregatio sententiam suam aperuit momentaque graviora exposuit, quibus innixa suum sentiendi modum amplexata fuerit. Hisce aliisque probe consideratis;

Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio declaravit:

'Doxologiam Deo Patri sit gloria,—Et Filio qui a mortuis—Surrexit ac Paraclito—In saeculorum saecula—ita esse censendam praefati Hymni propriam ut eadem semper sit retinenda ac nunquam, quovis anni tempore vel quocumque occurrente Festo, in aliam mutandam,' Atque ita servari mandavit.

Die 20 Junii 1899.

CONCESSIONS OF THE BULL 'AETERNI PATRIS' EXTENDED
TO NUNS WITH SIMPLE VOWS

CONCESSIONES BULLAE 'AETERNI PASTORIS' EXTENDUNTUR ETIAM
AD MONIALES VOTORUM SIMPLICIUM

Emus. Cardinalis Vicarius Urbis postulavit a S. Poenitentiaria: 'Utrum moniales professae *votorum simplicium* comprehenduntur in Bulla *Aeterni Pastoris*: et utrum durante anno jubilari debeant eligere confessorem inter approbatos *pro Monialibus*; vel possint eum eligere inter illos qui sunt approbati ab Ordinario pro personis saecularibus.'—Et S. Poenitentiaria, die 11 Ianuarii 1900, ita rescripit: 'S. Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, respondet: Ad Moniales quoque simplicia vota professas spectare beneficia Bullae *Aeterni Patris* eisque licere confessarium sibi semel eligere ex simpliciter approbatis ad audiendas confessiones personarum saecularium.'

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE ASSISTANT PRIEST

URGELLEN¹

Magister Caeremoniarum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Urgellensis summopere desiderans ut in sacris functionibus omnia rite et adamussim peragantur, de sui Emi. ac Rmi. Domini Cardinalis Episcopi consensu atque mandato Sacrae Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur humillime exponit, nimirum:

Ex viginti consuetudine et speciali privilegio Dignitates et Canonici Cathedralis Ecclesiae Urgellensis, habent Presbyterum assistentem et quidem Beneficiatum, in omnibus Missis conventualibus, tam in duplicibus in quibus Canonici inserviunt pro Diacono et Subdiacono, quam in semiduplicibus et feriis in quibus munus Diaconi et Subdiaconi a Beneficiatis impletur. Hinc quaeritur:

I. Utrum in Missis non pontificalibus ministrari debeant ampullae a Subdiacono, sive Canonico, sive Beneficiato, licet adsit Presbyter assistens?

II. (1°) Quo ordine procedere debeant Celebrans, Presbyter assistens, et ministri dum e Sacristia ad Altare pergunt et vice versa?

(2°) Utrum initio Missae Presbyter assistens collocare se debeat ad dexteram Diaconi stantis a dextris Celebrantis?

III. An servari possit immemorabilis consuetudo, vi cuius

¹ Illud documentum, uti sequens iam in praecedenti fasciculo vulgata, terum proponuntur cum nonnullis mutationibus superadditis. N.D.

Presbyter assistens infra cantum Hymni Angelici et *Credo* sedet ad sinistram Subdiaconi?

IV. An stante immemorabili consuetudine, possit Presbyter assistens se transferre una cum Celebrante ad cornu Epistolae, ibique stare a sinistris ipsius Celebrantis versus Diaconum, dum hic Evangelium cantat?

V. Utrum dum Diaconus ad credentiam accedit ut bursam cum corporali ad altare deferat, surgente Subdiacono, ut moris est, etiam assurgere teneatur Presbyter assistens, donec ipse Diaconus ad scamnum redierit?

VI. (1) Utrum Presbyter assistens incensari debeat ante Subdiaconum, sive hic sit Canonicus, sive non?

(2) An pacem recipere debeat a Subdiacono, postquam hic eam dederit Clero in choro?

(3) An Subdiaconus praesente Episcopo in throno cum pluviali et mitra, vel cappa magna, dare debeat pacem prius Diacono, sit neque Canonicus, et postea Presbytero assistenti?

VII. An continuari possit immemorabilis consuetudo, qua post habitam concionem coram Pontifice in throno assistente, Presbyter assistens se locat in plano cum palmatoria a sinistris Diaconi, dum hic confessionem cantat ex libro?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Quoad primam partem*, semper procedant, in casu, unus post alium, et Presbyter assistens incedat ad sinistram Celebrantis.

Quoad secundam partem, praedictus Presbyter assistat ad dexteram Celebrantis.

Ad III. *Affirmative*, sed in scabello separato.

Ad IV. *Affirmative.*

Ad V. *Negative.*

Ad VI. *Quod primum affirmative*, quoad secundum *negative*, sed a Celebrante, et dabit Diacono; et Presbyter assistens Celebrantis, recipiat pacem a Presbytero assistente Episcopi; quoad tertium servetur Caeremoniale Episcoporum.

Ad VII. *Negative.*

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 15 Aprilis 1899.

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

L. ✕ S.

D. PANICI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

PRIVILEGES OF THE 'ZELATORES' FOR THE PROPAGATION
OF THE FAITH

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

DUBIUM CIRCA PRIVILEGIA CONCESSA SACERDOTIBUS ZELATORIBUS
PII OPERIS A PROPAGATIONE FIDEI

BME. PATER,

Secretarius Consilii Centralis pii Operis quod a Propagatione fidei inscribitur, ad pedes S. V. humiliter provolutus, exponit quod cuique Sacerdoti, qui ad quodcumque Consilium seu Comitatum ipsi pio Operi dirigendo vel promovendo pertinet, nec non sacerdoti qui in anno summam respondentem mille subscriptionibus in capsam pii Operis intulerit undecumque eam acceperit, plures concedentur facultates et privilegia. Verum non in una tantum dioecesi, sed in plerisque Epus loco constituendi ad directionem pii Operis Propagationis Fidei Consilium seu Comitatum virorum ecclesiasticorum, unum tantum designat sacerdotem, puta Vicarium Generalem vel aliquem ex Canonicis, qui omnibus fungitur muneribus, quae forent explenda per Consilium seu Comitatum eiusdem pii Operis. Iam vero quaeritur num hic sacerdos ab Epo ad praefatum munus explendum unice designatus gaudeat necne praedictis facultatibus ac privilegiis. Et quatenus negative, Orator postulat humiliter a S. V., ut eidem sacerdoti petitas facultates et privilegia benigne tribuere digentur.

Et Deus.

SSmus. Dnus. Nr. Leo Papa XIII. in audientia habita die 14 Maii 1899 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. C. Indulg. Sacrisq. Reliquiis praepositae, audita propositae, audita propositi dubii relatione respondit valde commendandam esse constitutionem regularis Comitatus seu Consilii in singulis dioecesibus ad praefatum pium Opus Propagationis Fidei rite promovendum; interim vero si ab aliquo Episcopo tantummodo sit designatus Rector Diocesanus, qui muneribus fungatur in precibus expressis, idem SSmus. benigne declaravit Rectorem diocesanum ita ab Epo designatum gaudere, quoadusque Rectoris munere fungatur, privilegiis et gratiis, quibus fruuntur ex apostolica concessione sacerdotes qui verum Comitatum seu Consilium diocesanum constituunt. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae Ex secreta. eiusdem S. C. die 14 Maii 1899.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

✠ ANTONIUS Arch. ANTINOEN, *Secrius.*

INDULGENCED PRAYER TO ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA

INDULG. 100 DIERUM CONCEDITUR RECITANTIBUS PRECEM IN
HONOREM S. ANTONII PATAVINI

BMO. PADRE,

Il Cardinale Lucido Maria Parocchi, Vicario della S. V., prostrato al Vostro Trono, umilmente implora per i fedeli che reciteranno la seguente Orazione a S. Antonio di Padova, per impetrare una grazia particolare, l'Indulgenza di *trecento* giorni, da lucrarsi una volta al giorno, applicabile anche alle Anime del Purgatorio.

ORAZIONE

Ammirabile S. Antonio, glorioso per celebrità di miracoli, e per la degnazione di Gesù, venuto in sembianze di bambino a riposare tra le vostre braccia, ottenetemi dalla bontà di Lui la grazia che nell'intimo del mio cuore ardentemente desidero.

Voi, che foste verso i miseri peccatori così pietoso, non attendete a' demeriti di chi vi prega, ma alla gloria di Dio, che sarà un'altra volta esaltata da Voi, alla salute dell'anima mia, non disgiunta dalla domanda, che ora sollecito con tanta brama.

Della mia gratitudine ne sia pegno il tenue obolo, che io v'offro in soccorso de' poveri, con i quali mi sia dato un giorno, per grazia di Gesù Redentore, e per l'intercessione vostra, di possedere il regno dei cieli. Così sia.

Ex Aud. SS. die 6 Maii 1899.

SS. D. N. Leo PP. XIII, retrospectas preces adprobare easque indulgentia centum dierum semel in die lucranda ditare dignatus est, executione rescripti remissa ad S. Congr. Indulgent.

L. M. Card. VICARIUS.

Ex Audientia SS. die 6 Maii 1899.

SS. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII in Audientia habita ab Emo. Card. Lucido M. Parocchi benigne annuit pro gratia in omnibus iuxta preces, mandavitque expediri Rescriptum a S. Congne. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Seceria. eiusdem S. Congnis. die 15 Maii 1899.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

✠ ANTONIUS Archiep. ANTINOEN, *Secrius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE CATHOLIC TEMPERANCE READER. By the Rev. W. H. Cologan, Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society, and Sir Francis Richard Cruise, D.L., M.D., Ex-President Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, &c. London: Catholic Truth Society, 69, Southwark Bridge-road. Second edition, 1900, price One Shilling.

BEYOND all doubt this *Catholic Temperance Reader* deserves the attention of the Irish public, and particularly of the Irish clergy. 'It is not [writes Cardinal Vaughan] one of those sensational and passionate invectives against intemperance which are, by their very nature, evanescent in their effects. It is based on a carefully-marshalled array of facts, and upon testimonies given by all classes of men in public authority. No one will rise from the perusal of this 'Reader' without recognizing that a strong appeal has been made to his reason, to his common sense, to his conscience.'

In the compilation of the 'Reader' Father Cologan has had the invaluable assistance of Sir Francis Cruise, and in the chapters dealing with the evils arising from alcohol, its effect on the strength, its effect on the stomach, its effect on the heart, its effect on the nervous system, we recognize the clear, measured, and convincing style of the medical collaborator. Cardinal Vaughan heartily recommends the 'Reader' to the managers of Catholic schools. Is there less need in Ireland than in England for some such 'Reader'? There are, perhaps, many things in this English 'Reader' not suitable for Irish schools. We should not care, for instance, to have Irish children generally made acquainted with the blood-curdling story of Joseph Tucker, the murderer, who confesses (page 94), that drink was the cause of all his crimes. But a suitable edition of the work could easily be adapted to the needs of Ireland; and, surely, if there be a country anywhere in the world in which the whole machinery of education needs to be 'put in motion against the evils of alcohol that country is Ireland. If this 'Catholic Temperance Reader' be not adopted for use in our Irish schools most ardently

do we hope that some similar manual may be found to supply its place. Meanwhile we sincerely congratulate both Father Cologan and Sir Francis Cruise on the good work they have performed, convinced, as we are, that its good effects will be felt for many a day, and will be fully shared in by many of our own poor countrymen.

J. F. H.

OUR DUTIES TO OUR DEAD AND HOW WE DISCHARGE THEM.

By the Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, D.D., P.P., V.G.,
Newcastle West. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of
Ireland, 2, Lower Abbey-street.

As a practical illustration of what the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland may accomplish for religion, and for the social advancement of the people, we may point with confidence to Mgr. Hallinan's pamphlet. Old habits are not easily eradicated, and although now for many years a veritable campaign has been conducted by the clergy against the abuses connected with wakes and funerals, it is, unfortunately, impossible to say that complete success has attended their efforts. Public opinion must be won over to the side of civilization and religion, and in order to be won it must be educated and convinced. Mgr. Hallinan in the most persuasive form has summed up in this pamphlet all the arguments that religion, patriotism, self-respect, and respect for the dead suggest and proclaim against the practices that in many parts of the country are still, unhappily, associated with wakes and funerals. At the end of the pamphlet there are some very valuable suggestions relating to tombs and graveyards which will be found useful in cases where new graveyards have to be established.

J. F. H.

IRELAND AND FRANCE. From the French of Alfred Duquet.
London: R. & T. Washbourne.

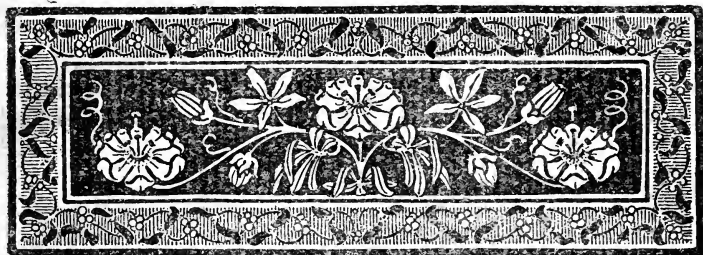
THE work is a translation of Mons. Duquet's little book. It describes the visit of the French deputies who came to thank the Irish people for their generous sympathy towards France during the war with Prussia. An Irish Red Cross brigade had been organised and had done splendid service in the cause of the wounded during the progress of the hostilities. The deputies were received enthusiastically in every place they visited during their

stay. The book has all the excellent qualities of French authorship—a light and graceful narrative, that makes even names and dates interesting. There is an appendix, which is a reprint from the *Irish World* of a life of Marshal MacMahon, and which would itself more than repay the purchaser in interest and information. The translator's work has been fairly executed. In all the booklet is a worthy notice of a generous episode of a famous period and must have for us all a large interest.

PURGATORY: its Pains and Consolations. The motives and means to relieve the suffering souls. By the Very Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G., Cashel. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

As the month of November approaches no book of devotion could be more opportune than this little volume on Purgatory. It is a very valuable addition to the series of devotional works by which the venerated Dean of Cashel has stimulated the piety of Irish Catholics for many years: and it will remain, when the Dean has gone to his reward, as one additional proof that piety and learning have ever gone hand in hand in the venerable church of St. Patrick and St. Brigid.

No encomiums of ours are necessary in the case of a volume which has received such unqualified praise from His Eminence Cardinal Logue, from the illustrious Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and from the Bishops of Galway, Waterford, Clonfert, Derry, Kildare, Elphin, Kerry, Cork and Ardagh. We gladly bring it under the notice of the clergy and hope that it will be recommended by them to the faithful, particularly during the month of November.



KINDERGARTEN AND THE CATECHISM

KINDERGARTEN! The very word makes some people shiver; it makes some people smile and shake their heads. The sedate people shiver; the unthinking people smile. I suppose we shall always have these dear sedate folk who shiver at everything seemingly new, thinking it revolutionary; who would rather keep to the ways of 'the good old days' their fathers knew, to whom steam and electric uses, etc., are almost an abomination.¹ But the world will keep going ahead, notwithstanding, and will keep finding new ways, and revolutionising many things. I can, however, comfort the souls of the sedate by showing them that Kindergarten is only, seemingly, a new thing, and that it is not revolutionary.

It is not so easy to deal with the unthinking, to win their hearts and heads; but this, at least, we might fairly hope for, that they would cease to talk about and condemn a thing until they have looked at and understood it somewhat.

What is the truth about Kindergarten? It is a method or system of instructing youth. The name, *Kindergarten*, given to the system is rather new; it is about fifty years old.

¹ The sedate folk have sometimes very respectable representatives. The reader will, perhaps, remember how when railways began to run at twelve miles an hour, the *Quarterly Review* called for the interference of the State to prevent the sacrifice of human life; and how Lord Brougham, when young, declared the proposal to light a city with gas to be the dream of a madman.

The system so designated is, or ought to have been, as old as the hills. The name came happily, as he thought, to the inventor, Froebel. Must we translate it? (*Kind* = children, *garten* = garden.) But for our clime it is not so welcome, where garden parties are not always practicable nor pleasant, sometimes not even popular!

But if the name is, as some even of the warmest advocates of the thing admit, not happily chosen, the idea it clothes is true and most acceptable. What is the idea conveyed to us somewhat by the term Kindergarten? Let us, please, use the name now throughout this paper, *quid de nomine*, it is—

but as the guinea's stamp
The thing's the gold for a' that!

The golden idea is this—for clearness we express it under three heads, and those who have studied Froebel know we have warrant for the division—a system of education that would have:—

1. The *place* for teaching pleasant to the child.
2. The *matter* of teaching pleasant to the child.
3. The *manner* of teaching pleasant to the child.

Is this all? Yes, all. Why, this is only a declaration of first principles. True, it is nothing more. But the marvel is, how few, comparatively few, before Froebel, troubled themselves to search for these principles; how fewer still troubled themselves to apply them; how few, even now, apply them. Now, perhaps, very many will begin to work them out, for the new primary education code, the outcome of the exhaustive and able Report of the late Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, declares 'school should be made a pleasant place in every possible way.'

This page will meet the eyes of many who, reflecting a little, will know if these first principles were worked out before in all cases. Will anyone deny the wisdom of the three points?

No profit grows where is no pleasure taken¹

is surely true here. Harshness never gains a child. Too often has it warped and spoiled for life fine but wayward.

¹ 'Taming of the Shrew.'

natures. In our own dreamings o'er the past, dreams that bring wisdom, do we not feel how much, not only brighter, but better, our lives would have been if more sunshine had been let in upon the school days. Oh, the hideousness and the farce of these days. The dingy schoolrooms, the interminable, unpalatable tasks, a dreary, wearying round, the whacking system, all come back like the pleasant memory of a nightmare. And then when the summer came, bringing hope of release for a while, there came, too, the annual show—'Exhibition,' it was called—when the relatives of the pupils came from far and near, and the grandpas and venerable aunts gaped in wonder and admiration as the youthful brood, trained to expound selected passages, seemed very experts in Horace and Homer and the rest, while vivid clapping closed the farce. Well if it were only a farce, but such things simply trained the youngsters in deceit. Intermediate education may have much blame or praise laid at its door, but one good it can claim: it has killed 'exhibition shows.'

If the full truth is to be said about Kindergarten all the credit for the thing should not be given to Froebel. He gave it a name; but the germ of it was certainly in the mind, at least, of Pestalozzi.

Pestalozzi was, indeed, in many ways, a remarkable character. He may be said to be the pioneer of modern primary education; for he lived well into this century, and, although highly impracticable, as far as the ability to methodise and transmit his power, his ideas were sound and only needed development. Froebel, who survived him by many years, dying only in 1852, caught the inspiration fairly and worked it into daily life, leaving us a system. Pestalozzi was the more lovable character, Froebel the more useful. Germany owned them both, and, certainly, the Fatherland owes them much.

Some one was bold enough to call Pestalozzi the Beethoven of primary teaching. The praise is high, perhaps too high. But there was certainly a resemblance between the masters in one point, in their indifference to, nay carelessness for some of the urbanities, and here, indeed,

Pestalozzi wins the palm. One of his young scholars thus sketches him as he showed in 1806 :—

Imagine a very ugly man, with rough bristling hair, his face scarred with small-pox and covered with freckles, an untidy beard, no necktie, his clothes hanging loose and unfastened; fancy him panting as he jerked himself along; his eyes now half-shut, then opening with a glance of lightning. Such he looked, yet we all loved him, for he loved us all; we so loved him that if a few days went by and we had not seen him we all felt sad.

Pestalozzi's principles for educating are thoroughly sound. The young human being, he remarks, is an undeveloped organism; education develops it; in the development of all organisms more depends on the earlier than on the later stages. We must insist strongly on attention to early physical and intellectual education, to qualify the human being for a free and full use of all the faculties implanted by the Creator. To the mother it is given by God to be the first and principal agent in the development of the child; her power to work lies in maternal love, but her love must be a 'thinking love.' The ordinary teacher develops the child best by a benevolent superintendence. He must study his pupils, note their capacity, their ways, *e-ducere*, i.e., lead out what is in them—the evil to kill it, the good to strengthen it. The teacher must have a heart; in fact, intercourse between educator and child, and all school-discipline, must be based on and controlled by love. The knowledge acquired by a child will be precisely what he has made his own by personal observation and experience. The teacher's work does not lie in the path of lecturing or telling. True knowledge will come to the child if it be taught not *what* to think, but *to think*, to exercise the power of observation, to draw a conclusion. Let the teacher simply and in a kindly way furnish material for this exercise: let every new idea be connected with that already known.

All this seems admirable; yet it did not please Froebel. Froebel had heard of Pestalozzi's ways, paid him a short visit at Yverdun, and, after a little, returned and stayed two years watching the working of his plans. They did not quite please him. It does seem true that Pestalozzi's way was too high for his pupils. He would have them earnestly

attentive, but this earnest attention he tried to gain by exciting interest in the matter before them and by showing them affection. He would never allow a joke; he would never tell a story. He had, indeed, a singular power of attaching his pupils to himself; but this personal gift, of course, went with him, and he left no system. Froebel accepted Pestalozzi's principles, and worked them in a form that should live and bear fruit. People too, there are, who find fault with Froebel's plan. They say it is all play, childishness. Is this fair?

In his studies of child nature, Froebel, of course, noticed its restlessness, its eagerness to touch, pull about, and change the condition of things around. We all notice this, and sometimes suffer from it woefully! Children will not only touch and alter, but they will try to imitate by scrawling or modelling the forms that they see. Froebel held that this fidgetiness, this unrest, are merely the struggles of the child's soul to get exercise for its powers. Using these symptoms he would give them *play* through his 'gifts' and 'occupations,' believing the child will be delighted and instructed readily by seeing the results that they themselves have helped to bring about. They see in these results the expression somewhat of their own thought. The thought is strengthened, grows, rather is helped to grow, by a competent teacher; so some knowledge comes, and the power to acquire more is got. This is the foundation laid fairly, pleasantly, begun in play; but leading to mighty results.

I do not try to produce a treatise on the Kindergarten system! I do not even try to tell its history. But I do with pleasure and with hope point to its results.

Early in the century that is fast dying, Fichte caught the attention of Prussia to the matter of education as the only means to make a nation great, and declared that no system of education was sound unless based on the principles of Pestalozzi. Sixty years afterwards, in 1872, at a great educational congress held in Berlin, it was stated that largely to the work of the schools where these principles were carried out, was due the regeneration of the country. Has not Prussia, indeed, gone a-head within the century?

The Kindergarten system has been caught up by the nations, and everywhere with signal results. In America it prevails, and in far Japan ; and who needs to be told how these young nations are advancing. Let us hope and pray that as now, by the action of the late Commission on Education, Kindergarten is made the key-note of the whole system of teaching, the young plant may take deep and firm root amongst us, and may help to make our Ireland also great.

Before passing from this part of the paper and trying to point out how the Kindergarten idea may be made to have a good effect also on catechism teaching, it is interesting to note, briefly, how there have been minds in the far-back, to whom came more or less clearly this, as some will have it called, 'new idea of education.'

Does not the idea seem to prevail—we say it with deepest reverence—in the parables and other instructions of the Great Teacher Himself? We note how He stooped to the capacity of the hearers ; how, making entrance easy for the truths He would impress, He caught up illustrations from surrounding circumstances—now by the lake-side it was from the fisher's work ; now in the fields it was from the seed sowing ; now it was from the fuss that a poor woman makes over a lost coin ; and in this familiar way he led the people *to think*.

Plato says :—

The child is not good but may become good, if well looked to. Let his education be pliant yet firm ; pliant, that he be not unduly restrained, yet firm, that he be saved from dangers.

Quintilian would have a youth's studies be made most pleasant, lest the natural disposition to dislike work may be so strengthened that when a young man, he may cast aside all burdensome pursuits.

Plutarch says :—

I know some teachers who are the enemies of youth. Eager to push their scholars on, they overload them with a forced labour, with this result, that the faculties, being almost overwhelmed, are made dull, and learning becomes hateful. The young plants should be developed gently, and not forced.

The Jesuits, of course, did catch and work out the true idea:—

Disciplinam non modo tolerabilem sed etiam amabilem. Sapientum hoc omnium seu veterum seu recentum constans judicium est, institutionem puerilem tum fore optimam cum jucundissima fuerit, inde enim et *ludum* vocari.

What is it all but St. Paul's thought:—

As unto little ones in Christ I gave you milk to drink, not meat, for you were not able as yet.¹

It is interesting to note how St. Jerome taught the Kindergarten idea. In a letter to Læta, the daughter-in-law of St. Paula, telling how to educate her little daughter, he says:—

Let the child have an alphabet of little letters made of box or ivory, let her *play* with them, for so learning becomes a diversion. When a little older let her form each letter in wax with her finger; then let her be invited by prizes suited to her age to form syllables and to write the names of people. Let her have companions in learning, that she may be spurred on by emulation. She is not to be scolded if slower, but to be encouraged; great care is to be taken that she conceives no aversion to studies, less the bitterness remain in riper years.

II

Now, just to touch the subject of Kindergarten and the Catechism; Kindergarten can be here considered only in reference to the way the truths of the Catechism are to be impressed on the young mind and heart.

Taking as true that Kindergarten, because it forbids all harshness, all forcing or straining, is *omnia omnibus*, would only aid the young mind to develop itself naturally, because it is all this and more, Kindergarten is the soundest, safest, fairest form of educating youth.

If this be granted; let us put the question straight: Do its qualities always attend the way in which the truths of the Catechism are put before the very young? Have the young never to complain—of course they do not complain, but they look their misery!—of what Pestalozzi tells of some secular teaching, the 'indescribable tedium, the weary

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 2.

time spent in occupations that are neither relished nor understood'?

Of course the Catechism has things that are not to be understood; but the Catechism has nothing to which a relish could not be added if the food were laid fitly before the children.

Is it so laid? Are the truths brought to the level of the children's capacity, is the entrance to the child's mind made easy, is the youngster led to grasp the truth and make it his own by some familiar, natural example; or rather too often does not the 'teaching' consist in piling before the child some sesquipedalian words or phrases which the youngster must swallow undiluted and undiminished. Do we say, dogmatic phases and words cannot be changed. No; but may they not be analysed and simplified? Does not a skilled Kindergarten teacher know how to apply. 'word-building'?

What wonder, if this be so, that again and again you do meet big boys and girls, who have been often to Holy Communion, and who can repeat to you pat the words of the Catechism; and who will yet tell you they never received a sacrament. That you hear of them coming to manhood and womanhood, going abroad, as many do—a nation's life-blood ebbing out—to an English or American city, not knowing because they never heard, or hearing were not taught to assimilate and make their own, one reason for the faith that is in them, and, having no longer to go to Mass mechanically, will not go, and will get lost to religion and to God. Then will come the cutting remark—who of us has not at times heard it—from some one that, if mayhap it be, has met these lost ones on a death-bed: 'Why do you not teach your people better?'

It is sad, and all the sadder, because the remedy is within reach, and has only to be applied. The difficulty is to get it applied.

Quite true is it, that everywhere now throughout Ireland I believe this subject has been taken up. Diocesan examiners in catechism are at work, and with good results. Much has been done, but, as all know who are often among

the children, much can yet be done. *The teachers must instil the Catechism in the Kindergarten mode.* Does the antiquated phrase yet prevail: 'The children know enough, they will know too much'? This does not seem to be the mind of Leo XIII.

I sometimes wonder, if, catching up the full spirit of the founders of Kindergarten, we dispensed with almost all formulæ in teaching the Catechism to very young children, to infants and First Book certainly, I wonder what effect would come. I do believe a very good effect would follow.

If for instance, instead of whole chapters of catechism there were put on the blank page of the child's mind with the sign of the Cross only the words:—

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Glory be to the Father, who created us and all things, Glory be to the Son who redeemed us, Glory be to the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us.

And if for years, certainly up to seventh year, there was no more put before the child, but that the mother first and then the teacher would make the budding mind of the child gently sip the sweetness here contained:—

Glory be to the Father who created us and all things.

That bright colour that catches the child's attention, that sweet it tastes, that singing bird, that flower, that sunshine, that little bed in which it snugly rests and so on, and so on, all were made by the Great Father for love, to win the child's heart and have it His for ever.

'Glory be to the Son who redeemed us,' *i.e.*, bought us back, paid the price beforehand seeing we would go wrong, and what a price; 'not gold or silver,' but His own life. Then, how this was done, and where. Why, no fairy-tale could so catch a child's mind and hold it and impress it unto life eternal as this story if duly told. And would not this indeed be catechism made easy and pleasant, truth sent home, made palatable, not huge thoughts flung at the child and rammed in, burdens laid on, and 'not a finger used to move them.'¹

'Glory be to the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us,' *i.e.*,

¹ Matt. xxiii.

makes us good and happy, and how; what ways the Holy Ghost uses to come to us, to stay with us: all this drawn out as the capacity of the child and time allow would mean much religious truth really conveyed. Would it not? It would not mean, nor could it at all result in the apparent fruit of the present style of teaching; children gaping at you if you take them at all off the beaten track, the words they have got by rote, and never understood. Not likely then you would have big ones, knowing the formulæ to perfection, telling you, God the Son was nowhere before He became man, that He became man in Heaven, etc. If any reader of this thinks it exaggerates, let him for his own enlightenment go with his young folk a little off the beaten track, and see what grip they have of the phrases that they have been repeating for years.

How different it will be, if, please God, we get the mothers and the teachers to instil the essence of holy truth from the very first. How awful it is in infant schools to hear the endless repetition style by which youngsters are now 'taught'! I do ardently hope the new code will extinguish this uproarious system. For hours together they yell, 'c a t, c a t'—how it must disturb even the shade of Froebel!—and when catechism time comes the work goes on with similar din. And even the trained teacher will tell you it is thus only the youthful brain can be developed! It seems wonderfully like to watering a flower garden with a fire-engine.

Who that is much among children does not know that they catch up readily, and remember well, what interests them. They never forget a nursery rhyme or a story. If then you do not begin by interesting them, you labour in vain to teach them, you build on sand. Has not Locke well said, that a teacher's main work is to fit the child's mind to receive knowledge; and the Great Master, the Fount of Knowledge, does He not convey that His yoke, while ever a yoke, is ever 'sweet,' to be sweetly laid and ever sweetly borne?

F. CANON RYAN, P.P.

CARDINAL MAZARIN

FRENCH history during the seventeenth century presents few more interesting personages than that of Cardinal Mazarin. An utter stranger to France, being by birth and education an Italian, this remarkable man raised himself and his connections to places of eminence in the country of his adoption. From playing an insignificant rôle in the political strife of petty states he entered into and became chief actor in the European drama of his day, much as some professional actors leave the playhouses of country towns to win distinction on the metropolitan stage. On the incidents of his eventful life historians have taken sides. The romantic aspect of some of them has commended itself to writers of fiction; his times have been not unfrequently availed of as a setting for tales of adventure. His name has been rendered familiar to many readers of periodical literature, both serious and recreative,¹ where he has appeared sometimes to advantage, but at times quite otherwise. It may be useful therefore to glance at his career, and examine somewhat the accusations made against him.

The amount of criticism evoked by the story of his life may perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that he wore the cardinal's robes. Strangely enough, he is not usually censured as an ecclesiastic, though of course for a Catholic, this would be the great point of attack. If ever there was a case of *habitus non facit monachum*, it was Mazarin's. Though he received minor orders—and he was not ordained subdeacon—his motive in entering the ecclesiastical state was not high, as we shall see. He clearly had not a divine vocation, and his connection with the Church was a misfortune. But as a practical man of the world, which he was from first to last, a politician, and above all as a diplomatist, he is one of the great figures of his century; while as a patron of literature and the fine arts he has some claim to

¹ *Harper's Magazine*, *Edinburgh Review*, and many others.

be mentioned among the founders of the national taste of France.

Jules Mazarin,¹ or (to give him his Italian patronymic) Giulio Mazarini, was born July 14th, 1602, at Piscina a small village in the Abruzzi. His parents were humble, his father being an *homme d'affaires* at Rome to Don Filippo Colonna Grand Constable of Naples, and his mother, Hortense Bufalini, a woman of singular beauty and spotless reputation, a ward and god-daughter of Colonna's. The youth is said to have come into the world *coiffé*, and with two teeth—an ominous circumstance, to which the cardinal was fond of referring in subsequent years. The Jesuit college at Rome, whither he was sent at the age of seven, was the place of his early training; and here his exceptional talent soon became apparent, as well as his remarkable vivacity. He was found to be so advanced in his studies at sixteen that he was chosen by the Jesuit astronomer, Father Grassi, to sustain a thesis regarding a celebrated comet that appeared in 1618. Cardinals, princes and *litterati* assembled in the college hall to witness the first great intellectual effort of the future celebrity. Showing a decided talent for acting—a characteristic in which the child was surely father of the man—he appeared some time later at the same college, in a dramatic representation held to celebrate the canonisation of St. Ignatius. In this piece he is said to have played the rôle of St. Ignatius with great effect. The fathers it appears were not without hopes that young Mazarin would devote his talents to the service of God in the Society of Jesus; but he evinced no desire whatever to become a priest; much less was he anxious to embrace a life of self-abnegation involved in religious obedience. On the contrary, he was eager to enter the world, and to advance in all the graces that would give him the *entrée* into good society, and in his design he was a child of fortune. By his fine appearance, and the *finesse* that was ever a second nature to him, he seems to have quite won the heart of the Grand Constable. Anyhow he

¹ *La Jeunesse du Card. Mazarin*, Cousin.

was brought up with the children of Colonna at Naples, and in the Colonna palace he quickly learned the manners, and the vices too of good society. Gambling was the passion of the age, and soon Mazarin made astounding progress in his knowledge of and success in all games of chance. He united in himself the qualities best suited to help in such dangerous practices—courage bordering on rashness, together with a perfectly imperturbable temper. He could look on at a game where he had much at stake without betraying the slightest indication of anxiety or excitement, and he kept his tongue in perfect control, so as not to offend anyone by the unseemly language common at such amusements. The money which he won he expended on dress, and the maintenance of a huge retinue of servants. He had of course his days of ill-luck, and one eventful day saw him reduced to such straits that he was forced to pawn his wardrobe and jewel-case. But he was not to be outdone. With a few *livres* raised on a pair of silk stockings—the only pair left—he played so well that he was able to redeem his pledge.

To check these evil propensities this ardent gambler was sent to Spain. And here an event was on the point of happening which might have changed the whole aspect of subsequent European history. Mazarin was offered the hand of a certain Spanish notary's daughter. However his guardian's consent, which was necessary, was not to be had; and to divert him summarily from any such alliance he was instantly sent back to Rome with despatches from the notary. His sojourn in Spain was not without fruit; for there he acquired the Spanish manners which afterwards helped to win him favour with the Queen Regent of France.

Once again back in Rome, and secure for the present from any serious distraction, he devoted the energies of his active mind to the study of law, giving himself so heartily to his work that he was able at twenty years of age to take his doctor's degree *in utroque jure*. For want of something more lucrative probably, he was now glad to accept a captaincy in the Papal army then in the Valtelline. This was one of the hinges on which his whole future turned.

In the Valtelline he became something of a strategist, while during the six years of negotiations which followed the withdrawal of the Pontiff's forces, he began to evince and rapidly develop his own peculiar talents for diplomacy. Observant, ever studying the situation, ever instinctively as it were divining the proper course and following it, he is described as an agent of quite Protean possibilities, constantly changing and adapting his schemes to men and times, ever hurrying from post to post, indefatigable, adroit, subtle, cunning, the very embodiment of all that was required for the most delicate political crisis.

With a view to preferment¹ he entered the ecclesiastical state and received minor orders some time before 1629. Urban VIII. recognised in Mazarin a most suitable person to entrust with the ending of the War of the Mantuan Succession. His complete success in this affair was most liberally rewarded by the Pope. This was in 1629. In 1632 he was attached to the legation which was sent from Rome to mediate between France and Savoy. This was the occasion of his introduction to, and first interview with Richelieu. The prime minister was profoundly impressed with the practical sagacity of the young Italian, and remarked of him 'I have just been speaking to the greatest statesman I have ever seen.' Nor was he slow in giving the court intimation of his appreciation of Mazarin; he availed of the first opportunity that offered of putting so apt a disciple in state-craft in a position where he might exercise his genius. Mazarin was recommended as nuncio to the court of France in 1630. The request, however, was not complied with till 1634. Meantime Richelieu lavished his attentions on him; kept him at his palace at Ruel; had him specially nursed there during an illness that threatened to end fatally; and left nothing undone to win over this foreigner to French ideas, and especially to secure his appreciation of his own policy. Through the cardinal's influence he was gradually becoming a *persona grata* at court. He assisted at the baptism of the dauphin. Every day he was becoming more

¹ Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, tome xvi.

of a Frenchman. In 1640 Richelieu sent him to Savoy, where the regency of Christine, Duchess of Savoy, and sister of Louis XIII., was disputed by the Princes Maurice and Thomas of Savoy. The mission was eminently successful; the question of the regency was satisfactorily settled, and moreover the princes were won over to France.

I cannot tell you [Richelieu wrote] my contentment that your negotiations with Prince Thomas have been successful. God has allowed you to show in this matter what you can accomplish in *greater and more important treaties in which you will take part . . .* You may be sure that in all times and places I shall be, not uselessly, your servant.

On receiving these words of congratulation Mazarin wrote to a friend, 'the Cardinal has sent me a letter that would rouse me if I were dead.'¹

As a consequence of this mission the cardinal's hat came to him in 1641, and was placed on his head by Louis XIII. himself. Having entered the service of the king he was retained in office on Richelieu's death, which took place in 1642. It was evident at the time that Louis XIII. would not live long, so that arrangements had to be made regarding the regency of Anne of Austria. In these regulations Mazarin took part, and as a *protégé* of Richelieu's acted in stout opposition to the queen-mother. He was instrumental in founding the famous council of conscience which was to help the queen in her state affairs. On the king's death in 1643 it was a matter of universal surprise to find the queen appointing Mazarin, whom all believed her enemy, to be her first minister. It is stated she was captivated by the cardinal's Spanish manners. Be that as it may, a thorough understanding arose between the queen and her minister. She placed implicit trust in him, and he, while being most assiduous in his obsequious attention on her majesty, was not without suspicions of the nobles and great lords in and around the court. He was quite equal to his delicate position. From the first he gained complete ascendancy over the queen, so much so that the belief became general that the sole pilot of the political bark was M. le Cardinal.

¹ Perkins's *Richelieu and the Growth of French Power*. New York: 1900.

Richelieu's political programme had been a large one. To break the power of Austria; to push the French frontier to the Rhine; to maintain a counterpoise of German states against Austria; to secure alliances with Sweden and the Netherlands—these were some of his most cherished designs. The accomplishment of these he left to Mazarin, and apparently, his political foresight almost amounted to prophecy. The treaties of Westphalia in 1648, and of the Pyrenees in 1659, extending the limits of France north-eastward, bringing within the French frontier several strong fortresses, and flourishing towns of Artois, Hainault, of Flanders and the country between the Meuse and the Sambre,¹ prove that a master-mind had been entrusted with the mighty enterprise. Some would maintain that it is to the generals at Mazarin's disposal, the famous Condé especially, and Turenne, that we are to attribute this marvellously rapid aggrandisement. Mazarin's² letters, however, are sufficient evidence of the fact that he was the mainspring of the energies of France, and that the councils of Europe had good reason to see in him a statesman endowed with some of Richelieu's best qualities.

Foreign politics, for which Mazarin was eminently suited, were not to be the only theatre of his activity. In 1648 commenced the civil war known in history as 'La Fronde.' This was the last effort of feudalism in France. The cardinal incurred the odium of the nobility on account of the immense taxes which he was constantly asking the *parlement* to impose; his absolute ascendancy over the queen was a continual source of the bitterest jealousy, and the ill-feeling against him was heightened by the fact that he was a foreigner. De Retz, a virulent anti-Mazarin, was fond of alluding to the minister's ignorance of France. The *parlement* and many prominent nobles were agreed on one point, that Mazarin was the enemy of France, and that his removal was the one thing to be desired. With a view to his speedy expulsion, the formidable faction of the Fronde

¹ Philips' *Historical Atlas* (art. vii., France in xvii. cen.). London: 1876.

² *Les Lettres du Card. Mazarin pendant son ministère. Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France.* Paris: 1896.

was formed. Cardinal de Retz,¹ the life and soul of the anti-Mazarin party, explains the origin of the term 'La Fronde':—

Bachoumont said the *parlement* was like schoolboys in the Paris ditches who flung stones (*fronde*, a sling), and ran away when they saw the constable (alluding, probably, to their weak-mindedness in dealing with the court party), but meet again as soon as he turns his back. This was thought a very pretty comparison. It came to be a subject for ballads, and upon peace between the King and the *parlement* it was revived and applied to those who were of an opposite party to the court.

It became quite a fashionable term; everything was spoken of as being adopted by the Fronde. 'Bread, hats, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, ornaments were all *à la mode de la Fronde*.'² The ringleaders of this faction were arrested, and immediately barricades were erected in the streets of Paris. Shouts of '*à bas Mazarin*' re-echoed through the city. The queen applied to the great soldier Condé who consented to stand by her. This was followed by the retirement of the queen, her son, and Mazarin to Saint Germain *en-laye* and the blockade of the city. It was during this siege that St. Vincent de Paul made his famous journey from Paris through the lines of Condé, and threw himself at the feet of the queen-mother in the hopes of relieving the condition of the humbler classes in Paris, rendered wretched and intolerable by the horrors of war and famine. It was then he approached Mazarin, having found the queen powerless to help him, and addressed him in language of which the cardinal said: 'This is a bold speech, and language which no one has hitherto presumed to use.'³ Nothing, however, came of the saint's endeavours except that his charity was misconstrued, and himself and his spiritual family persecuted. Things remained as they were till Paris, worn out by famine, opened its gates and the royal party, accompanied by Mazarin and Condé, made their solemn entry August 18. Condé had never been a friend of Mazarin and now he began to manifest his antipathy and to show a tendency to sympathise with the Fronde party. Immediately

¹ *Memoirs of Card. de Retz*, translated from the French. London: 1896.

² *Memoirs of Card. de Retz*, chap. iii.

³ *The History of St. Vincent de Paul*, Bougaud (translation). London: 1899.

the cardinal grasped the situation, and threw the prince into the dungeons of Vincennes. The indignation of the Parisians knew no bounds. That a prince of the blood, and such a renowned general too, the victor of Rocroi, should be thus so summarily dealt with was enough to fan the flame of fury to the utmost frenzy. The *parlement* ordered Mazarin to be banished and the prisoner set free. But Mazarin knew the queen was too helpless to listen to any but his own counsels, and so he set himself to brave the storm of rage that burst upon him. He held out until he saw that his only hope of personal safety lay in flight. He was compelled to leave Paris in 1649. He went straightway to Havre, whither he had removed his political prisoners, and released Condé. The general treated Mazarin with disdain, so that the cardinal felt he must leave France. He retired to Cologne. All his effects were sold and his celebrated library would have been disposed of, save only the books did not realise enough money to make it worth while selling them. He was not long in Cologne when a secret correspondence opened between him and the queen. Anne was eager to have her minister back. Let the people rage as they might, the genius of Mazarin, she thought, was her truest support in the present crisis. Accordingly Mazarin, at his own expense, got together an army of 8,000 men, and availing himself of the experience of earlier years marched against Condé and succeeded in uniting his army with the royal forces under Turenne. The opposing armies met before the gates of the Faubourg St. Antoine.

Condé having effected an entrance into Paris, through a manœuvre directed by the Duchess of Montpensier, the most dreadful scenes ensued. The abject wretchedness of France at this juncture is vividly portrayed by the pen of St. Vincent¹ in a letter which he addressed to the Pope in the hope of securing a reconciliation between the parties :—

The royal house is divided and the people split up into factions. The cities and provinces are burned and devastated

¹ *Lettres de S. Vincent de Paul*, vol. i.

by civil war. The harvest has not been reaped or sown for next year. Everybody and everything are at the mercy of the soldiery, who inflict terrible tortures from which even if the people escape, it is only to die of famine. Maidens and virgins consecrated to God are being dishonoured and their chapels burned. . . . The misery cannot be realised save by those who witness it.

If Mazarin was the cause of this trouble it was he also who brought it to an end, and this in a manner quite his own. He advised the queen to proclaim a general pardon to all concerned in the Fronde. This was a *coup* worthy of her favourite. It was, as Mgr. Bougaud says, 'the death-warrant of the Fronde.' No sooner was the proclamation made than deputations came from all parts tendering their allegiance to the court. 'The young king, Louis XIV. (Mazarin's pupil in *affaires d'état*) received them with that courtesy which was natural to him, and which lent a charm as well as weight to what he said.'¹

One of the gravest accusations made against Mazarin is grounded on his relations with Anne of Austria. The French historians, Chautelauze, Michelet, and others assert boldly that he was secretly married to the queen. The evidence against Mazarin is certainly strong, yet not of a nature to put the matter quite out of the region of doubt, to say the least. During the period of the Fronde Mazarin was as we have said the object of the fiercest hatred on the part of the faction opposed to the court party. Never probably was more shameless vituperation poured out upon a minister. One would imagine that his ecclesiastical profession would have screened him from the indecent language of the *Mazarinades*, as the pamphlets were called, which were circulated about him. It was however the fashion in France, and in England, too during the seventeenth century, for political partisans to rail at each other in the most revolting language.² An endless³ stream of lampoons flowed from a press unchecked by decency, having

¹ Cousin, *Études sur les femmes illustres et la société du xvii. siècle*, Madame de Longueville, vol. ii., p. 171, quoted by Mgr. Bougaud, *Histoire de S. Vincent*.

² Laborde, *Le Palais-Mazarin et les grandes habitations de ville et de campagne au dixseptième siècle*. Paris: 1846.

³ They are said to have numbered six thousand. Morcau, *Bibliographie des Mazarinades*.

for their subjects attacks on the character and private life of persons who had become odious, in language which would bring a blush to Billingsgate. Unfortunately the scandalous life of the infamous de Retz left the people of Paris free to vent their bile on persons of his profession, and impute to them in doggerel and caricature crimes, the very mention of which excites our horror and disgust. Of the *Mazarinades*, M. Laborde says:—‘*Je ne sais rien de plus violent sans raison, de plus ordurier sans esprit.*’ Such a collection of pamphlets establishes the fact of close intimacy existing between the minister and his sovereign, but nothing more than this. Probably the worst possible source from which to derive information about a man’s private life would be the pages of a political pamphlet. The estimate of a noble foe is one thing, the scurrilous invective from the pen of a partisan of an unsuccessful clique, quite another. And hence the *Mazarinades*, emanating as they did from the Fronde press, are not sufficiently reliable premises from which to draw conclusions about Mazarin.

M. Laborde has other testimony more reliable than this, that namely, of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, which he says is all the more weighty as it was given when the period of intentional misrepresentation was over. ‘The queen-mother, widow of Louis XIII., not content with loving Mazarin, had ended by marrying him.’ The internal evidence on this affair consists of a collection of letters written in the year 1651-52. ‘There is in the National Library (Paris) a collection of letters enclosed in a chest, called the Chest de Saint Esprit, numbered upon the back 117,826, containing divers papers relative to Mazarin, among which are some under the title: ‘*Lettres originales de la propre main de la Reyne Anne, Mère du Roi Louis XIV., au Card. Mazarin.*’ The authenticity of these is rendered certain by amongst other signs the bad writing and worse orthography of the queen. They are written it appears in some peculiar jargon evidently meant to be intelligible to the recipient alone. The key to this jargon is said to have been found by a M. Ravenal, and the letters thus deciphered are taken to indicate more than mere

gallantry on the part of the persons concerned. And yet despite this apparently irrefragable testimony, both external and internal, Mgr. Bougaud maintains that there is evidence enough to satisfactorily refute this charge, and to establish the queen's innocence. And if this be so, Mazarin must be exonerated too. But before giving M. Bougaud's statement it may be said in reference to memoirs by contemporaries, that as materials for history they are both good and bad : good in so far as they give an insight into manners and customs of a period such as can scarcely be had from other documents ; bad in that they are not unfrequently coloured by the prejudices of the writers, and reflect the party feeling of factions, with which the writers may sympathise. Nor again does the fact that a number of French historians have made up their minds on the point quite end the cause. Some curious instances of how modern French historians take for facts what is merely conjectural, may be found in Hayward's essay on the ' Pearls and Mock Pearls of History.'¹ It is not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding all that has been laid down on this matter as quite certain by writers both French and English, and by the Italian historian, M. Cantu,² who says, speaking of the marriage question, '*C'est ce dont il n'est plus possible de douter,*' that the writer of the article 'Mazarin,' in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,³ admits that the 'Queen's marriage is doubtful.' This prepares us for what M. Bougaud has to bring forward. Of the queen he writes :—

Her Spanish character gave her freer manners than were customary in France, and her enthusiastic admiration of Mazarin may have led her to write and speak less discreetly than was desirable. But her heart was always pure. Of this we have excellent testimony in the memoirs of Madame de Brienne, one of the ladies of honour⁴ :—

'It may be, I shall not dispute it, that the Queen imprudently manifested her esteem for Mazarin. Although she was absolutely

¹ *Hayward's Essays*, Critical and Historical. London: 1876.

² *Histoire Universelle*.

³ Ninth Edition. London: 1896.

⁴ Cousin, Mme. de Hautfort.

innocent the world, ever inclined to misjudge, eagerly believed what was untrue. The Queen's gallantry, if such it should be called, was altogether elevated and passing. She was Spanish in her manner, which attracted all by its charm, but she never received a stain. This my mother led me to believe. The Queen, who loved her tenderly, was even approached one day by her on this delicate question. . . . My mother with exquisite tact, but with perfect candour, disclosed the state of public feeling and opinion (as to the intimacy with Mazarin). As she did so the Queen blushed deeply, and in the end exclaimed: "Why, my dear Madame de Brienne, did you not tell me this sooner? I acknowledge I am attached to him, I may say tenderly so, but I am not in love with him. If I am my senses have no share in it, my mind merely is charmed with the beauty of his mind. Is that criminal? Do not deceive me; if even in that there is the shadow of a stain, this moment before God, and the relics of His saints here, I renounce it. I will never speak with him save on *affaires d'état*, and should he introduce others I will depart." My mother, still on her knees, caught the Queen's hand, and placing it on the altar said: "Swear, madame, to act as you have said." "I swear," replied the Queen, at the same time resting her hand on the altar, "and may God punish me if I am in the least guilty."

When Mazarin came to reside in Paris, in 1646, he lived in the house of M. de Chavigny, at the hotel St. Paul. He afterwards secured apartments in the Palais-Royal, and the Louvre. The premier however should have a *palais* in order to have things *comme il faut*, and the building and decoration of the Palais-Mazarin is an interesting chapter in his life. It was to be situated in the fashionable quarter of the city, and so a site occupied now by the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, was chosen in 1646. Great endeavours were made to secure the famous Italian architect Bernini to plan the projected building. The Pope however refused to allow him to leave Rome, and the matter was placed in the hands of a French architect named Mansard. The decorations were elaborately executed by two famous Roman artists, Romanelli and Grimaldi. Mazarin being a lover of art, had special arrangements made for the erection of galleries or pictures and statuary. There was large provision made for a library, while the stabling is said to have been so extensive as to exceed anything hitherto erected. 'Anon the fabric huge rose like an exhalation,' and the decorations began in the

interior. These were most elaborate. Exquisite frescoes adorned the walls and ceilings ; and where the brush of the painter would not be effective in delighting the beholder the best productions of the loom were employed. Gorgeous pieces of tapestry, with figures life-size, giving Scriptural histories—scenes that admitted of bold conception and brilliant colouring—hung from the walls of these princely apartments. The galleries gradually became filled with great pictures, fine statues, and curios of all kinds. Richelieu taught his successor more than diplomacy. ‘Mazarin often combined with diplomatic duties the execution of commissions in the purchase of works of art,’¹ and thus in securing good purchases for the Palais-Cardinal² he was acquiring knowledge such as would be useful in procuring the adornment of his own galleries later on. A detailed account of his great collection is to be found in the *Inventaire de tous les Meubles de Card. Mazarin*.³ The cardinal sent agents all over the world to get pictures, statues, jewels, curios, rare books, everything, in fact, that may be found in a modern museum. Thus when Charles the First’s effects were being disposed of after his execution in 1649, Mazarin, according to Clarendon—

Sent to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets which furnished his palace at Paris.

He made one mistake as a collector, which sounds almost incredible. He is said to have refused an offer of Raphael’s cartoons at three hundred pounds. An interesting anecdote is told in reference to his acquisition of the famous ‘Sponsalia’ of Correggio. This work was at the time in the possession of the Barberini family, who were unwilling to part with it. The queen was induced to ask for it. At her request the picture was reluctantly given up, and then to the utter disgust of its former possessors, it was transferred to the Palais-Mazarin. Twenty pictures from the Palais-

¹ Perkins, *Richelieu*.

² The name of Richelieu’s palace.

³ *Inventaire de tous les Meubles de Card. Mazarin*. Londres : 1861.

Mazarin occupy prominent places in the Louvre, and this, in itself, is great praise of the collection and no small tribute to the judgment of the man that made it. Mazarin personally inspected and held serious discussion on each addition to the galleries. No work of art entered there without its merits having been previously admitted by persons capable of forming sound judgment on such matters. Rare and precious as were the pictures and statues, the most striking feature of the *palais* was its tapestry. Any one who has seen the few specimens of the Louis-Quatorze period in the *Gobelins* in Paris may form some idea of the richness and beauty of Mazarin's apartments :—

History, sacred and profane ; lives drawn from Old and New Testaments and Apocrypha ; mythological fable and classic legend and Roman story : the arts that adorn and the pursuits that enliven life : designs from Titian and Albert Dürer, all looked down grandly from the walls on the throng that filled the Palais-Mazarin.

The cardinal's wardrobe seems to have consisted of quite colossal stores filled with an endless variety of articles of dress. The contents of these are given with minute accuracy in the *Inventaire*. 'Two hundred and seven yards, one-third and half-a-quarter of crimson velvet.' This is one of the items and may serve as a sample. Five and twenty complete suits, of every rich material then in vogue, from the heaviest scarlet velvet to the finest ruby lawn, are mentioned in this long record. This wardrobe was of course restricted in its magnificence, by the ecclesiastical character of its possessor. No wonder such a man should be charged with being vain and fond of show. He seems to have been filled with the idea that the prime minister of France should omit nothing that could add to external pomp, and that this latter was necessary to give people a great notion of the majesty of authority. His fondness of dress became apparent to the members of the council of conscience, when one day he objected to the shabbiness of St. Vincent's soutane. The saint had been invited to the council by Anne of Austria. Probably Mazarin had objected to the presence of such a determined man on deeper

grounds; but he made his humble mien the point of his raillery.

Another class of treasure found in the Palais-Mazarin included curios in various precious metals and stones :—

Shrines, monstrances, reliquaries, chalices, jewels buried for years in the treasuries of distant monasteries; masterpieces of the goldsmith's art, on which rich imagination had lavished all that was quaint in fancy or elegant in form, in a day when artists of high rank worked in the precious metals, and when the intrinsic worth of the material was but a fraction of the value imparted to it by chasing and sculpture and enamel, were there in profusion. Twenty pages of the *Inventaire* are devoted to an enumeration of articles in rock-crystal, amber, coral and other precious materials *enchassés dans de l'argent vermeil doré*. There are forty pages of *litz et emeublementz*, twenty more for a catalogue of the plate in mansion and chapel.

The display was so exceedingly lavish, that a pamphleteer of the day wrote, and not without reason—

Who could have believed that one insignificant stranger, sprung from the dregs of the people, born a subject to the King of Spain, should have mounted in six years on the shoulders of the King of France, have laid down the law to all princes, imprisoned some, driven others into exile, and built in Paris a palace which puts that of the King to shame, and where luxury is carried to the highest point, even in the horses' mangers.¹

Now as to how he managed to furnish materials for all this grandeur the Parisians were not in doubt. This was where the taxes went, they said of the Palais-Mazarin, as they said before of the Palais-Cardinal.² But there are other ways of accounting for his immense wealth. Mazarin's influence was so telling in the various courts of Europe, that his ire was, we suspect, propitiated from time to time by magnificent bounty on the part of persons whom he held in his power.

The vast museum, for it was nothing else, was not merely intended to gratify the owner's taste. Oftentimes exquisite things are shut up in courts and palaces to be seen by the courtiers only—men and women generally too occupied

¹ *Lettre d'un Religieux*.

² Perkins, *Richelieu*.

with politics or gambling to allow their minds to be diverted with innocent trifles. Mazarin seems to have had liberal ideas on the culture of the people, and to have been anxious that the intellectual pleasure derivable from such a unique collection should not be confined to a few. And hence he is said to have given an impetus to the artistic tendency of the Louis-Quatorze period, and to have formed the taste of the king himself.

Perhaps the best, if not the most expensive part of the Palais-Mazarin, was its great library. Mazarin like the great Spanish Ximenes, was a lover of books. The library of the Palais-Mazarin was quite a remarkable achievement, inasmuch as it contained forty thousand volumes at a time, when ten thousand volumes were seldom found, save in the palaces of kings. And in this connection, also, we must admire the cardinal's eagerness in the cause of general culture. For it was his wish that students and savants should frequent his halls, and have in his library a means of satisfying their requirements in all branches of learned research. This project of Mazarin's may be regarded as the origin of public libraries in Paris. He secured the services of a man named Naudé, and in him he found the most energetic and enthusiastic of librarians. In a dialogue with Naudé under feigned names, the advantages of the library are set forth :—

Mascurat. It will be open to all the world, no living soul excepted, from eight in the morning till five in the evening. There will be chairs for those who wish to read, and tables furnished with pens, ink, and paper for those who want to write, and the librarian and his attendants will be under strict orders to give the students all the books they can ask for in every language and branch of science, and to take them back and restore them to their places when they have done with them.

Saint Ange. I do not suppose there will be any great crowd, for most persons will prefer to pass by this library rather than be exposed to the caprice of the Swiss or the insolence of pages and lackeys.

Mascurat. Were I to admit that the Swiss and porters of great houses were such as you have just portrayed, even were they Cerberuses, since men of letters, like Orpheuses, know how to charm them, you need not fear the *entrée* into the cardinal's

library will not always be open to those who wish to visit the library. And as a proof that it is so, I remember having seen every day when it was open, eighty or one hundred who all studied there at once. But since literary men are easily rebuffed by the slightest noise or bustle, all their difficulties have been met by arranging a private entrance, open on the Rue Richelieu, over which will be engraved in letters of gold on a slab of black marble: *Entrez tous qui voulez lire, entrez.*

The contents of the shelves, and the marvellous trouble and expense with which the books were collected, is given by Naudé.

Its forty thousand volumes have been collected by the care of several kings and princes in Europe, by all the ambassadors that have set out from France these ten years, into the most remote parts. To tell you that I have made voyages into Flanders, Italy, England, and Germany, to bring hither whatever is rare and excellent, is little in comparison of the care which so many crowned heads have taken to forward the laudable designs of his Eminence.

He then gives some details of the collection :—

Two hundred Bibles translated into all sorts of languages ; a history the most complete and universal ever yet seen ; three thousand five hundred volumes of pure mathematics ; all the old and new editions of the classics, the fathers and the school-men ; the lawyers of one hundred and fifty provinces, most of them foreigners ; the synods of more than three hundred bishoprics ; for rituals and offices of the Church, an infinite number ; the laws and foundations of all religious houses, hospitals, communities, and confraternities ; the rules and practical secrets of all arts, both liberal and mechanic ; and manuscripts in all languages and all sciences.

At the bare thought of such untold literary and scientific lore being ruthlessly scattered, on Mazarin's property being confiscated in 1650, Naudé's paroxysms of grief knew no bounds. He did not confine himself, like Scott's 'Dominie Sampson,' to some customary exclamation, but calling forth his classic recollections graphically contrasted the forcible disturbance of the library with the destruction of the *Aeneid* or the sack of Constantinople ! And driven almost beside himself, 'his poet's eye in a fine phrenzy rolling,' saw in this attempted vandalism on the part of the *parlement*

something worse than the destruction of the *parlement* itself; and so he sings:—

Frangatur potius legum veneranda potestas
Quam tot congestos noctesque diesque labores
Hauserit una dies supremaque jussa senatus!

But, as we said, he was spared the anguish of seeing his folios removed, as the sale of some of them proved a very barren speculation. The institution of a public library is, however, but a part of what Mazarin did for the progress of the literary movement of his century. Passionately fond of the drama, he extended a liberal patronage to Corneille; Descartes, Voiture, and Balzac also received pensions from him. The opera, which was considered a novelty in England as late as 1726,¹ was introduced by Mazarin to Parisian audiences sometime before 1660. A pastoral² piece was performed at Issy and at Vincennes, in 1659, composed by the poet Perrin. Nearly all the people responsible for this representation were ecclesiastics. The poet himself was an ecclesiastic; so also was Lambert, who put the words to music; the singers were musicians from the cathedral; the stage manager (*machiniste*), the Marquis of Sourdeac, and Beaucamp, *l'auteur des ballets*. He established the *Collège des Quatre Nations*, so called from the four provinces, Alsace, Artois, Roussillon, and Pignerol, united to France by his instrumentality. The students of the four provinces were to receive somewhat of a university course in this college.

The means whereby Mazarin amassed his enormous wealth are considered by his critics as indefensible. His shameless rapacity is often insisted upon, and not a few anecdotes are told as instances of his petty meannesses. He let young Louis XIV. grow out of his clothes; the youth could never visit his sentries, as he had so few *pistoles* in his pocket. On the occasion of a visit paid to the *palais* by the queen and Mme. de Motteville, the latter mentions

¹ Date of John Gay's 'Beggars' Opera.'

² Cantu, *Histoire Univer.*, tome xvi., p. 45.

as an extraordinary circumstance, that she was allowed to partake of cake. Such parsimony however would never adequately account for his vast wealth, nor would it in the least justify the serious charges made against him. It is rather his handling of the public money that leaves his conduct censurable. Yet we must bear in mind the maxim that 'to understand a man aright, you must understand his age.' 'Shameless rapacity and unblushing bribery were amongst its marked characteristics, and no rank was too exalted to stoop to the practice of them. Queen, princes, peers, prelates, generals—everyone in short—begged without reserve, and accepted without gratitude.' Thus the services of the renowned Condé were bought for 500,000 crowns; those of Mme. de Chevreuse at 200,000 livres, quite an extraordinary sum; and several other instances are given in the cardinal's note-book. If Mazarin could secure people's goodwill and service by liberal donations, he was not improbably the recipient of lordly sums himself, and it is hard to explain such leaps and bounds from almost penury to affluence otherwise than by saying that he accommodated himself to the practices of his age, set a good price on his time and labour, and got what he asked. An extenuating consideration is contained in the fact that it was not unfrequent for the credit of the minister to be pledged for the service of the state, when the treasury became bankrupt. The result of this was that public and private money became confused, and ministers who had run risks for the state thought themselves justified in helping themselves liberally when opportunities arose for doing so. Modern financiers have not been slow to profit by the necessities of an eastern despot for instance, or the exigencies of a South American republic, and yet their conduct is not considered so blameworthy.

Mazarin gave the charge of his temporal affairs to Colbert. The letters of this financier give us the idea that the cardinal had great vicissitudes of fortune. Indeed it is quite problematical to read his complaints of the desperate state of Mazarin's domestic accounts and then to reckon up the huge sums left to heirs. Some of Colbert's details of

domestic economy are curious ; he writes to the cardinal one time :—

We have in the stables of your Eminence two large greyhounds which consume fourpence a day each. If your Eminence intends to give them away or return them it would be well to be rid of them as soon as possible.

At another time :—

We have three calves which are fed by six cows besides plenty of fresh eggs : the first would be excellent immediately. We have six dozen Indian fowls—as many pullets as cockerels which have been well kept and are excellent.

But notwithstanding this close attention to such homely matters the cardinal's expenditure seemed too difficult to cope with :—

I believe all you say [he remarks to Colbert] and I see that I spend more in a day than you can manage to economise in a couple of years, but I cannot *me refaire*.

These letters may refer to a fund specially reserved for certain domestic expenditure : anyhow, they show what manner of man Colbert was, and it may be that it was to his management of the cardinal's monies that the fine legacies of the Mancini and Martinozzi were due.

And who were the Mancini and the Martinozzi ? These were the ladies of fashion and the gallant young gentlemen who could call his Eminence '*mon oncle Mazarin*.' Never were people more fortunate from a worldly point of view than Mazarin's nieces. When we find the kings of France, England and Portugal seeking the hand of one or other of them, we see at a glance Mazarin's position in European court society ; for surely their own attractiveness, were it much greater than it is reported to have been, could scarcely account for this. The uncle's solicitude for them met with scant gratitude ; indeed the conduct of the nieces was a source of the greatest anxiety to him. One incident related of their sojourn at the *palais*, must have annoyed him beyond measure. They are said to have amused themselves one evening by throwing out of a window 300 *louis*, just for the sport of seeing the lackeys scramble for them below—a *petit*

jeu which reveals the frivolous character of these ladies, especially when we remember that this happened during the Fronde period when all Paris was howling at Mazarin, and his nieces, too, and calling the latter fish-hags, herring-girls and worse. They evidently knew and felt that under the wing of '*mon oncle*' they might laugh at the sneers of an angry populace. Their utter indifference to the cardinal's trouble about them is evinced by the statement of one of them, Hortense, who says quite heartlessly :—

You could not believe how much he was grieved at our want of religion. He argued every reason imaginable to inspire us with regard for it. If you will not go to Mass for your own sakes, he said, at least do so to gain the world's good opinion.

One would expect a little more sternness in his dealings with persons whose lives were to perpetuate his memory; but there was no such quality in his disposition. He was in this respect quite a contrast to the iron cardinal, his illustrious predecessor.

The arrangement of Louis XIV.'s marriage was, according to Mazarin himself, 'the most delicate affair he ever had to do with in his life.'¹ The Queen Regent was bent on Louis XIV. marrying the Infanta of Spain, and thus cementing an alliance which would be fraught with countless blessings; which would, in fact, make France the first power in Europe. Louis himself was equally determined on having no other than Marie Mancini for his wife. The suggestion of such a *mésalliance* was enough to make the queen's Spanish blood boil.

I do not believe, Sir Cardinal [she said to her minister] that the King is capable of such baseness; but if it were possible that the King should entertain the thought of it, I warn you that all France would rise in revolt against you and him, and that I would place myself at the head of the rebels.

Whether Mazarin was anxious for the match or not he held out against it with noble firmness; and it needed a strong hand to resist the repeated entreaties of the king made even on bended knee. The cardinal had declared the marriage was not to be, and forthwith Marie was compelled to leave

¹ *Lettres de Colbert.*

Paris. Yet this drastic remedy did not mend matters, so that the cardinal's anxiety grew daily lest the Spanish Court might get news of the affair and take umbrage thereat. He wrote most sensible and dignified letters to his sovereign, making him aware, in clear and outspoken sentences, of his responsibility as King of France ; while he scolded his niece in most emphatic language. His tact and patience were well-nigh drained to the dregs when Marie herself relieved her uncle's perplexity by renouncing once for all the alliance with Louis. The cardinal immediately started for the ceremonies of the king's nuptials, having sent Marie a letter extolling to the skies her prudent determination. The splendour of his retinue was, according to himself, a matter of astonishment to the Spaniards. On the entry of the bride and bridegroom into Paris, August 26th, 1660, Mazarin accompanied them, and his suite is said to have surpassed the royal household in magnificence. Numerous engravings commemorate this royal procession in which Mazarin's carriage, a sumptuous vehicle encrusted with goldsmith's work in silver gilt, is represented as empty. In fact it was so, as the minister was too ill to drive, being crippled with gout which he contracted in Spain during the negotiations previous to the treaty of the Pyrenees. During the three months immediately preceding Louis's marriage, he had felt the malarial district near Bidassoa, where he lived, telling severely on him. A complication of disorders set in and quite changed his habitual manner. The polished and eloquent courtier became a testy grumbler, and felt his best friends a burden to him.

Even the closing scenes of his life are held up to obloquy. An engraving represents his death-chamber as filled with gallants and gamblers, and on his bed an extemporized card-table ; and some would maintain that this was a just judgment on, and a most natural conclusion of a life so addicted to pastimes quite beneath the dignity he had assumed. We have no means of proving that cards were not played at his bedside, and that he was not visited by persons whom he had every right to wish far away. Yet it is unfair to conclude that religion had no part in the scenes that brought his life to a close. Nor is Mme. de Motteville's

testimony *qu'il faisait bonne mien à mort*, the only ground for taking a favourable view of his death.

When he heard that the end was approaching, he adopted a suggestion made by one of his physicians, that the quiet of the chateau of Vincennes would be better for him than the bustle and noise of the Palais-Mazarin; and so he bade adieu to his treasures, but not without many a long-drawn sigh. Robed in a great gown, the cardinal, now bereft of the beauty of his awe-inspiring figure, ashy pale, and wasted almost to emaciation, walked falteringly from his sleeping apartment. Gazing round on his treasures, he cried mournfully: '*Il faut quitter tout cela.*' He went on, and observing the Count de Brienne, who happened to be in the gallery through which he intended passing to the library, he called him over, and said to him: 'Give me your hand; I am very weak, and quite helpless.' Leaning on the count's arm, he pointed to his favourite old masters. 'See that beautiful Correggio, and this Titian, and this incomparable "Deluge" of Antonio Caracci. Ah! I must leave all this. Adieu, my pictures, which I have loved so well.' An unpublished manuscript¹ gives further particulars. According to this document the Duc de Gramont summoned, at his request, the curé of St. Nicholas des Champs six weeks before he died. On being admitted to see the cardinal the latter is said to have remarked to him: 'Father, you see here a terrible sufferer. God alone can put him in a state of salvation. Pray for me, that the sufferings which He sends may be useful to me.' And later he said: 'I rejoice that God has been pleased to preserve my senses, that I may feel my pains, and do a little penance.' He had the curé, M. Joly, called a second time, and expressed a wish that he would stay with him, and that he would die under his charge. And thus he passed away in his fifty-ninth year. He bequeathed great fortunes to his nieces; to the Pope he left 60,000 *livres* for the war against the Turks; to the king he willed twenty-eight diamonds, which continued to be called *Mazarins*, his pictures, and his tapestry; his *Collège de*

¹ Discovered by M. Clement in the library of St. Geneviève.

Quatre Nations received 800,000 crown pieces and his rich library. 'The king renounced this splendid inheritance, satisfied with a legacy more important for him—*la plenitude du pouvoir royal*.'¹

Mazarin's home policy was a failure. The Fronde, with its attendant miseries, was in a great measure due to him; and this revolt, in ruining the nobility, paved the way for the despotism of the 'Grand Monarque,' in virtue of which the latter could boast: '*L'état, c'est moi!*' And the result of Louis' grasping policy, the consequence of Mazarin's training, plunged Europe into the protracted and useless war of the Spanish Succession. Mazarin had not grand schemes for the internal government of France, as Richelieu had; he had none of his predecessor's originality. But yet his foreign policy was great. He could not be expected to foresee how France would progress after his death, when other hands took the helm of the state. In his own lifetime he made the name of France respected in the most powerful courts of Europe. He secured Cromwell as an ally, though at the expense of Dunkirk; he recovered the north-western cities of France; by the treaty of Oliva he established his country's influence in Sweden, Poland, and Brandenburg; in Germany, through Lionne, he formed the league of the Rhine against Austria; Spain was induced to make the treaty of the Pyrenees, as we saw. Hence, though flattery of the most transparent kind was in vogue in his time, Corneille could, with some truth, apply to him, adroitly alluding to his Italian birth, Virgil's celebrated line:—

Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento.

He cannot be taxed with ingratitude—a failing of many successful men. His rule was bloodless, and in this respect compares favourably with the gibbets of Richelieu. 'Rulers,' he said, 'have neither love nor hatred; their interests are the rule of their affections. With the same hand they strike and embrace in turn.'

E. J. CULLEN, C.M.

¹ M. Cantu, *Histoire Univer.*, tome xvi.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION: ITS CAUSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

V

SIR NEALE GARVE O'DONNELL

BEFORE proceeding to follow Sir Cahir in his raid upon the English, we must stop for a little to consider briefly the character of a man who more than any other had influenced his life, and at whose suggestion he had entered on his present ill-starred revolt. This man was Sir Neale or Niall Garve O'Donnell. Fired with ambition to be The O'Donnell, and to hold the place occupied by his kinsman and brother-in-law, Hugh Roe, this wretched man at an early stage in his career seemed to have sold himself body and soul to the English, with the hope that they would further his views and make him lord of Tyrconnell. He it was that urged the MacDevitts to steal away young Cahir O'Doherty from Red Hugh and hand him over to Docwra. He it was that during his almost constant intercourse with Cahir at Derry filled his mind with prejudices against the earls, and kept him as far as he could from associating with any of the Irish; and he it was, even more than Phelim Reagh MacDevitt, who urged on the present occasion the premature rebellion that ended in the early death of the young lord of Inishowen. Almost equal in duplicity to Chichester, whilst plotting with Sir Cahir the particulars of his rising and bargaining for his half of all the spoils of Derry and elsewhere, he at the same time was negotiating with the deputy for a grant of Inishowen on condition of bringing to him Sir Cahir's head. Thus when Sir Cahir was striking terror to the English ranks, we find these two consummate hypocrites engaged in the following Christian correspondence. In a letter dated from Castle Fynne, 25th April, 1608, Neale, after asking the deputy to have Tyrconnell handed over to him, and asking many other

favours besides, concludes by requesting that there would be given him—

Some command for himself and his brothers, such and so many as shall please his Lordship, to-gether with some good store of arms for his people; and that he will procure a grant from his Majesty of O'Dogherty's country to him and his heirs. He to-gether with his brothers, with such command as his Lordship shall bestow upon them, will undertake to bring in O'Dogherty's head or banish him the country for ever, without any hope of coming to the same again.

Chichester's reply is characteristic. A greater master of duplicity than even Neale Garve, he uses that base tool for his own selfish purposes, and holds out to him vague promises of reward which, of course, he had no intention of ever fulfilling. He thus writes :—

Sir, I have heard that Sir Cahir O'Dogherty is displeased with you for not joining with him. I had rather he should be so still, than that you should favour him or temporise with him. This State has long known you both, and I myself am no stranger to you. We ever held Sir Neale O'Donnell a greater and more powerful man than O'Dogherty; and therefore call unto you such of your friends as affect the King's service and country's welfare, and do some act upon him that may confirm the opinion held of you, and give good passage to the desires I have to do you good; and, if you merit it by your actions, you shall not propound for matters concerning your profit more liberally than I shall be ready to give you furtherance. Let the fact of O'Dogherty beget in you no other disposition than to hold him a damned and perjured creature, who has betrayed his gossip, broken the oath which he took voluntarily when he was made a member of that corporation which he has consumed, and transgressed the rules of duty and common honesty in being ungrateful to the King our master, who dealt graciously with him; besides he declares himself a beast in detaining the gentlewomen and suffering them to be stript of their apparel and disgracefully used,¹ a thing odious and damnable among the barbarous savages; all which and many the like considerations ought to make you disdain his fellowship, and to endeavour, by all the strength and means you can, to cut him off, as being an intolerable burthen for the earth. I spend too much time in dissuading you from a matter which no man of honour or ordinary capacity would once admit, and in

¹ How utterly false this was we see from the preceding statement of Lieutenant Baker.

deciphering such a desperate monster. I pray you endeavour the liberal usage and release of Mrs. Montgomery, the Lady Paulett, and the rest of the gentlewomen, the effecting whereof will beget you both commendation and friends, as it has purchased more enemies and shame unto O'Dogherty.—Dublin, 1 May, 1608.¹

The fate of Niall Garve was one worthy of such a Judas. Though seeming to trust him, the English were always upon their guard of him, justly considering that a man who had been so false to his own could not be true to them. During Sir Cahir's insurrection suspicion fell upon Niall, and he was taken prisoner on June 24th, 1608, on the charge of being implicated in that movement. The evidence against him was overwhelming. In the charge to be laid before the jury at his trial we find it stated :—

That he was a traitor before his protection there is no doubt. That he stirred O'Dogherty; put him into jealousy with the State that he should lose his head, willed him to go into rebellion; to sack and burn Derry, to spare no man; advised him to dispose of his men in both the forts, in the market places; to have the arms, to have half the share of the spoil, to have Birt Castle, &c.

Perhaps strongest of all in proving the complicity of Niall Garve in Sir Cahir's rising was the testimony of Ineen Dubh—the 'Black Maid,' or the 'Dark Daughter,' as she is called. Ineen Dubh was daughter of James McDonnell of Scotland, and mother of Red Hugh O'Donnell. She was a violent and vindictive woman, and was particularly bitter against Niall Garve (though her own son-in-law), inasmuch as she justly regarded him as a traitor to his clan, and as a principal cause of the ruin of her son. Her evidence before Bishop Montgomery, and her statement written in Irish and translated into English for that prelate's information, are fully given in the *State Papers* for that period. She was rewarded by the government, who made her a grant of land in her husband's territory of Tyrconnell.

Lady O'Doherty in her *Confession* bore testimony against him. 'She verily believes that Sir Neale joined with her husband in the whole plot of rebellion, and says, that after the burning of the Derry, messengers were daily

¹ *State Papers*, anno 1608.

sent between them.'¹ Neale was removed for trial to Dublin, as we learn from the following statement of the lord deputy and council to the lords of the Privy Council.

The King's 'Tramontane' returned from the north with Sir Neale O'Donnell and his two brothers, who are committed to safe custody in Dublin Castle, intending to proceed against them for breach of their protection. In the same ship was Mr. Treasurer (Sir Thomas Ridgeway), having seen the taking of Bert Castle, which was yielded up on sight of the cannon after some two or three shots with a demi-culverin, and all have submitted to the King's mercy. He has brought with him Lady O'Dogherty and her daughter, a sister of the traitor, her husband, the constable of that castle, and some few others.²

Later on we shall see the motives that induced Ridgeway to bring Neale Garve and Lady O'Doherty in the same vessel together to Dublin.

Neale was tried and, of course, convicted, but whilst others were executed, his life was spared in consideration of services he had rendered. He and his son were condemned, however, to be imprisoned for life in the Tower of London. Neale died in 1626, having lived a prisoner for eighteen years, vainly repining and eating his heart away, unpitied by his jailors, cursed at home by his clansmen, while his very name became a byword of reproach in future years as a traitor to his country. He was not without many good qualities, particularly affection for the members of his own family, and like all his race he was a man of courage; but an insane ambition for power blinded his understanding, and led him into the devious ways of political chicanery. Chichester used him as long as he served his purpose, and then flung him aside to rot in a prison cell of London Tower.

VI

SIR CAHIR TAKES THE FIELD

After Derry had been taken and plundered, the town was burned, with the exception of the church, which through reverence for St. Columba, was spared. Sir Cahir then returned to Culmore, taking with him nearly all those he had

¹ S. P. for 1608.

² S. P. July 2nd, 1603.

made prisoners, and generously proposing to them and to Captain Hart to place them on the opposite side of the Foyle, in order that they might proceed to Coleraine; a proposition which they gladly availed of. What a contrast here again between his conduct and that of Wingfield at Burt castle, a few weeks afterwards. Wingfield, notwithstanding his plighted word to spare the inmates on condition of peaceable surrender, put them, every one, to the sword, except they were able to pay a ransom for their lives.¹ Sir Cahir then garrisoned the place with a small number of men, and placed Phelim Reagh MacDevitt in charge of the fort. He had, in the meantime, sent messengers to several of the leading northern septs, inviting them to join him, but the heads of the families regarded the movement with suspicion, and kept aloof. His brother-in-law, however, young O'Hanlon of Orier, collected a band of about a hundred men to aid him, and from Tyrconnell a considerable number flocked to his standard, so that at the time he encountered the English at Kilmacrenan, in July, he had an army of more than eight hundred men. From Derry he set out towards Lifford, attacking the castle of Magainlyne on the way. The ruins of this castle, which is now called Mongavlin, are still standing on the western bank of the Foyle, about seven miles south of Derry. King James II. slept a night in this castle on his way to the siege of Derry. From Mongavlin he proceeded to Lifford, but that place was strongly fortified against him. On the news of the taking and burning of Derry spreading abroad, the English of the district had all fled to Lifford for safety.

Sir Josias Bodley thus describes their action :—

Captain John Vaughan, with his ten warders, upon the first alarm, quitted Donnalong, a weak and open place, six miles from the Derry, and as far from the Liffer, and got him to the Liffer. The Scots who dwelt at Strabane fired their own habitations, and took the Liffer for their refuge, where Sir Richard Hansard lies with his company. There is a small sconse, well ditched and watered, and in good repair, which is held by the soldiers; another, somewhat ruined, is about a bow-shot off, which is manned and

¹ MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*.

made defensible by the Scots and such as fled thither. The town lies between both. Sir Neale Garve, who plays yet at fast and loose, has swept away all our cows to keep them, as he pretends, from O'Dogherty, who, by letters yesterday received from Sir Richard Hansard, was four days past within three miles' march of the town, with two pieces of artillery and five hundred men, speaking big words. But there seems little danger in his attempt there, the defendants being six or seven score foot, and forty or fifty horse, sufficiently provided of victuals and munition.¹

The characteristic courage of Englishmen is here well-exemplified in the speedy flight of Captain John Vaughan and his warders from Dunalong on the first sound of danger.

Sir Cahir, finding that with his then small force he could not take Lifford, marched southward. He took and burned the town of Kynard, some distance from Dungannon, and would have attacked this latter town only through respect for its owner. His forces were augmented by those of his brother-in-law, O'Hanlon, and others, and, as Chichester, in his letter to the council describing these events, tells us—

With that conceit and pride he came into Tyrone, and joined with the rest, who had revolted in that country and Armagh, and so advanced towards the Pale, where he did some small hurt to the well-affected, and threatened much more to those in Tyrone and Armagh, where he made his stay some eight or ten days, fondly thinking that he [Chichester] would withdraw the forces out of Tyrconnell to prosecute him in Tyrone. . . . When they understood the course he [Chichester] had taken, and that he meant to come down in person, they withdrew themselves somewhat before the horse came to Armagh, and returned again into Tyrconnell.²

Sir Cahir appears to have then retired to Doe castle, which he had previously secured, in order to recruit his forces. It was when there that he heard of the taking of Burt castle by Wingfield, and from there, or from Glenveagh, that he wrote to O'Gallagher, the head of a powerful Donegal sept. The letter was intercepted by the English, and has thus been preserved for us. It was written in

¹ *S. P.* for 1608.

² Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lords of the Council, *S. P.*, 1608.

Irish, but was faithfully translated into English, and runs thus :—

The commendation of O'Doghertie unto O'Galchure [O'Gallagher]. I would have you understand that if you have any hope here or hereafter of your foster-son¹ and your earthly lord,² or the good of O'Doghertie, then cause your sept and yourself to aid O'Doghertie. You may the easier perform this, because the churls [meaning the English] have no courage, but what encouragement Neal Art Oge's sons and Tyrconnell have given them. Now that we have given them over, we make no reckoning of them. Let no man imagine we are any weaker for losing Birte castle, unless we may take thought of the inconstantness of such as he trusted of his own people whom now he little regards. Be it known to you, O'Galchure, O'Doghertie desires you should possess anything which the Earl makes account of, rather than any man else of Tyrconnell, because the Earl so desires it. What answer you make to these matters and concerning Lough Easke, send it in writing, or by word of mouth, betwixt this and the next morning.—From Bally-Aghtranyll.

CAHIR O'DOHERTIE.

Truly translated out of Irish. This letter was written the 28th of June, about which time Sir Henry Folliot had Lough Easke delivered to him by O'Galchure, chief of his name.³

In the meantime, the lord deputy and the government were thoroughly alarmed. They believed, or pretended to believe, that this movement of Sir Cahir was but part of a preconcerted conspiracy entered into between him and the fugitive earls, and Chichester industriously spread this report so as to lend a greater importance to his own efforts in suppressing the rebellion. No person knew better than Chichester the falsity of the charge of complicity between the lord of Inishowen and O'Neill and O'Donnell, first, because O'Doherty had been reared in hostility to the earls both by Dowcra and Neale Garve; secondly, because a short time before he had been foreman of the jury at Lifford which had brought in a *prima facie* charge of treason against these same earls; and, lastly, because, as Father Meehan remarks, the earls

Were on their way to Rome when it [Cahir's outbreak] commenced, and that soon after their arrival there, when O'Dogherty was in

¹ Tyrconnell's child.

² Tyrconnell.

³ S. P. for 1668.

arms, O'Donel and his brother were hopelessly ill of fever, which ultimately carried them off. In the presence of such awful circumstances, it is not at all likely that O'Neill would have concerned himself with the misdoings of Sir Cahir or Niall Garve, for neither of whom he could have entertained any feeling but contempt and abhorrence. Nevertheless, Chichester pretended to believe that the rising in Inishowen was only the prelude to a general insurrection throughout the whole island, where, when the first act was played out, O'Neill would be sure to debark with aids obtained from the King of Spain, at the urgent instance of Paul V.¹

Accordingly he sent a force of four thousand soldiers under Sir Richard Wingfield and a number of other generals to harass O'Doherty's territory of Innishowen. These came to Culmore where Phelim Reagh MacDevitt had been placed in charge. MacGeoghegan thus narrates the event:—

In the meantime [Wingfield], an English field-marshal, appeared with four thousand men before Culmor, to lay siege to it; MacDavet, the commander, seeing his own inferiority in numbers, and that the place was defenceless, and being without any hope of aid from O'Dogherty, set fire to the castle. He then sailed with his little garrison on board two transport vessels, which he loaded with corn and other provisions for Derry. He also carried off some of the cannon of Culmor castle, and had the rest thrown into the sea.

Winkel finding the castle of Culmor demolished [continues MacGeoghegan], marched against the castle of Beart, with the intention of besieging it. Mary Preston, the wife of O'Dogherty, and daughter of Viscount Gormanstown, was in the place. A monk who had the command of it, either from distrust in its strength, or to save the lady from the frightful effects of a siege, surrendered the castle, on the condition of the garrison being spared, and suffered to retire; but the English, regardless of the treaty, put every soul to the sword, except those that had means of purchasing their liberty. The wife of O'Dogherty was sent to her brother the Viscount, who belonged to the English faction. The taking of this place was of importance to Winkel; it served him for a retreat, from which he made occasional incursions upon the district of Inishowen, spreading desolation everywhere as he passed.

The account of the English proceedings as given by the cynical and heartless Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the treasurer,

¹ *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

in his letter to the lord deputy, is much more explicit than the story given by MacGeoghegan. Having described their coming to Derry, which they found in ruins, and having told how they re-edified it, brought back the people and made them much more comfortable than they had been before, he proceeds:—

Hence they went to the traitor's castle and town of Elough, which, though strong by situation and by the extraordinary thickness of the wall and bank about it, they found (contrary to their expectations) evacuated; where not staying an hour, they slipped out presently to Kilmore, under the custody and constableness of Phelimagh Reagh; and yet (notwithstanding the like strength of the castle itself, as also of the fort which was flanked and fortified more than before, his brags to keep and maintain it or to leave his bones there, and the help of nine pieces of ordnance in it), within twenty-four hours after their approach, he set the timber work on fire, and ran away by the light in boats (to their great grief, who would have had their heads or lost their own);—a course which could not be prevented, as no boats or shipping of theirs were there to withstand them. . . . From Elough they sent out a party by Phelimagh Reagh's town to Donnagh and Malyn, the one sixteen and the other twenty-four miles from Elough, to scour the country and their Creaghts. From their being advertised by letters that Phelimagh Reagh was lurking about, and that O'Dogherty himself meant to set on them to rescue their prey, if they did not presently second and relieve them, they posted thither, leaving a sufficient number behind to defend the munition, carriages, &c., and to make good the place; where, after they had increased the prey to one thousand cows, between two thousand and three thousand sheep, and three-hundred or four hundred garrans, they returned, killing some seven or eight swordsmen of the enemy, the rest not being to be found for love or money, no, not so much as in the threatened fastness itself, the next day, in their return back again.

The next day twelve or thirteen of them rode to another town and castle of his, named Boncranough [Buncrana], eight miles from Elough; from whence the inhabitants immediately flying, save a few old galliats [calliaghs]¹ and b—s, and because it was the place of betraying Captain Hart, and in consequence of this trouble, they could not abstain from burning it, as well from anger as example's sake. Howbeit the walls of the castle stand firm, and will soon be made a good receptacle for such as the King shall send there.

Having cleared all Inishowen, as well the towns and castles

¹ Old hags.

before mentioned, as also the White Castle, Red Castle, and Green Castle (reserving only Beart Castle to his proper time, which they invested often, both to secure the safety of their men, who are prisoners there, and to keep the rebels in it from running away), they passed at Kilmacrenagh into Tyrconnell, and went into McSwyne O'Fannet and McSwyne O'Doe's country in chase of O'Dogherty, etc.

He then describes their return to Burt castle, the refusal of the garrison to yield to them, the terms of surrender proposed by those inside the castle, and at last the unconditional surrender of the inmates, who only asked not to be disturbed for the night. This Ridgeway concedes, taking care, however, to place his men in the ditches around the castle that no one might escape from it during the night.

And in the morning accordingly [he says], at break of day, they entered by the iron gate and received out of the said castle, besides four score old galliats [calliaghs],¹ young queans, and infant b——s (this it seems being the receptacle for the remains of Inishowen), the constable of the castle, who is of the same name and sept as Reagh, one Phelim O'Dogherty, a monk, fourteen warders, three churls, a servant of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's, the Lady O'Dogherty, her only daughter, a sister of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's, their nurse, a waiting gentlewoman; and of their own (taken at the Derry) the poor Lord Bishop's captive wife and Captain Brooke's son. The two last they returned unto their owners. The Lady O'Dogherty, her child, her sister-in-law, and gentlewoman, the constable of the castle, and Sir Cahir's servant, and a boy, he [Ridgeway] brought home with him, taking their several examinations on the ship as he came.

Ridgeway then explains his reasons for bringing all these persons by sea instead of sending them under convoy by land, but one prime motive was 'to observe the passages, and the ferocious invectives of the Lady O'Dogherty against Sir Neale Garvey O'Donnell, for the persuading of her husband to his treacherous revolt,' etc. We observe here the refinement of cruelty practised by the treasurer in bringing the prisoner, Neale Garve, in the same vessel with Lady O'Doherty and her sister-in-law; and the pleasure he derived from listening to the 'ferocious invectives,' as he terms them, of this deeply-injured lady against the man

¹ Old hags.

who had brought ruin on the ancient and honoured house of O'Doherty. It was no doubt for his conduct in this raiding of Inishowen, and especially for his treatment of Lady O'Doherty and her fellow-prisoners on board the 'Tramontane,' that he was soon afterwards honoured with an earldom. For meanness and utter heartlessness Ridgeway stands on a par with Sir John Davies.

VII

THE DEATH OF SIR CAHIR

Hearing of the devastation of Inishowen by the forces of Wingfield, and of the merciless robbery and slaughter of its inhabitants by Ridgeway, as well as of the taking of Burt castle by the latter, Sir Cahir resolved to go to the assistance of his people in the old peninsula, and to clear the English marauders out of it. With this intent he set out from Glenveagh, and had gone as far as Kilmacrenan, when he came across the English forces sent by the deputy to crush him. That the government thought more seriously than did Chichester of the danger to the state caused by Sir Cahir's rebellion is evident from the number of forces they sent to meet him, as well as from their sending their ablest generals to conduct those forces. And there is no doubt there was extreme danger had the life of the hapless youth been spared. The movement in his favour was spreading throughout the provinces, and soon his little army would have swollen to large proportions. The down-trodden and oppressed people in the south and west but waited the opportunity to cast off the yoke of English domination; and all that was wanting was the leader to marshal them for battle. In the lord of Inishowen they saw the man they required. Young, chivalrous, well trained under Docwra to the use of arms, fearless of danger, he was just the general to lead them to victory, and to free their country of their hated rulers. He had shown his strategical tact and prowess at the very outset in the taking of Culmore and Derry, and above all, he had manifested a clemency and magnanimity in dealing with the conquered that it would

have been well his enemies had imitated. Placed, unfortunately, in his early boyhood under the care of Docwra, surrounded by English officials at the time his mind was most susceptible of impressions, honoured with knighthood while yet a mere youth, it is no wonder that he did not display any early feelings of patriotism. He still, it is true, kept on affectionate terms with his clansmen, who looked up to him as their liege lord; but from his training there was not that friendship that there should have been between him and the neighbouring chieftains. All too soon, however, he learned his fatal mistake. He saw those false friends, whom he had foolishly trusted, deprive him of his lands, grossly insult him, treat him as a traitor; and he found, moreover, that he could get no redress for his many wrongs. The war-like spirit of his father was roused within him; the dauntless courage of Shane O'Neill, his grandfather, was revived in the grandson, and he determined to strike a blow not only for his own rights, but for the rights of his country as well. His quondam friends were now his revilers, and no terms of abuse were spared to characterize his ingratitude and his cruelty. But what was written of his grandfather might, with equal truth, have been written of him:—

He was 'turbulent' with traitors—he was 'haughty' with the foe—

He was 'cruel,' say ye Saxons? Ay, he dealt ye blow for blow!

He was 'rough' and 'wild,' and who's not wild, to see his hearthstone razed?

He was 'merciless' as fire—ah, ye kindled him, he blazed!

He was 'proud': yes, proud of hirthright, and because he flung away

Your Saxon stars of pryncedom, as the rock does mocking spray.

He was wild, insane for vengeance, ay! and preached it till Tyrone

Was ruddy, ready, wild, too, with 'Red Hands' to clutch their own.¹

We hear it repeated, *usque ad nauseam*, that his uprising was a rash, impetuous act; that his rebellion was premature

¹ *Shane's Head*, by John Savage.

and without preparation; and that it indicated a want of prudence, since he might have known that he could not cope with the forces of England. We admit it was rash and premature; but it must be remembered that Sir Cahir was a hot-blooded youth of only one-and-twenty, that he had been purposely goaded into rebellion by the wily Chichester and his myrmidons for their own selfish ends; that he had been robbed of his lands, and had, moreover, been grossly insulted, so that had he not risen to defend himself, and to assert his rights, he must have either been less than a man or more than human.

When carefully examined by the light of contemporary documents his character stands out in bold relief. He was honourable, high-minded, and humane; his faith and spotless morals have never been questioned, even by his enemies; whilst his skill as a general, and his courage as a soldier, have been ever admitted alike by friend and foe. Had his life been spared, he would have staggered British power in Ireland, for, with the disaffected from every part of the country flocking to his standard, he would soon have commanded an army more powerful than any that James could send against him. It is evident that the deputy foresaw this, for he determined to come down in person to the north in order to direct the fortunes of the war.

In a letter to the lords of the Council he tells us:—

When they understood the course he [Chichester] had taken, and that he meant to come down in person, they withdrew themselves somewhat before the horses came to Armagh, and returned again into Tyrconnell.

This day he took a review of the forces which were to attend him in this journey upon the Lurgan, a place three miles from this place [Dundalk] as well of the risings out of the five shires of the Pale, as of those in the King's pay; before he had fully ended that business, which was about four o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Henry Vaghan [Vaughan] came to him with letters from Sir Richard Wingfield, the Marshal, and Sir Oliver Lambert, signifying that at Kilmacrenan they had some days preceding attended the arrival of the hoy from Loughswilly with the demi-cannon, with which they meant to attempt the regaining of the Castle of Doe, and that yesterday (being Tuesday and the 5th of the month) the traitor drew near to them with all the forces he could make, and made show of himself upon the

side of a strong fastnage (*sic*), the ways being impossible for horse to serve upon them. They beheld him awhile, but after a little time they drew out some three hundred foot (whereof the greater part were of this country by birth); and taking their horses to give countenance to the business, they entertained a hot skirmish on both sides for half an hour, but more bloody to them than to his [Chichester's] men, far short of theirs in number; by which the traitor was beaten, and himself and his ensign, and good store of his crew slain, and others taken prisoners. His body was discovered by their men (albeit his trusty follower put fair to carry it away) which shall be divided, and his quarters put up for signs at the Derry; his head shall be brought unto him [Chichester], and further disposed of as they [the Council] shall direct. Captain Vaghan can say no more, for he came thence as soon as he had knowledge of this much, and left their men in pursuit of the traitor's crew, which was about seven hundred when they began their flight. Hopes to give them a good account of the rest in a few days, for they shall hardly escape him, whatever shift they make.

Sir John Davies, writing to Salisbury the joyful tidings of Sir Cahir's death, in the style of a true astrologer thus narrates the event:—

The day after they [*i.e.*, the lord deputy and his party] began this journey, they received news of O'Doghertie's death, which happened not only on the 5th day of the month, but on a Tuesday; ¹ but the Tuesday eleven weeks, that is seventy-seven days after the burning of the Derry, which is an ominous number, being seven elevens, and eleven sevens; besides, it happened at the very hour, if not at the same instant, that the Lord Deputy took horse to go against him.²

It is in this same letter that Davies' mentions an occurrence that took place at Dungannon:—

In this place [says he] a monk, who was a principal counsellor to O'Dogherty, and was taken in Birt Castle, voluntarily, in the sight of all the people, cast off his religious habit and renounced his obedience to the Pope; whereupon the Deputy gave him his life and liberty.

A sentence or so after he writes:—

In the county of Colerane they held their third session, where, after they had indicted such as are now in rebellion, they found

¹ Geraldus Cambrensis notes that Tuesday was ever a fortunate day for the English in the conquest of Ireland.—Note by Editors of *S. P.*

² *S. P.* From the camp near Coleraine, 5th August, 1608.

no extraordinary business, but that O'Cahane's priest and ghostly father, being taken in action of rebellion with Shane Carragh O'Cahane, was indicted, tried, and executed for treason, and so taught the people better doctrine by the example of his death, than he had ever done in all his life before. He excepted to their jurisdiction, affirming that the secular power could not condemn a priest for any offence whatsoever; but the country saw that point of judgment falsified, both by his judgment and execution.

The Four Masters state that Sir Cahir was slain on the 18th July, and moreover that 'he was cut into quarters between Derry and Cuil-mor, and his head was sent to Dublin to be exhibited.' Neither statement is correct. The 5th not the 18th of July was the date of his death; and it would have been unmeaning to take his body all the way from Doon, where he fell, to a spot between Derry and Culmore in order to cut it into quarters. It is not at all likely that they troubled themselves about his body when they got his head, for which a reward of £500 was offered and paid, at the same time as was offered a reward of £200 for the head of Phelim Reagh MacDevitt, which was also paid. It is more probable that Sir Cahir's body, as Father Meehan asserts, was buried by his followers after the conflict was over in the spot where he fell. O'Sullivan says that he lived two hours after he was wounded, and received the last sacraments. This is most improbable; but as Father O'Mullarky accompanied him in this expedition, it is quite likely that he had time to absolve the dying warrior before he expired. MacDevitt, who had followed his fortunes so faithfully during life, clung to him with equal fidelity in death.

In the scuffle for his corpse [writes Father Meehan] it is recorded to the honour of his foster-brother, by an eye-witness, that Phelim Reagh 'bestrid it,' and never abandoned it till the instinct of self-preservation urged him to provide for his own safety. Sir Cahir's head was immediately struck off, and sent to Dublin, where it was 'set on a pole on the east gate of the city, called Newgate.'

On receipt of the news of O'Doherty's death, Chichester

¹ *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

lost no time in issuing a proclamation, which like many another precious document is carefully embalmed in the pages of the *State Papers*. It runs as follows :—

Copy of the Proclamation published by the Lord Deputy upon the killing of the traitor O'Dogherty.

By the Lord Deputy.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God so to bless the King's army in pursuit of that rebel O'Doghertie, that on Tuesday last, being the 5th of this present month of July, the said O'Doghertie was happily slain at a place called Kilmacrenan in the county of Tyrconnell, wherein God hath not only shown His just judgment upon this treacherous creature, but doth plainly declare to this nation and to all the world, that shame and confusion is the certain and infallible end of all traitors and rebels.

We have, therefore, thought fit not only to notify and publish the killing of the said traitor to all the King's good and loyal subjects, but also (in regard the adherents and followers of the said O'Doghertie in his late rebellion are now broken and scattered, and are like to put themselves and their goods under the wing and protection of such as have continued in their obedience) we do forewarn all good subjects that none of them presume to relieve, entertain, receive, or protect any person or persons whatsoever who have been actors, counsellors, or followers of the said O'Doghertie in his late action of rebellion, upon pain to be reputed and adjudged traitors in as high a degree as the said O'Doghertie himself or any his adherents. Notwithstanding, we hereby promise that whosoever shall deliver, or bring unto us, the lord deputy, or any of the King's principal commanders or officers of his army, the body or bodies of such person or persons, or owners of such goods or creaghtes, shall have for his reward not only the King's pardon, but also all the goods of such person or persons whom he shall so deliver or bring unto us, Phelim Reaugh McDavid only excepted, who must expect no pardon ; but whosoever shall bring in his head, or deliver his body alive, shall have the full benefit of our former proclamation in that behalf.—Dundalk, 7th July, 1608.

Scarcely had the news of Sir Cahir's death reached Chichester when he despatched, through his trusty servants, a petition to London asking for the grant of Inishowen to be made to him. At the same time, to expedite matters, Sir Thomas Ridgeway (he who had taken Burt castle and perpetrated such iniquities in Inishowen, and who, in reward of his many crimes, was created Earl Londonderry) was deputed to take down a commission under the Great Seal to

inquire *super visum corporis* of O'Doherty as to whether he had died in rebellion, because in Ireland so to die was an attainder in law. 'And thus were avoided all the delays in entitling the King to O'Dogherty's lands and goods that occurred in the Earl of Tyrone's and Tyrconnell's cases, which took up almost the whole time till O'Dogherty's revolt.'¹

Thus, then, died this hapless chieftain in the very dawn of opening manhood, and when hope held out to him the prospect of many and glorious years in the future. Like a noble barque sweeping majestically over the waves with the hope of soon entering port after a prosperous voyage, but which, striking unexpectedly on a hidden rock, goes down with all her crew into the seething abyss of ocean; so sank the noble lord of Inishowen in the pride and beauty of youth, and with him the glory of his clan was swept away for ever. The banner which had waved triumphantly over the Clan-Fiamuin for twelve hundred years fell at last, bathed in his heart's blood, from the nerveless hand of Sir Cahir; and the broad lands which for ages had owned the sway of O'Doherty were transferred to one of the vilest of the many vile creatures with which British rule has cursed our country.

VIII

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF SIR CAHIR'S DEATH

Though Sir Cahir was slain, and consequently the greatest obstacle in Chichester's way removed, still the latter could not rest satisfied till every vestige, as far as possible, of the clan and their allies was utterly destroyed. Orders were given by the deputy to pursue the scattered remains of O'Doherty's forces, and to root them out of the land. This led to a massacre little known or spoken of, but one of the most atrocious with which Chichester is associated. In their preface to the *Calendar of State Papers* for the period from 1608 to 1610, the learned editors—Dr. Russell of Maynooth, and Mr. Prendergast—relate the ghastly story, and as no words could convey it in clearer language, we

¹ Preface to *S. P.*, p. lxi.

shall transcribe their narrative in its entirety. They thus write :—

There is one episode of this miserable struggle, however, of which nothing seems to have been known hitherto, and which is related in a most characteristic despatch of Sir Henry Folliott to Chichester; the capture and destruction of the last remnant of the followers of O'Dogherty, who had taken refuge in Torry, an island in the open Atlantic, about ten miles from the north coast of Donegal. The principal of these was Shane Manus Oge O'Donnell, who was the most prominent of the sept after the departure of the fugitives, and who is represented by Chichester as 'ambitious to be created O'Donnell, if means and occasions were answerable to the design.' On the dispersion of the main body, Shane MacManus Oge, with about two hundred and forty followers well armed, betook himself to 'the islands of Claudie,' hoping there to be safe and difficult to come at, and to increase in number and reputation after their departure. Chichester drew his forces around so as to invest them completely; and MacManus, finding himself hardly beset, retired with a party of some sixty armed men, into the island of Torraghe (Torry), where he had a well victualled and furnished castle. This island stands some two or three leagues from the main shore, and contains about four quarters of land. It is strongly situated by nature, and has such a current of tides about it, that ships very seldom can cast anchor near it. The castle stands separate from the great island, 'upon a lesser islet, a steep rock, containing, likewise, a small circuit of land.' Having first broken their boats, Chichester left Sir Henry Folliott, Sir Ralph Bingley, and Captain Paul Gore, with several parties of soldiers, about two hundred in all, 'to watch their opportunities upon the main land, and to prevent the rebels' escape by currockes (corrachs), or boats made of hides, which they use.' They then 'searched and harrowed' the island of Claudie, and in his return Chichester 'took in Loughveagh, where were twenty rebels that kept it, and ruined their island and fort.' He states that the principal man that held the fort—one of the O'Gallaghers—killed three or four of his best associates after he yielded up the island; for which service Chichester took him into protection. And he adds with characteristic *sang froid*, that 'he held this practice with these rebels in all places where he came, and found it moresuccessful than any force; such is their levity and great fear when they are prosecuted with effect.'¹

But the consummation of the tragedy was reserved for the island of Torry, to which the main body had withdrawn, and which Chichester had surrounded with parties of surveillance. The story is told by Folliott, and we shall give the chief incidents in

¹ *Calendar*, vol. iii., p. 27.

his own words. The readers of Mr. Froude's *History of England* will remember the terrible picture which he draws of the massacre in Rathlin island, under Essex, in July, 1575.¹ The tragedy of Torry differs in the number of victims, which was comparatively small; but, if we regard the hideous condition attached to the offer of pardon—disgraceful alike to the butchers who imposed it, and to the wretches by whom it was carried into effect—which condition, as may be inferred from Chichester's despatch just quoted, was offered under his direction, the transaction is hardly surpassed in atrocity by the more wholesale enormities of the older story.

Folliott, having explained and apologised to Chichester for suffering the escape of the principal body of the fugitives from the island, proceeds with his narrative. A constable and warders remained in the castle after the flight of the rest.

'The next day, after his coming and viewing the castle and grounds about it, the constable called to Sir Mallmory McSwyne [then in Sir Henry Folliott's force], and entreated him to procure him leave to speak to him, promising to perform good service; on which he suffered him to come; and at his coming, he asked him what he would do to save his life and the rest that were with him; after many excuses of Shane M'Manus Oge's innocence, and his being forced to remain there, he offered the castle, with all that was in it, for safety of their lives. But of this he [Sir Henry] made small account, considering it as the King's already. But he made him this proffer: if he would undertake the bringing to him Shane M'Manus Oge's head, and give him good security for the performance of it, he would undertake they should have their pardons. He [the constable] protested he could by no means perform it, but promised to do the best he could in that or anything else for the King's service.'

Folliott then ordered him to go back, but for a long time he refused to go—

'Still entreating for mercy, urging his unfortunate stay there, and his innocence, with his forwardness to do anything that lay in his power.'

In the end Folliott promised the constable his life, on condition of his delivering up the castle and the warders:—

'He spoke of the difficulty of this in respect of the numbers; but withal promised him seven of their heads, with the castle and all that was in it, within two hours.'

And here occurs one of the most shocking incidents of this shocking tragedy. Before Sir Henry dealt with the constable for the heads of all his men, Captain Gore had dealt with McSwyne (another of the garrison), and had fixed the same terms. This McSwyne came with the constable to the camp.

'So they departed,' continues Sir Henry, 'each of them being

¹ Froude's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 185.

well assured and resolved to cut the other's throat ; by ill-hap to McSwyne, it was the constable's fortune to get the start of the others, and he killed two of them ; instantly the rest of them fled into the island, hiding themselves among the rocks and cliffs ; and at break of day he caused them to look for them, giving them two hours for the bringing in of their heads without the assistance of any of the soldiers, otherwise their own were like to make up the number promised by them. After a little search they found three of them in a rock, the passage to which was so dangerous that he had well hoped it would have cost the most of their lives ; but the constable, with the first shot he made, killed the principal ; the other two men ran towards Sir Henry's men. One of them promising some service, but of little moment, he delivered him again to the constable to be hanged ; and as he was being led to execution, the desperate villain, with a skione [skeane] he had secretly about him, stabbed the constable to the heart, who never spake a word, and was afterwards himself, with the other three, cut into pieces by the other ; and so there was but five that escaped ; three of them churls, and the other two young boys.' ¹

The foregoing is a fair sample of the merciful and honourable mode of dealing with the Irish pursued by Chichester and his myrmidons ! Not satisfied with the slaughter of the hapless young chieftain, 'like the ghou of the east, with quick scent for the dead' he would 'come to feed at his grave' by destroying, if possible, every remnant of his clan and adherents. Treachery and deceit, cruelty of the most revolting nature, and a policy dictated by the most thorough selfishness, were the weapons he employed to exterminate the natives. If these evil qualities of his were kept slightly in abeyance whilst the earls were still at home and Sir Cahir was alive, their removal from the scene gave free scope to the indulgence of his fiendish malignity. His persecution of Catholics, and especially of priests, became intolerable after Sir Cahir's death. Writing to Salisbury, he thus expresses himself :—

If I have observed anything during my stay in this kingdom, I may say it is not lenity and good works that will reclaim the Irish, but *an iron rod*, and severity of justice for the restraint and punishment of those firebrands of sedition, the priests ; nor can we think of other remedy but to proclaim them, and their relieves and harbourers, traitors.

¹ *Calendar*, vol. iii., pp. 35-6.

In the midst of all his deeds of murder and heartless cruelty, he never for a moment lost sight of the darling object of his ambition—the acquisition of the lands of the ill-fated Sir Cahir. Thus we find that when the commissioners appointed for the surveying and dividing of the escheated counties met at Derry, and when, unable to agree on certain points, they adjourned to ‘the Liffer,’ instead of accompanying them immediately, he remained behind to feast his eyes on this land of promise after which his heart for years had so anxiously yearned.

Chichester [says Hill] went on Saturday, the 2nd of September, to look about him in the barony of Inishowen, where he seems to have spent three days, not appearing at the Liffer till Tuesday, the 5th. He was naturally anxious to take a good look at that vast and romantic region now destined to become his own, and, although a very pious man, it is doubtful whether he did not spend that intervening Sunday galloping hither and thither through the accessible portions of Inis-Eoghan.¹

We saw that immediately on the news of Sir Cahir's death Chichester had despatched messengers to the king asking for the territories of O'Doherty, but the request was not granted at once. Another claimant, not for Inishowen, but for justice for the territories taken from him, came before the king, and his majesty determined to compensate him by giving him the lands of Inishowen. In his *Colville Family in Ulster*, Mr. John M. Dickson thus narrates the circumstance:—

MacQuillin of Antrim had been deprived of his estates though he had never taken any part in the rebellion. Finding that, in case of wrongful seizure, no Irish landowner had any legal remedy in his own country, MacQuillin (being then 102 years of age, and quite blind) made his way to London, in 1605, to seek for justice from the king himself, who must have been moved by his pathetic figure, as he gave him promises of some compensation, which the old man did not live to see carried out. However, in 1608, King James commissioned his deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, to inform his grandson, Rory Oge MacQuillin, that the territory of Inishowen, in Donegal (confiscated from Sir Cahir O'Dogherty), should be transferred to him. It seems the idea of entering on the patrimony of his friend and fellow-sufferer,

¹ Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 173.

O'Dogherty, was repulsive to MacQuillin's sense of honour, This sentimental reluctance was very convenient for the wily Chichester, who doubtless warmly encouraged it, as he had already determined to have Inishowen to himself. Having already, among other pickings, got the lands of Clanaghertie assigned to himself, he induced MacQuillin to take it in exchange for the much more valuable Inishowen.¹

Some years after Chichester induced the king to take back these lands from MacQuillin and bestow them on Sir Faithful Fortescue, the deputy's own nephew.

At last, as we find recorded in a 'Minute to the Lord Deputy,' given in the *State Papers* under date April 5th, 1609, 'On consideration, they [the members of the Council] propose to grant to the lord deputy and his heirs, the entire barony of Inishowen, called O'Doghertie's country, Co. Donegal, in the same manner as the late traitor, or his father, Sir John O'Dogherty, held the same.' Chichester took care to secure Inch along with the rest, though it had been leased to Sir Ralph Bingley.

The fate of Phelim Reagh McDevitt was in some respects less deplorable than that of his young friend and chieftain, Sir Cahir. Chichester, as we have already seen, had ordered in his proclamation that MacDevitt was, if possible, to be taken alive, but that no mercy would be extended to him. He desired to have the fiendish satisfaction of torturing to death him whom he regarded as the instigator of Sir Cahir's revolt. The mockery of a trial was given him, after which he was executed at Lifford, on the 27th September, 1608. O'Sullivan tells us that life and wealth were offered him if he would renounce the Catholic faith, but he firmly declined, preferring to die a martyr for his religion rather than purchase life at the cost of eternal reprobation. Let us hope that by his death he expiated the fatal mistake he made in handing over the young Cahir to the care of Docwra, and in giving to that English governor such powerful assistance in subduing the natives. That his attachment to his young lord was most unswerving and unselfish is beyond question; that he safe-guarded the faith

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v., new series.

of the boy in his arrangements with Docwra is quite clear ; but that the step he took in handing him over to Sir Henry was blind in the extreme and fraught with the worst consequences to his country, the subsequent history of events but too certainly prove.

Were we writing a biography of Sir Cahir, many points omitted here would be introduced, but as it is merely what is connected with his so-called rebellion, and with the vindication of his character from the foul charge of cruelty and murder brought against him, that we are concerned, we, of necessity, have to pass over the many interesting details that go to form a biography.

In the second edition of Father Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 298, there is given a copy of a well-authenticated pedigree of the O'Doherty family, beginning with Sir Cahir. This pedigree is preserved in the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle. From it, it appears that John, the youngest brother of Sir Cahir, married Eliza, daughter of Patrick O'Cahan, of Derry, and left three sons. Their descendants ultimately went to Spain, where their lineage is still probably to be found.

After Sir Cahir's death, 'the kinsmen of Sir Cahir's widow,' [as Father Meehan relates on the authority of the *State Papers*], petitioned the Irish government to make provision for her out of the broad lands which by her husband's revolt were declared forfeited to the crown. Chichester supported their prayer, and the lords of the Privy Council, in a letter dated June 15th, 1609, empowered him to confer a pension on her for the following reasons:—'First, because her marriage money, which should have been paid by her brother, Lord Gormanstown, resteth in great part unsatisfied ; and secondly, because she had shown good affection for some of his Majesty's subjects when the rebel, her husband, was in rebellion.' 'Although [continued the lords of the Privy Council] by reason of her husband's treason, all titles of Dowry are forfeited to the King, his highness is pleased to bestow upon her forty pounds, sterling, per annum, out of the country of Ennishowen, lately O'Dogherty's country.' She subsequently married Anthony, son of Sir William Warren, and had an additional grant of eighty pounds yearly.

Sir Cahir left no son, nor have we been able to ascertain what was the fate of his infant daughter.¹

¹ *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, Second Edition, p. 297.

One relic of Sir Cahir still remains in the city of Calgach. His sword—a fine Toledo blade—is in possession of the corporation, and is preserved in the *Mayor's Parlour* in the Guildhall. How it came there is hard to say, but, probably, after Sir Cahir's death it was handed over, like the sword of Goliath, as a trophy of victory to the authorities of the city, and has since been preserved as such. It is in itself a tribute to the greatness of the power of its former owner, that the corporation of this ancient city have deemed it worthy to preserve with such care this relic of the brave but unfortunate young lord of Inishowen. We hope no future David may be called upon to take it from its resting-place to wield against the enemies of his country.

Thus, then, passed away the last of the Irish chieftains, as the banner on which the light of glory had shone from the days of Niall of the Nine Hostages fell from his nerveless hand at the rock of Doon. Buncrana, Elagh, Burt, and Inch knew their rightful lord no more. The fishful rivers, the fertile valleys, the giant mountains, and verdant plains of Inishowen passed to one who had waded through rivers of innocent blood to gain possession of them. The ambition of years was gratified—the cravings of his covetous and cruel heart at last were satiated. *Cui bono?* The lands of Inishowen were his; the regions around Carrickfergus and Belfast acknowledged him as their lord; large grants of O'Neill's territories were given him; and there he reigned—a childless sovereign, without a son to inherit his ill-gotten gains. And, strange irony of fate, the race he crushed and strove to exterminate, the clan whose stalwart sons he seized and sent in thousands to fight in the army of the Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden—that clan still survives and possesses in peace the old peninsula.

Chichester is now forgotten, or is at most remembered as the ogre of a fairy-tale, or the *bête noire* of a horrid nightmare; whilst Sir Cahir is remembered with love and admiration. By the banks of the Swilly and the Foyle, and 'along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic,' his name is spoken by the winter fireside, and his memory is preserved in the songs and the stories of the peasantry.

Wisdom may blame the rashness of his rebellion ; but the youth of the hero, and the cool, premeditated villany of his enemies, form a fitting excuse for his premature rising. Future students of Irish history will find little to blame and much to praise in the story of Sir Cahir ; nay, if inclined at first to blame, that blame will be turned to pity as they contemplate that noble and manly youth with his handful of undisciplined followers boldly confronting the ablest generals and best trained forces of James, and striking a last blow for home and fatherland :

Yea, many a visage wan and pale
Will hang at midnight o'er my tale,
And weep that it is true.¹

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

¹ 'The Isle of Palms.'

THE POEMS OF EGAN O RAHILLY.

ANOTHER new book has come to fill a place and supply a want in the working out of the purpose of the Gaelic League. The place is one which was previously empty because there was no book that could fill it. Neither was there any book in existence previously that could supply the want. In order to understand these facts it is necessary to consider what this new book is, and what is the nature of the use which is to be made of it. The book is a collection of the poems of a great Irish poet named Éḡán ua Rádaílle, who flourished during the first half of the eighteenth century. The poems are odes and lyrics of the very highest order. They present two leading characteristics, viz., extreme simplicity of language and unique beauty of construction. The result of the simplicity of the language was that they were taken up at once by the people amongst whom the poet lived, and kept in remembrance, and recited with the keenest appreciation and enjoyment. That is a thing which could not possibly happen to abstruse compositions. Abstruse compositions may live in books. They cannot live in a people's memory. People who do not know Irish and who may look at these poems and try to learn them, may be disposed at first sight to consider them anything but simple. Such people should remember that, as a rule, the very simplest things in a language, for those who have been reared in it, are exactly the things which appear most abstruse to a foreigner. The second characteristic of these poems is their exquisite beauty of construction. In fact this characteristic is founded upon the other. The simplest turns of expression are used, but they are introduced in some new and fascinating manner which comes upon the mind of the listener like a burst of light and of music and of significance, all combined. Then they sink into the memory, and become photographed there, and nothing can ever dislodge them. This is the 'saying of common things in an uncommon

way,' which Horace recommends in his Art of Poetry. If we compare the odes of Horace with the odes of this Irish poet we will find that the Irish poet understood and acted upon that principle far more successfully than Horace did. Probably one of the reasons of the success is that the Irish poet had a more copious, a more musical, a more flexible, and a more powerful language in which to exercise his genius.

These poems still live in the memory of Irish-speaking people as the highest and best form of living Irish speech. They are placed, in this new book, before our Irish learners. In this way our learners are brought at once into direct touch with our Irish speakers, and the touch is established where it is certain to take a firm hold. Every learner should, therefore, procure for himself at once a copy of this book, and set to work to make himself master of its contents. If he can get the help of a good Irish speaker, his task will be so much the easier. This book places him in the very heart of the Irish language in its best shape.

The editor has taken great pains to fit the book for its work. He has given a translation of the poems. The translation is literal without being repulsive—a very rare fact. It is only a person who is master of two languages that can translate literary matter from one of them into the other properly. The editor, in this case, has succeeded in making a translation which is most entertaining English reading in itself, and which gives the sense of the original as far as it is at all possible to give it in English. It does not, of course, give the spirit of the original, much less the charm of the original, the magic which had the effect of fixing the original for ever, after one hearing, in the memory of the listener. But the editor's translation does this. It brings the mind of the reader within hail of that spirit, and charm, and magic; it introduces him to the original Irish, where alone those elements can be found; and the introduction is made with the skill and effectiveness of one who knows both the way and where it leads to.

Fortunately for learners, that skill and experience in the

mind of the editor have saved us from a *metrical* translation. Metrical translations are an unmitigated pest; they have done immense mischief to the Irish language in recent years; they are neither English nor Irish; they are neither prose nor poetry; they fail utterly to give even a faint shadow of the sense of the original Irish, and they do not profess to give sense of their own. I have never read an English metrical translation of an Irish ode without a feeling of rage to think that people not knowing Irish should have made upon their minds the impression that the original was at all like that silly trash! But what is to save them from the impression? It is no wonder, with the metrical English version before their eyes, that they should be driven to the conclusion that the original Irish is very worthless, indeed. This book will help to drive them effectually to a different conclusion.

Every learner of Irish should possess himself, without delay, of this book. He should study it closely; he should be constantly studying it. The beauties of the Irish poetry will manifest themselves by degrees to his mind; he will master them. Then he will find himself repeating to himself, as Irish speakers do: 'It is impossible to say *that* in English.' Then he will realise the astounding silliness of our metrical versions.

In order that readers may be able to judge for themselves as to whether I exaggerate when I speak of 'astounding silliness,' I give them a verse taken at random from a certain volume of Irish poetry which has been metrically translated. It is a humorous, but very keen, bit of satire upon a certain article of fashionable female attire which became the rage, for awhile, about the year 1800. Here it is:—

"Tá catúgao mór ar m'aigne
 A' r' bólar leir,
 Ó éim an raogal ag a'arúgao
 Le tréimhe a' r' bheir;
 Clann na scáiríeac gceanarac
 Dá scáiríeac anuas éim carrairne,
 A' r' clann na lópac a'arac
 Raoi éaroinel!"

Here is the meaning of this verse :—

There is great sorrow upon my mind
And sadness too,
As I see the world changing
This while back, and more than a while back.
The children of respectable and influential people,
Being brought down to dishonour,
And the children of fathers who wore lōpas
Going under the Cardinel !

The lōpa was a sort of sock without a sole, worn by people who could not afford to have shoes.

Now, let the reader just look at the *metrical version* of this little bit of satire. Here it is :—

‘ My heart is full of gall to-night
And sorrows swell ;
To see what changes fall, a blight
O’er hill and dell ;
Kindly clanns and valorous
Are sinking poor and dolorous,
And crafty clanns look tall o’er us
In the Cardinel !’

Not a shadow of the meaning of the original is reproduced ; not a trace of the humour of the original. The poet was not thinking of ‘gall,’ nor of ‘hills,’ nor ‘dells,’ nor of ‘clanns’ ‘valorous,’ nor ‘crafty.’ ‘Tall o’er us’ is superb. It out-fools folly. It is dreadful to think of an English reader reading that foolish stuff, and imagining that it represents the original Irish ! The entire volume is like that. Some of it is much worse.

I shall now give a specimen of Father Dineen’s translations. It is a humorous morsel. The poet was presented with a pair of new shoes, and he praises the present thus :—

“Do fuairar reóire ; ir leór a mbreágteacht ;
Dá b’úis éaoine, míne, bláta,
Don leatár a bí ra b’eapaine bán éar
Ir éugaoar loingior nís pílíib ear fáile.”

Here is the translation :—

‘ I have received jewels of conspicuous beauty,
A pair of shoes, fair, smooth, handsome,
Of leather that was in white Barbary, in the south,
And which the fleet of King Philip brought over the sea.’

This translation is what it should be, a reliable, conscientious guide to the original, in which alone the poet's spirit can be found and felt.

Throughout the entire book the translation never once forgets its character of reliable and conscientious guide to the original Irish. The book is for that, and also for many other reasons, a most valuable one.

PETER O'LEARY, P.P.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JURISDICTION TO HEAR THE CONFESSIONS OF NUNS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I find it asserted in a recent work on Moral Theology that parish priests can, without special approbation or faculties, hear the confessions of nuns. Unless my memory be at fault, we used to be taught that, without distinction, special faculties are required for hearing the confessions of nuns. But, possibly changes have been made since I was in the schools. I have read several other recent authors without finding any trace of the novel doctrine to which I ask your attention. Will you kindly say in an early issue whether parish priests in Ireland have any special privilege in regard to the confessions of nuns.

CONFESSARIUS MONIALIUM.

We are not aware that in Ireland parish priests, as such, enjoy a privilege such as that mentioned by our correspondent. In discussing the question of faculties for the confessions of nuns it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction between nuns who have solemn vows and observe the Papal enclosure and nuns belonging to congregations with simple vows. Now, according to the common law of the Church, special approbation is required for hearing the confessions of nuns with solemn vows. In other words, a priest, who is approved to hear confessions in a parish or a diocese, has not *eo ipso* faculties to hear the nuns of that parish or diocese. The nuns are outside his jurisdiction, unless the contrary be expressed or, at all events, implied by the circumstances or by the recognized usage of the bishop.

For the confessions of nuns, who have not solemn vows, no special approbation is required by the common law. *Per se*, therefore, any priest—parish priest, curate, or any other—who has faculties to hear the faithful generally of a parish or diocese, may also hear the confessions of such

nuns. But, while that is so according to common law, it is not unusual for bishops to exclude even these nuns from the ordinary jurisdiction given to the confessors of the diocese. In making such a reservation, a bishop is, not merely within his right, but he is acting in strict conformity with the spirit of the Church. Wherever this reservation is made, nuns will not come within a priest's jurisdiction unless a special grant of approbation embracing them be expressed or implied. In Ireland, at all events, it is recognised—and universally, as far as we know—that the ordinary faculties of a diocese do not confer jurisdiction over nuns of the various congregations. Moreover, it is, we believe, equally understood, that parish priests are affected by the reservation in precisely the same way as curates and other confessors.

We were, therefore, rather surprised to find Father Génicot writing as follows in his valuable work recently published: '*Valide tamen confessiones monialium paroeciam suam incolentium audit parochus: quippe qui ex munere suo approbatus sit ad excipiendas confessiones eorum omnium qui paroeciam incolunt, neque exemptione gaudent.*'¹

It is, of course, true, that parish priests as such are approved to hear the confessions of their parishioners. But it is equally true, that the bishop can restrict the parish priest's jurisdiction *quoad personas*, and that in Ireland, at all events, nuns are considered to be outside the ordinary jurisdiction of parish priests. It may be that in those countries, which the learned writer had more prominently before his mind, the bishops are rightly understood to leave the jurisdiction of parish priests unrestricted as regards the confessions of nuns. But, as far as we know, parish priests in this country would consider that Father Génicot's statement, in so far as it regards them, needs qualification.

¹ *Theol. Moralis*, vol. ii., n. 339. Edit prima.

MASS 'PRO POPULO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A parish priest is unable to offer the Mass *pro populo* on a certain Sunday, and, of course, has his place taken by another priest. A curate of the same parish, who has to binate every Sunday, undertakes to offer one of his Masses *pro populo* and takes a honorarium for the other in the ordinary way. He takes no stipend from the parish priest. He offers the Mass *pro populo* merely to do a kindness to his parish priest, *gratis quocumque titulo*. Does the curate violate the prohibition against taking two stipends in case of bination?

A. F.

This question has been referred to us more than once already by other correspondents, and we see no reason to change the opinion given privately on former occasions. The curate does not seem to have infringed the prohibition against a second stipend. The parish priest is, of course, bound if he cannot personally discharge his obligation to give a stipend, if necessary, in order to have the Mass offered for his people. But, the curate is not bound to take it, and if he is generous enough to forego his right to a honorarium, that is a matter for himself. Let us take a parallel case. If on the Sunday morning two persons requested the curate to offer Mass for their intentions on that day, and if he promised the two Masses but handed back the second honorarium, no one, we think, would suppose that the two promises could not be lawfully discharged by the two Masses celebrated on the Sunday. Now, if we suppose the parish priest to be the person for whose intention the curate promises to offer the Mass without a honorarium, we have in all essentials the case proposed by our correspondent. We understand that some priests make a difficulty about the lawfulness of this practice when there is a question of offering the second Mass *pro populo* and obliging the parish priest. But in the absence of any law or authoritative decision against it—and there is no law or decision against it as far as we know—the arrangement explained by our correspondent seems to us to be quite legitimate.

JURISDICTION TO HEAR CONFESSIONS OUTSIDE ONE'S
DIOCESE

REV. DEAR SIR,--At certain periods of the year priests of one diocese are invited to hear confessions in the neighbouring parishes of another diocese. These strange priests receive approbation and jurisdiction from the bishop of the place where they hear the confessions. If one of his own parishioners confess to one of these extern priests a sin reserved where the confession is heard, but not reserved in that diocese to which the confessor and the penitent both belong, can the priest absolve? It seems to me that he cannot. For his jurisdiction comes from the bishop of the place in which the confession is heard, and the sin is there reserved. That seems to be a necessary consequence of the law of the Maynooth Synod that a sin 'does not cease to be reserved simply because it is not reserved in the diocese of the penitent.' I shall feel obliged if the editor of the I. E. RECORD will give his opinion on the point in a few words.

RUSTICUS.

Our correspondent rightly assumes that in Ireland, at all events, the sin of a penitent, belonging to any diocese in Ireland, confessing outside his own diocese, does not cease to be reserved merely owing to the fact that it happens to be unreserved in the penitent's diocese. So much is clear from the Decrees of the Maynooth Synod (1875). When, therefore, in the circumstances described, a priest of one diocese hears confessions in another, his jurisdiction is, as a rule, limited by the reservations of the diocese in which he hears the confessions. But is this true even when the priest hears, in a parish of another diocese, a penitent who belongs to that priest's own parish? Our correspondent seems inclined to give an affirmative answer without qualification. But, if he bear in mind the difference between ordinary and delegated jurisdiction, he will find room for a distinction. If, indeed, the priest in question be a curate, or any priest who has not *ordinary* jurisdiction over the penitent, he has no power to absolve in the case proposed. For in hypothesis case the only jurisdiction he has, even over penitents coming from the parish to which he is attached, is limited by the reservation of the bishop in whose diocese

he hears the confession. But, if the priest be a parish priest, or any one having ordinary jurisdiction over the penitent, he has power to absolve in the case proposed by our correspondent. For the *ordinary* jurisdiction of the parish priest is available whenever he hears the confessions of his own parishioners; nor is it in any way restricted or affected by the fact that, in the circumstances mentioned by our correspondent, the parish priest would also have from another source faculties to which certain limitations are placed. The ordinary faculties of a parish priest, in regard to his own parishioners, are of equal extent, whether he hears the confessions in his own or in another diocese. He may, of course, receive more extensive delegated faculties when he hears confessions in a strange diocese. To put the matter in another way—the parish priest's ordinary faculties remain, in the circumstances supposed by our correspondent, available for his own parishioners; his delegated faculties are available for all comers, including, of course, his own parishioners.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

VARIOUS QUESTIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I encroach upon your time, and ask a small space in the I. E. RECORD to have an answer to a few questions which I am about to put to you? Granted my request, here are my questions :—

1. What formula, or what rite must be used by a priest when he wishes to bless a rosary with the intention of applying indulgences to it?

2. Is it lawful to give Holy Communion under any circumstances, excepting, of course, Viaticum, to a person who is not fasting? If so, what circumstances would justify a priest in doing so?

3. What is the definition of a *Missa anniversaria pro defunctis*? Must it necessarily be *cum cantu*? I except the case of an anniversary occurring on a semi-double feast.

4. Can a Low Mass, *de Requie*, be said on doubles, in accordance with the latest decrees, for a person who does not belong to, or who has never been in your parish? That is to say, can *any*

priest celebrate a low Requiem Mass for *any* departed soul on *any* day or on *every* day from the day of death to second day after burial of that departed person?

I shall be pleased to have an answer to these questions in an early issue of your I. E. RECORD.

NEO SACERDOS.

1. The rite and formula to be used by a priest in blessing rosary beads depend on the nature of the faculties which the priest has received or wishes to exercise. There are two kinds of faculties which a priest may have for blessing the ordinary rosary beads, namely, faculties received from the General of the Dominicans, or faculties received from the Holy See. If a priest has obtained only the faculties communicated by the General of the Dominicans he must use the formula special to the Dominicans, and printed in the appendix to the Roman Ritual. Should a priest, however, have his faculties directly from the Holy See—that is from the Congregation of Propaganda, as far as we are concerned—a distinction must be made. These faculties may empower a priest to attach to rosary beads both the Brigittine and the Dominican indulgences, or they may restrict him to attaching only the Brigittine. In the latter case he imparts the indulgence to the beads by merely making over them the sign of the Cross without using any form of words. If a priest's faculties empower him to attach either the Dominican or Brigittine indulgences, or both to rosary beads, then should he wish to attach the Dominican indulgence to beads—whether with or without the Brigittine indulgences—he must read the formula proper to the Dominicans. But if he wishes to impart only the Brigittine indulgences it is sufficient for him to make the sign of the Cross. The following question addressed to the Congregation of Indulgences on this point, together with the reply of the Congregation, will, no doubt, prove interesting to our readers.

Quamvis ex pluribus recentioribus decretis hujus Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum praesertim 11 Aprilis 1840 et 7 Januarii 1843 facile eruitur quod in coronarum benedictione quibus ab habentibus facultatem illae applicantur indulgentiae dumtaxat, quas Romanus Pontifex solet impertiri nec ulla

recitationis formula nec aquae benedictae aspersio, nec alius ritus exigatur praeter signum crucis, quando in indulto dicatur; *in forma Ecclesiae consueta*; dubitarunt tamen nonnulli Vicarii Generales in Gallia:—An per praefatas declarationes comprehendatur etiam benedictio tum coronarum seu rosariorum S. Dominici, quae a PP. Ordinis Praedicatorum, tum coronarum Septem Dolorum, quae a PP. Ordinis Servorum Mariae benedicuntur; ita ut sacerdotes qui a superioribus praefatorum Ordinum, vel immediate ab Apostolica Sede facultatem impetrant praememoratas coronas benedicendi in solo crucis signo perficere possint, an vero pro actus valore formula benedictionis simulque aspersio cum aqua benedicta omnino sit adhibenda?

Proposito itaque dubio in Sacra Indulgentiarum Congregatione quae in aedibus Vaticanis die 29 Februarii 1864 habita fuit EE. PP. postquam Consultorum vota audissent responderunt:

Pro coronis Rosarii et Septem Dolorum servandam esse formulam, cum responsa Sacrae Congregationis dierum 11 Aprilis 1840 et Januarii 7, 1843 non comprehendant casus de quibus agitur in proposito dubio.

From this response of the Congregation of Indulgences it would appear, that, no matter from what source a priest may have faculties for imparting the Dominican indulgences to rosary beads, he should use the formula proper to the Dominicans. The decree refers to the beads of the Seven Dolours, and also prescribes that in order to impart to them their proper indulgences, the priest who blesses them, no matter whence he may have obtained his faculties, must use the formula prescribed for use by the Servites of the B.V. Mary.

2. The general rule is that it is not lawful to administer Holy Communion to a person not fasting who is not in danger of death. It would seem, however, that if a person were suffering from a disease which was morally certain to end his life, though it was equally certain that months might elapse before even the danger of death might be apprehended, he might receive Holy Communion after having broken his fast, provided he could not conveniently fast until the arrival of the priest to administer Holy Communion. Chronic illness of a kind not likely to prove fatal is not a sufficient excuse for receiving or administering Holy Communion when the patient is not fasting. When the circumstances are present which justify a priest in giving

Holy Communion to one, not fasting, and, at the same time, not in immediate danger of death, then it would not seem to matter whether he allowed the person to communicate once a month or once a day.

3. An anniversary Mass for a deceased person is a Mass celebrated for the repose of the soul of that person on the anniversary of his or her death. That an anniversary Mass *de Requie* may enjoy the privilege of being celebrated on a double minor or double major it must be celebrated *cum cantu*; that is, it must be either a solemn Requiem Mass, with deacon and sub-deacon, or a *Missa Cantata*.

4. The new rule regarding private Requiem Masses for a recently deceased person would seem to be as follows:— On the day of death, and on the days intervening between death and burial, as well as on the two days following the day of burial, Requiem Masses can be said for the repose of the soul of deceased on all days except doubles of the first class or feasts of precept, by all priests celebrating in the church, chapel or oratory in which the funeral service is to be, or has been held. The only private Requiem Masses, therefore, that have this privilege are those celebrated in the church, etc., in which the funeral rite for the deceased is observed, or should *de jure* be observed. The two points—namely, (1) that Requiem Masses in these circumstances can be celebrated on all days except doubles of the first class and feast of precept, and (2) that it is only to the church, chapel, or oratory where the funeral rites are conducted, that such a privilege is attached, are made clear by the following decrees of the Congregation of Rites:—

I. In quolibet Sacello sepulcreti rite erecto vel erigendo, Missas, quae inibi celebrari permittuntur, posse esse de Requie diebus non impeditis a Festo duplici 1^{ae} vel 2^{ae} classis, a Dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto servandis, necnon a Feriis, vigiliis octavisque privilegiatis; item II. Quibuslibet Ecclesiis et Oratoriis quum publicis tum privatis et in Sacellis ad Seminaria, Collegia, et Religiosas, vel pias utriusque sexus communitates spectantibus, Missas privatas de requiem, praesente, insepulto vel etiam sepulto non ultra biduum cadavere, fieri posse die vel pro die obitus aut depositionis; verum sub clausulis et conditionibus quibus juxta Rubricas et Decreta Missa solennis de requiem

iisdem in casibus decantatur, *exceptis duplicibus primae classis et festis de praecepto*. S. R. C., 19 May, 1896.

Ad quandam controversiam tollendam circa interpretationem decretorum 3903 *Acto* 8 Junii 1896 et 3944 *Romana* 12 Ianuarii 1897 quoad Missas lectas de Requie, hodiernus Caeremoniarum magister Basilicae Cathedralis Vicensis in Hispania, de consensu sui Rmi. Episcopi, Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentia dubia enodanda, humillime exposuit; nimirum:

I. Utrum ex enunciatis decretis Missae lectae, quae a sacerdotibus celebrantur in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis civitatis pro defuncto, cadavere insepulto, vel sepulto non ultra biduum a die obitus seu dispositionis, celebrari valeant *de Requie*; dummodo in parochiali Ecclesia fiat funus cum Missa exequiali; an hoc privilegium sit proprium tantummodo Ecclesiae, in qua funus peragitur cum sua Missa exequiali?

II. Utrum quilibet Sacerdos possit unam tantum Missam de Requie celebrare, vel plures, diversis diebus, dummodo cadaver sit insepultum non ultra biduum?

III. Utrum pro defuncto, qui morabatur in civitate et obierit extra civitatem, possint etiam in ipsa civitate praedictae Missae lectae de Requie celebrari?

IV. Quomodo intelligenda, sit praesentia physica vel moralis requisita in decretis supra relatis?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem; *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Ad II. Stetur Decretis.

Ad III. et IV. Provisum in praecedentibus; et Missae privatae de Requie nonnisi in Ecclesia vel Oratorio publico permittuntur ubi fit funus cum Missa exequiali: in Oratoriis autem privatis Missae, quae ibidem legi permittuntur, possunt esse de Requie, praesente cadavere in domo; servatis ceteris clausulis et conditionibus.

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 3 Aprilis 1900.

Cai. Card. ALOISI-MASSIELLA, S.R.C. *Pro-Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S.R.C. *Secret.*

CONVENT CHOIRS DURING THE QUARANT' ORE

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. During the *Quarant' Ore* must all convent bells be silent just as in Holy Week, or is it only bells for Mass that should not be rung? Might the bells for religious observances, such as Meditation and Office, be rung as usual?

2. May public prayers, such as novenas, litanies, etc., be said in choir during the *Quarant' Ore*?

3. It often happens that while the morning office is being chanted in choir the priest passes through with the Blessed Sacrament to communicate the sick. What act of reverence should the choirs make as the Blessed Sacrament passes. Is it sufficient to stand, as the lesser interruption of the office, or should they kneel?

4. When office is chanted in choir during exposition, is it sufficient for chanters and others who have to come to the middle of the choir for versets, etc., to genuflect on *one* knee every time they come to the middle, and return again to the sides.

Of course the genuflection is on both knees entering and leaving the choir; the doubt is about intermediate genuflections.

1. The *Instructio Clementina*, which, however, is binding only within the city of Rome, states that at private Masses during the *Quarant' Ore* the bell should not be rung.

Nelle Messe private [it says] che si celebreranno durante l'esposizione, non si suoni il campanello all'elevazione, ma solo uscendo i Celebranti dalla Sagrestia, si dia un piccolo segno colla solita campanella.

So far from interdicting the ringing of bells at other times the instruction actually prescribes that a special festive peal should be rung on the evening preceding the Mass of exposition, and after the *Angelus* bell on each of the days of exposition. Here are the words of the instruction:—

La sera avanti il giorno dell'esposizione, dopo il segno dell'*Ave Maria*, si suonino le campane solennemente per avviso del popolo, come anche la mattina nel far del giorno, e doppo tutti gli altri segni dell'*Ave Maria* durante l'esposizione, come parimente le solite tre volte avanti le Messe Solenni.

Our correspondent need not, then, have any scruples

about the ringing of the convent bell for the ordinary—or extraordinary—religious exercises of the community.

2. Litanies and other prayers, which nuns may publicly recite in choir at other times, may also be recited by them in choir during the exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament for the *Quarant' Ore*.

3. The recital of the Office, whether it be the Canonical Office, or the Office of the Blessed Virgin, should not be interrupted without cause. But the opening of the tabernacle, and the taking from thence of the Most Holy Sacrament, is unquestionably a sufficient cause. Of course this reason for interrupting the Office should be avoided as far as possible; but when it occurs the nuns in choir should not merely not stand up and continue to recite the office, but they should kneel in silence until the priest bearing the Blessed Sacrament has passed from the view of those in choir. If, when the priest comes to open the tabernacle, the nuns are finishing the recitation of a psalm, a lesson, or antiphon, they should not kneel until they have finished. To prevent confusion, and insure uniformity in such cases, it would be advisable, we think, to appoint a member of the community as *hebdomadaria*, who should give a signal to the others when they were to cease the Office and kneel, and again, when they were to rise from their kneeling position and resume the Office.

4. Chanters and others, whose official duties render it necessary for them to frequently approach and recede from the centre of the altar of exposition, genuflect only on one knee, except, as our correspondent remarks, on their entrance to and departure from the choir, when they genuflect on both knees.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES. (IRELAND) ACT, 1900

REV. DEAR SIR,—This Act which came into force on the 1st of September—a copy of which we enclose—confers upon the residents and owners of property in their several parishes the right of objecting to the granting of either new beer retailers' or spirit grocers' licences ; it also gives the magistrates ' free and unqualified discretion ' either to grant or refuse applications for certificates for these licences. It further restricts the power of granting to the ' Annual Licensing Sessions and not at any other time.'

It is a very short Act, but it was with great difficulty that it was safely piloted through Parliament. The Bill, as originally drafted by the National Temperance Executive, applied to both old and new licences ; we found, however, after it was read a first time in the House of Commons, that the opposition of the present holders of beer retailers' and spirit grocers' licences might prevent further progress unless Clause I. was made to refer to new applications only, even after we had accepted this compromise it was still necessary for one of us to be in constant attendance at Westminster to insure its passing.

Our thanks are due particularly to Mr. William Moore, Mr. J. H. Campbell, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. Wm. Johnston, who rendered every assistance in the House of Commons, and to the Earl of Erne who devoted much time and attention to secure its passing in the House of Lords.

The importance of the Bill may be realized from the fact that in Dublin and Belfast alone these licences were increasing at the rate of nearly one hundred per year, as owing to the decision of the superior courts the magistrates had practically no option but to grant all applications.

We trust that the public will use the power now conferred upon them and oppose new applications, and that the magistrates will wisely exercise the discretion which is given them by the Act ; in view of the fact that in the reports of the Royal Commission the majority state :—' It is obvious that a large reduction

in the number of licensed houses is in the highest degree desirable, the call for such action being indeed more urgent than in either England or Scotland.'

Yours truly,

WM. WILKINSON, }
J. B. MORIARTY, } *Hon. Secs.*

The Irish National Temperance Executive,
4, and 5, Eustace-street, Dublin.

4th September, 1900.

(COPY.)

[63 & 64 VICT.] *Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers'* [CH. 30.
Retail Licences (Ireland) Act, 1900.

CHAPTER 30.

An Act to amend the laws relating to beer retailers' and spirit grocers' licences in Ireland.

[30th July, 1900.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the law as to the granting of certificates for all licences for the sale of beer and spirits by retail for consumption off the premises :

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

1. Notwithstanding anything in any Act the licensing justices shall be at liberty, in their free and unqualified discretion, either to refuse a certificate for any new excise or other licence for sale of beer or spirits by retail, to be consumed off the premises, on any grounds appearing to them sufficient, or to grant the same to such persons as they, in the execution of their statutory powers, and in the exercise of their discretion deem fit and proper, and for the purposes aforesaid shall be at liberty to hear and receive and act upon any objection and any evidence either in support thereof or in aid of the application made or tendered by any resident or owner of property in the parish wherein are situate the house and premises in respect of which such certificate is applied for.

2. Certificates for any such licences as aforesaid, shall, notwithstanding anything in any Act, be granted at annual licensing sessions, and not at any other time.

3. The provision requiring the production of a certificate as to the exclusive occupation of rated premises for a period of three months contained in section two of the Beer Licences Regulation (Ireland) Act, 1877, shall not apply to the case of a transfer of a

licence being granted on the death or removal of the person in occupation of the rated premises immediately prior to the granting of such transfer.

4.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Retail Licences (Ireland) Act, 1900, and may be cited with the Licensing (Ireland) Acts, 1833 to 1886, and shall be construed as one with those Acts.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on the first day of September one thousand nine hundred.

DOCUMENTS

BEATIFICATION OF EASTERN MARTYRS

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE SUPER BEATIF. 77 SERVORUM DEI IN
COCHINCHINA, TUNQUINO ET SINARUM IMPERIO IN ODIUM FIDEI
INTERFECTORUM.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Fortissimorum virorum seriem, qui effuso sanguine testimonium Christo reddiderunt, nulla unquam conclusit aetas, sed fastorum ipsorum tabulae novis semper enitent titulis. Martyrum enim purpurata sanguine vel ab ipsis suis primordiis Ecclesia exhibere postea nunquam destitit miranda exempla fortitudinis. Dum ad labefactandam Christi militum firmitatem nova excogitarunt tyranni suppliciorum genera, auxerunt pariter ad sempiternum Ecclesiae decus praestantium heroum coronas et palmas. Id porro non sine providentissimo Dei consilio factum est: nimirum ut manifeste constaret durissimo certamini e coelis adfuisse Auctorem fidei nostrae Christum Iesum, qui, ut scripsit S. Cyprianus 'praeliatores et assertores sui nominis in acie confirmavit, erexit, qui pugnavit et vicit in servis suis.' Hoc etiam saeculo modo ad exitum labente, Cochinchinae, Tunquini, et Sinarum Imperii terrae feraces martyrum fuere. Excitato enim plurium annorum spatio illis in regionibus dirissimae insectationis turbine adversus Christi Religionem feliciter illuc invectam, multi Evangelii praecones exantlatis per eas gentes ineffabilibus laboribus, aditisque omnes genus periculis, quam diuturno sudore provexerant fidem, effuso cruore obsignare non dubitarunt. Haec generosa Christi pugilum manus praeclara antiquorum martyrum facinora aequavit: antistites enim sacrorum, sacerdotes tam saeculares quam regulares, catechistae, milites et cuiusque conditionis aetatisque homines, atque etiam mulieres, exsilia, carceres, cruciatus, extrema denique omnia fortiter pati maluerunt, quam Crucem conculcare et a sanctissima religione desciscere. Atqui ad tentandam Christianorum in fide constantiam, exquisitissima barbari tortores adhibuerunt tormenta, quae meminisse animus nedum enarrare reformidat. Aliis ad palum deligatis elisum laqueo guttur, alii in crucem acti, plures securi

percussi, nonnulli fame enecti, alii horrendum in modum secti, vel membratim caesi fuerunt, alii denique in caveis ferarum more inclusi, solis aestu, siti, verberibus, catenis et squallore carceris afflicti, mortalem hanc vitam cum immortali ac beata commutarunt. Tantam vero suppliciorum atrocitatem alacri ac flecti nescio animo perpassi sunt: 'steterunt, ut Sancti Cypriani verbis utamur, torquentibus fortiores, ac saevissima diu plaga repetita inexpugnabilem fidem expugnare non potuit.' Strenuissimorum istorum heroum numerus ad septem et septuaginta adscendit.

Quadraginta novem gloria pertinet ad inclytam et praeclare de religionis incremento meritam Exterarum Missionum societatem. Hi sunt in Sinis Ioannes Gabriel Taurin Dufresse Episcopus Tabracensis et Vicarius Apostolicus Sutchuensis ac pro fide interfecti Augustinus Chapdelaine, Augustinus, Tchao, Paulus Lieou seu Liou, Iosephus Yuen seu Uen, Thaddaeus Lieou, Petrus Lieou seu Ouen Yen, Petrus Ou, Ioachim Ho, Laurentius Pe-Man et Agnes Tsao-Kouy. Praeterea qui in Tunquino martyrium fecerunt Petrus Dumoulin Borie Episcopus electus, Ioannes Carolus Cornay, Augustinus Schoeffler, Petrus Khoa, Vicentius Diem, Petrus Tuy, Iacobus Nam, Iosephus Nghi, Paulus Ngan, Martinus Thinh, Paulus Khoan, Petrus Thi, Andreas Dung seu Lac, Ioannes Dat, Lucas Loan, Petrus Tu, Franciscus Xaverius Can, Paulus Mi, Petrus Duong, Petrus Truat, Ioannes Baptista Thanh, Petrus Hieu, Antonius Dich, Michael Mi, Martinus Tho, Ioannes Baptista Con, Ioannes Aloisius Bonnard. Et qui in Cochinchina in odium fidei interempti sunt Franciscus Isidorus Gagelin Missionarius Apostolicus et Pro-Vicarius Generalis Cochinchinensis, Franciscus Jaccard, Iosephus Marchand, Emmanuel Trieu, Philippus Minh, Andreas Trong, Thomas Thien, Paulus Doi Buong, Antonius Quinh Nam, Simon Hoa et Matthaeus Gam. Hos inter ad exemplum enituit adolescentis militis constantia Andreae Trong plane digni suae fortitudine matris, quae imitata Deiparam perdolentem adstitit filii supplicio, abscissumque illius caput a tyranno repetiit, excepitque gremio. Sex ac viginti etiam Martyribus gaudet secunda Sanctorum parens et altrix Praedicatorum Fratrum familia, nempe Ignatio Delgado Episcopo Mellipotamensi Vicario Apostolico Tunquini Orientalis et Dominico Henares Episcopo Fesseitensi praefati Vicarii Apostolici Coadiutore, quorum primus in carcere et cavea diu martyr absumptus est, alter capitis obtruncatione certamen absolvit. Similiter in Tunquino accedunt

hisce in passione socii novem ex ordine Praedicatorum Sacerdotes, Iosephus Fernancez Vicarius Provincialis Vincentius Yen, Dominicus Dieu seu Hanh, Petrus Tu, Thomas Du, Dominicus Doan seu Xuyen, Iosephus Hien, Dominicus Trach seu Doai, et Dominicus Tuoc omnes capite caesi, praeter extremum, qui gravi vulnere saucius occubuit. Sunt e reliquo clero Iosephus Nien seu Vien, Bernardus Due, ambo capite mulctati, et Petrus Tuan in vinculis cruciatuum diuturnitate consumptus. Subeunt cathechesis tradendae ministri Iosephus Canh medicus in tertium ordinem S. Dominici adlectus Franciscus Chien seu Chieu, ambo capitis damnati, Iosephus seu Petrus Uyen e tertio ordine S. Dominici in carcere aerumnis confectus, Thomas Toan item tertiarius Dominicanus fame enectus, Franciscus Xaverius Mau et Dominicus Uy, similiter tertiarii, laqueo suspensi. Extremo hoc genere mortis affecti, succedunt alii duo tertiarii Dominicani, nempe agricolae Augustinus Moi et Stefanus Vinh, deinde milites tres, ex quibus Dominicus seu Nicolaus Dat fune strangulatus, Augustinus Huy et Nicolaus The secti: denique Thomas De sartor pariter e tertio ordine S. Dominici laqueo suffocatus. Congregatio Missionis S. Vincentii a Paulo, omne genus ministerii et charitatis complexa, ac tam longe porrecta quam late patet humanitas, in Sinis caeteris hisce Martyribus Venerabilem Dei Famulum Franciscum Clet debit socium, qui nec apostolicis laboribus fractus, nec periculis aut minis deterritus, post longos saevi carceris cruciatus, laqueo suffocatus et crudeli modo conculcatus, diuturnum martyrium constantissime tulit. Tandem ne invicta haec acies italici etiam nominis gloria careret, spectat ad Minorum Franciscalium ordinem de religione ac societate semper optime meritum Venerabilis Ioannes Lantura, nuncupatus a Triora, eius natali in Liguria oppido. Hic multis ex ethnicis ad Christum adductis, plurimis Christianus in fide firmatis, unus in vatissima Imperii Sinensis regione sacerdos, proscriptae religionis ministerium interritus exercuit, donec in vincula coniectus et capitis damnatus eliso per laqueum gutture pretiosam obiit in conspectu Domini mortem. Horum omnium praeclarissimi triumphi est longe lateque per Christianum orbem fama diffusa. Iubar enim accessit miraculorum; neque defuerunt de coelo signa. Saepe incorrupta martyrum corpora suavem effuderunt odorem; saepe post supplicium ingens auditis innubilo coelo frager; aut fulmine tactum tyranni tribunal, aut insolitis motibus tremuerunt urbes. Garrula interdum hirundinum acies

circum morituros laeta volitavit, et peracto Venerabilium Dei Famulorum martyrio, obscura ferrugine sol texit nitidum caput atque impii carnifices aeternam noctem timuerunt. Sequuta tandem pervacuum quorundam infidelium ad Christi fidem conversio, ac teterrimae poenae, quibus plures e tyrannis tantarum caedium auctoribus obnoxii fuerunt tum Martyrum decus et gloriam auxerunt, tum sanguinem eorum vere semen Christianorum esse probarunt. Propterea inquisitionis confectis legitimis tabulis, atque ab Urbem transmissis, de ipsorum martyrio penes Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem causa agitari coepta est, omnibusque probationibus accurate perpensis, Nos per decreta lata, sexta nonas Iulias anni superiores, quinto Kalendas mensis Martii et octavo Kalendas Aprilis vertentis anno de septuaginta septem eorundem Venerabilium Dei Famulorum martyrio eiusque causa, itemque de miraculis seu signis constare solemniter ediximus duobus exceptis ex eo numere, nempe Venerabilibus Matthaeo Gam et Ioanne Aloisio Bonnard qui iis signis carent, quos tamen propter martyrii splendorem ac fortiter toleratam pro Christo mortem eodem censu ac reliqui martyres habendos esse iussimus.

Ad actorum vero legitimam seriem perficiendam illud supererat discutiendum, num ipsi Venerabiles Dei Servi inter Beatos Coelites tuto forent recensendi. Hoc praestitit dilectus filius Noster Caietanus S. R. E. presbyter Cardinalis Aloisi-Masella causae Relator in generalibus Comitibus ipsius Sacrae Rituum Congregationis habitis coram Nobis in Vaticanis aedibus sexto Kalendas Aprilis vertentis anni, omnesque tum Cardinales sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, tum qui aderant Patres Consultores unanimi suffragio affirmative responderunt. Nos vero iterandas esse preces censuimus, ut ad sententiam in tam gravi negotio ferendam divinae sapientiae praesidium Nobis compararemus. Dominica vero proxima solemnibus Christi Resurgentis huius saecularis anni eucharistico litato sacrificio, accitis dilecto filio Nostro praefato Cardinali Caietano Aloisi-Masella causae Relatore ac Pro-Praefecto SS. Rituum Congregationi ac R. P. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, una cum Revndo. eiusdem Cong.^{is} Secretario Diomede Panici, ad solemnem dictorum septem ac septuaginta Martyrum Beatificationem tuto procedi posse decrevimus. Quae cum ita sint, Nos precibus permoti quatuor Ordinum Religiosorum nempe Congregationis ab Exteris Missionibus, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Congregationis Missionis S. Vincentii a Paulo, atque Ordinis Minorum

S. Francisci Assisiensis, simulque annuentes votis Vicariorum Apostolicorum Tunquini, Cochinchinae et Sinarum Imperii, qui illis in regionibus Christi Martyrum sanguine purpuratis Dominico gregi advigilant, de consilio VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalium Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositorum, Apostolica Nostra auctoritate, praesentium vi, facultatem facimus, ut Venerabiles Servi Dei Ioannes Gabriel Taurin Dufresse, Episcopus Tabracensis, Petrus Dumoulim Borie, Episcopus electus, et socii quos ante nominavimus ab Exteris missionibus; Ignatius Delgado, Episcopus Mellipotamensis, Dominicus Henares, Episcopus Fesseitensis Ordinis Praedicatorum, sociique praedicti; tandem Franciscus Clet e Congregatione Missionis et Ioannes a Triora Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci, in odium fidei ab idololatrâ interfecti Beati nomine in posterum appellentur, eorumque corpora et lipsana seu reliquiae non tamen in solemnibus supplicationibus deferendae, publicae fidelium venerationi proponantur atque imagines radiis decorentur. Praeterea eadem Auctoritate Nostra concedimus, ut de illis recitetur Officium et Missa de communi plurimorum martyrum iuxta rubricas missalis et breviarii tum Romani tum Ordinis Praedicatorum cum orationibus propriis per Nos adprobatis. Eiusmodi vero Officii recitationem Missaeque celebrationem fieri concedimus in domibus ac templis quatuor dictorum Religiosorum Ordinum et Congregationum necnon Filiarum Charitatis, ab omnibus Christi fidelibus tam saecularibus quam regularibus qui horas canonicas recitare teneantur. Tandem concedimus ut supradictis in templis ubique terrarum existentibus, solemnia Beatificationis Venerabilium dictorum Dei Servorum celebrentur cum Officio et Missis duplicis Ritus: quod quidem fieri praecipimus die per Ordinarium respective definienda intra primum annum post quam eadem solemnia in Patriarchali Nostra Vaticana Basilica celebrata fuerint.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ac Decretis de non cultu editis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut harum Litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, dummodo manu Secretarii Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis subscripta sint et sigillo praefecti munita, eadem prorsus fides in disceptationibus etiam iudicialibus habeatur, quae Nostrae Voluntatis significationi hisce Litteris ostensis haberetur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die VII Maii MCM. Pontificatus Nostri Anno XXIII.

L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

REGULARS WHO BECOME SECULARIZED

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE

SUPER DISCIPLINA REGULARIUM

I.

DUBIA CIRCA RELIGIOSOS SAECULARIZATOS, RELATE AD BENEFICIA
ECCLES. OBTINENDA

Episcopus N. litteris diei 14 Ianuarii 1899 *tria dubia* proposuit S. Congregationi super Disciplina Regulari.

1. An Religiosi perpetuo Saecularizati '*simplici Rescripto Saecularizationis perpetuae*' auctoritatem habeant accipiendi, ac retinendi Beneficia Ecclesiastica, sive Residentialia, vel etiam cum animarum Cura sine Apostolicae Sedis habilitatione?

2. An *institutiones* Parochorum, et Canonicorum, ex-Religiosis TANTUM Saecularizatis perpetuo, neque ad Beneficia habilitatis sint *invalidae*, quamvis bona fide peractae?

3. An demum valeant ipsi in possessione Beneficiorum manere veluti *legitimi possessores*?

Et S. Congregatio hisce mature perpensis die 31 Ianuarii 1899 reposuit.

Ad primum — NEGATIVE.

Ad secundum — Investituras, de quibus in casu, esse *nullas in radice*.

Ad tertium — *Negative*, et recurrant ad S. Sedem pro *sanatione, revalidatione, habilitatione, et facultate*.

II.

Episcopus N. suis litteris 3 Februarii 1899, ad S. Congregationem dubium proposuit:

'Utrum Parochus M., perpetuo Saecularizatus, et *legitime in Curam animarum institutus*, posset facere suos fructus Beneficii Parochialis; et in *quam ratione*?'

Cui S. Ordo, die 21 Febr. 1899, reposuit:

AFFIRMATIVE *ad primam partem*, — ad 2.^{am} *Pro sui congrua sustentatione tantum*.

**MASSES CELEBRATED WITH HOSTS MADE OF DOUBTFUL
FLOUR**

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DUBIUM CIRCA MISSAS CELEBRATAS IN BONA VEL DUBIA FIDE, CUM
HOSTIIS CONFECTIS EX FARINA DE CUIUS GENUINITATE NON
CONSTAT

Episcopus N. N. S. Sedi, ut sequitur, exponit;

In hac mea dioecesi N. et in circumvicinis Dioecesibus venundantur a pluribus annis in magna quantitate, farinae haud genuinae, quae saepe fuerunt adhibitae etiam in efformandis hostiis pro S. Missa.

Plures sacerdotes in bona vel in dubia fide circa validitatem materiae, celebrarunt divinum Sacrificium cum hostiis ex hac farina confectis.

In peragenda S. Pastoralis Visitatione, quum gravitatem negotii perspicerem, totus fui in applicandis energicis remediis, providendo in singulis locis, sub severis sanctionibus: quae provisiones et sanctiones confirmatae fuerunt, et dein ad totam Dioecesim extensae per specialem litteram.

Ex illis dispositionibus turbata fuit *quoad praeteritum* conscientia nonnullorum sacerdotum, qui a me postulant quomodo sese gerere debeant relate ad missas iam celebratas cum supra dicta materia, et aliquando cum dubio circa validitatem.

Quapropter E. V. Rmam precor ut dignetur obtinere a S. Sede Aplica benignam sanationem in favorem praedictorum meorum sacerdotum (etiam pro missis extra dioecesim celebratis) et illa concessa, obtinere etiam ut possint ab omni gravamine conscientiae immunes fieri, recitando exiguum numerum missarum, qui iuxta mitissimam proportionem determinari possit ab Ordinario in singulis casibus.

Et S. Congr. Suprema S. Officii, mature perpenso hoc quaesito, in fer. IV die 27 Ianuarii 1897 audito voto Consultorum rescripsit: 'Supplicandum Sanctissimo ut suppleat de Thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, habita ratione circa missas celebrandas eorum qui in bona et eorum qui in dubia fide celebrarunt.' Sequenti vero fer. VI, 29 eiusdem mensis, facta relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, SSmus. 'resolutionem Emorum. Patrum confirmavit, et petitam gratiam benigne concessit.'

INDULGENCE FOR THE SCAPULAR OF THE SACRED HEART

CONCEDUNTUR INDULGENTIAE GESTANTIBUS NOVUM SCAPULARE

SS. CORDIS IESU

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Dilectus filius Cassianus Augier, sacerdos, praepositus generalis Congregationis Oblatorum B. M. V. Immaculatae, retulit, ad Nos, penes quamplurimos Christifideles piam ac laudabilem vigere consuetudinem gestandi supra pectus scapulare proprie dictum Sacri Cordis Iesu, confectum ex binis de more partibus quarum altera habet emblemata Sacri Cordis Iesu, et altera imaginem refert B. Mariae Virginis sub titulo *Matris misericordiae*, nuper per decretum die quarta aprilis vertentis anni editum, a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione approbatum. Nos autem ut fidelium devotio et studiosa pietas erga amantissimum Iesu Cor diffusa constanter maneat et majora in dies incrementa capiat, oblatis Nobis precibus annuentes, quo tam frugifera consuetudo per christianum orbem latius propagetur, peculiaribus eam indulgentiarum thesauris locupletari libenti quidem animo existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. ejus auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum existentibus, qui hujusmodi scapulare juxta formam confectum a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione approbatam, et a sacerdote debita facultate praedito rite benedictum suscipiant, die primo sollemnis impositionis, si admissorum confessione expiati, sanctissimum Eucharistiae sacra mentum sumpserint Plenariam, et in cujuslibet eorum mortis articulo, si vere quoque poenitentes et confessi ac sacra communione refecti, vel quatenus id facere nequiverint, saltem contriti, nomen Iesu ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde devote invocaverint, et mortem tanquam peccati stipendium de manu Domini patienti animo susceperint, etiam Plenariam; iis insuper qui devote ipsum scapulare habitualiter gestent, si pariter vere poenitentes et confessi ac sacra communione refecti, Nativitatis, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Paschatis, Resurrectionis et Ascensionis N. D. Iesu Christi festivitatibus, item festo Sanctissimi Corporis Domini, ac feria sexta post illius octavam, nec non Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumptionis Deiparae Virginis sub titulo *Matris misericordiae*, propriam cujusque curialem ecclesiam, sive aliud quodvis publicum templum sive sacellum, a primis vespers usque ad

occasum solis diei hujusmodi, singulis annis devote visitaverint et ibi pro christianorum principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac sanctae Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, quo ex praedictis die id praestiterint, Plenariam similiter omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Praeterea iisdem fidelibus ubique terrarum similiter existentibus, et memoratum scapulare rite gestantibus, qui in festis secundariis tum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, tum Deiparae Virginis, corde saltem contriti, et preces uti superius effundentes, quodvis publicum templum uti supra dictum est visitent, de numero poenaliū septem annos totidemque quadragenas; et quo die semel Orationem dominicam, Salutationem angelicam et trisagium recitent, contrito corde, aut invocationem: *Maria, Mater gratiae, Mater misericordiae, tu nos ab hoste protege et mortis hora suscipe*, ducentos dies, tandem quotiescumque pietatis quodlibet sive charitatis opus exercean, in forma Ecclesiae solita, de poenaliū similiter numero sexaginta dies expungimus.

Memoratis denique fidelibus largimur, ut si, designatis in Missali romano diebus, quamlibet ex ecclesiis vel publicis oratoriis supradictis, ubique terrarum, rite visitent, ibique iniuncta pietatis opera peragant, Stationum nuncupatas indulgentias lucrari valeant ac si personaliter illis ipsis diebus almae huius Urbis ecclesias de more visitassent. Porro concedimus ut fidelibus iisdem liceat plenariis hisce ac partialibus indulgentiis functorum vita labes poenasque, si malint, expiare. Non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de non concedendis indulgentiis ad instar, aliisque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris, servata tamen Nostra constitutione quoad suspensionem indulgentiarum pro vivis hoc sacri jubilaei durante anno. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum transumptis, seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae; utque earumdem litterarum (quod nisi fiat nullas eas esse volumus) exemplar ad secretariam Congregationis indulgentiis sacrisque reliquiis praeposita deferatur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatori die X Iulii MDCCCC, pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimotertio.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

ITALIAN CATHOLICS AND POLITICAL ELECTIONS

LEO XIII ITERUM INSTAT UT CATHOLICI ITALI NON INTERSINT
COMITIIS AD ORATORES POPULI ELIGENDOS

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI NOSTER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Quas Tu caeterique provinciae Antistites ad nos communiter dedistis litteras post Rhaudiensem conventum, magna animi voluptate perlegimus. Fuerunt nimirum illae praeclarum argumentum tum observantiae, qua desideriiis Nostris obsecundatis, tum studii, quo utilitatesstrarum ecclesiarum provehitis assidue. Quod quidem studium eo imprimis adhiberi exoptamus, ut maximi obedientiae officium a fidelibus fiat erga Sedem hanc Apostolicam. Doluimus enim fuisse quosdam, ac porro esse, qui catholicis suadere sint ausi, ut decretum posthabeant, quo Nos iamdiu ediximus non expedire interesse comitiis ad oratores populi eligendos. Hi sane Nostrae et Sedis Apostolicae conditio quae modo sit, vel omnino ignorant, vel, contra officium, praetereundum existimant. Instent igitur et perficiant Episcopi, ut mandatis hisce Nostris pareatur sancte; quae enim suaserunt rationes et maximi momenti sunt et integrae adhuc vigent, neque adiunctis ullis extenuantur.

Nihil plane dubitandum quin Deus industrias vestras sit amplissime fortunaturus. Ut tamen coelestia munera vobis gregibusque vestris uberius conciliemus, Nos gratias de officio vestro agentes, Tibi caeterisque Episcopis ac fidelibus cuique creditis Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum die VIII Iunii MCM Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

‘Dilecto filio nostro Andreae Tit. S. Anastasiae S. R. E. Presb. Cardinali Ferrari Archiepiscopo Mediolanensi.’

THE ABJURATION OF HERETICS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

HAERETICORUM ABIURATIONES RECIPI POSSUNT CORAM QUOPIAM AB
EPO DELEGATO UTI NOTARIO, ET ALIQUIBUS PERSONIS UTI
TESTIBUS

REVERENDISSIME DOMINE,

In Congregatione Generali habita feria IV. die 28 Martii 1900
expensis Amplitudinis Tuae precibus die 1. dieti signati, quibus

petis, an abjuratio haereticorum recipi possit absque interventu Notarii, id est coram solo Sacerdote ab Episcopo delegato aut coram tali Sacerdote et teste, Eminentissimi Domini Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales respondendum decreverunt; 'Haereticorum abjuratiorem recipi posse *coram quopiam ab Episcopo delegato ut Notario* et aliquibus personis uti testibus.'

Ad plenioram vero Amplitudinis Tuae informationem sequens Decretum Tibi communicandum mandarunt.

Ex Litteris S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide 8 Aprilis 1786 ad Ep. Limericensem: Non est necesse, ut qui a catholica fide defecerunt, ad eamque post modum reverti cupiunt, publicam abjuratiorem praemittant, sed satis est, ut privatim coram paucis abjurent, dummodo tamen promissa servant ac revera abstineant communicare cum haereticis in spiritualibus aut quidquam facere quod haeresis protestativum sit. Idem sentiendum de iis, qui haeresim, in qua usque ab initio educato fuere, privatim abjurent.

Fausta quaque ac felicia Tibi a Deo precor.

uti frater

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

Rmo. Dno. Episcopo N.

INVALIDITY OF ORDINATION

ITERETUR SUB CONDITIONE ORDINATIO PRESBYTERI IN QUA PRIMA
MANUUM IMPOSITIO FACTA EST SINE TACTU PHYSICO

BEATISSIMO PATER,

Il Vescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V. devotamente espone quanto appresso:

Nella ordinazione di un sacerdote, avuta luogo nel luglio 1897, fu fatta la prima imposizione delle mani ma senza il tatto fisico sul capo dell'ordinando da parte del Vescovo e dei preti assistenti.

Benchè a taluni sia parsa valida tale ordinazione, secondo l'insegnamento del Perrone, che ripone nella seconda imposizione delle mani la materia essenziale del presbiterato, non venendo la prima da nessuna forma di parole determinata; nondimeno, per maggior sicurezza in cosa così rilevante, umilmente chiede che cosa debba fare per la detta ordinanza.

Feria IV, die 4 Iulii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab

EE mis. et RR mis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, exposito praedicto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres rescribendum mandarunt :

‘Ordinationem esse iterandam ex integro sub conditione et secreto, quocumque die, facto verbo cum SSmo. ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis celebratis ut in casu.’

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 6 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit ac gratiam benigne concessit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

EDITORIAL NOTES

AN EXPLANATION

WE have received for publication a letter from a respected correspondent at present visiting Ireland which we cannot but read as a plainly implied criticism of the way in which the Bishops of Ireland discharge, in some important respects, the duties of their episcopal office. As the I. E. RECORD is published not merely under the diocesan 'Imprimatur' but under 'Episcopal Sanction,' we could not feel at liberty to publish such a letter on our own responsibility. Having taken the advice which it was our duty to take in the very unusual circumstances of the case, we feel constrained, acting on the advice we have received, to decline publishing the letter.

Acting on the same advice we have sent a copy of the letter to His Eminence, Cardinal Logue, and to each of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops. It has been pointed out to us that in so far as there may be any ground for the criticisms embodied in the letter, this is the proper way to bring the matters in question under the notice of those primarily responsible. We are reminded too that the Bishops have quite recently been assembled in National Synod, and that a communication such as that which has been forwarded to us for publication might much more properly have been addressed to their Lordships, or to some member of their body, with a view to having the matters referred to in it considered, and, in so far as might be necessary, effectively dealt with by episcopal authority, in that assembly.

We have also forwarded a copy of the letter to the Provincials of the various Religious Orders and Congregations of Priests in Ireland, inasmuch as a substantial part of the criticism is directed against the way in which members of at least some of these religious bodies discharge their missionary duties.

In view of inferences that might perhaps be drawn from these references to the letter of our respected correspondent, it has been suggested to us to state that several of the matters which he has made the subject of criticism have been expressly approved by the Holy See.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY OF IRELAND

THE success of the 'Catholic Truth Society of Ireland' has already far surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its promoters. An enormous number of booklets have been distributed through the country through the agency of the Society, and every week brings new applications for boxes and books. It is only natural that in the crush of work at the beginning there should have been some delays and disappointments. The staff is small and the funds of the Society will not allow it to be increased for some time to come. It is only gradually that things can be got into shape.

We are, therefore, authorized to appeal to the patience and good will of those who may not have their orders attended to as rapidly as they might desire, and to assure them that from this forward we do not anticipate any hitch or delay of any kind. The indefatigable Secretary, Mr. John Rochford, who, without fee or reward, has placed his splendid abilities at the service of the Society and has piloted it through its initial difficulties, will be glad to hear of any irregularity or mishap, and will, we may be sure, do everything that can be done to set things right.

The Society has undoubtedly a great future before it, but it must be generously supported at the start if it is to accomplish all that is expected of it. It began modestly with penny booklets. We trust that it may soon be in a position to deliver to the public larger and more important works.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

COMMENTARII DE RELIGIONE REVELATA EJUSQUE
 FONTIBUS AC DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI. Auctore
 Joanne MacGuinness, C.M. Dublin: M. H. Gill &
 Son. Price 4s. 6d. net.

WE gladly welcome a new volume of the admirable course of dogmatic theology which Father MacGuinness is giving to the world. It preserves and emphasises the excellence of former volumes. The clearness of style, the masterly grasp of leading principles, the thorough treatment of all important questions, which were the distinguishing marks of previous volumes, are found also in this work on Revealed Religion and the Church.

There is one merit of the book which we wish to specially indicate to our readers. It is the wide reading and persevering industry in research which every page makes manifest. The author has read and utilised every work of importance which modern times have contributed to the subjects which he discusses. Even works of minor value have had their due weight in influencing his mode of thought.

We regret to find no chapter on the history of religion in the present volume. Nowadays this interesting science has a special use and charm for apologists. Though it is comparatively recent as a science, much has been already done by it towards clearing away the mists of oblivion which have so long enveloped the religions of early races. We gradually behold the truth laid bare. Christian scholars find new and unexpected confirmation of their faith. It is a pity that Father MacGuinness has not thought it well to briefly treat so useful a subject. Doubtless he considered it too vast to admit of any satisfactory treatment in a volume that is occupied about so many questions which bear more directly on Revealed Religion.

We wish the volume the success it deserves. We hope Irish colleges and Irish priests will not fail to encourage Irish talent, which this volume of theology displays in a high degree.

J. M. H.

OUR CATHOLIC BLUE-JACKETS. A suggestion and a protest.

By the Rev. Henry Browne, S.J. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. 6d.

ALTHOUGH we do not look upon the naval grievance from exactly the same standpoint as Father Browne, we welcome his pamphlet both for the valuable information it contains, and because it shows that the protest against this special form of injustice to Catholics is not going to be allowed to languish and die. If Catholic grievances are brought forward, and an agitation raised against them which is then suddenly dropped, English statesmen may well conclude that they have only to stave off discussion somehow for a while, and that the question will soon fade away from sight and memory.

The remedy suggested by Father Browne, and before him by Cardinal Logue, for the present condition of things, is the appointment of a Catholic chaplain to each squadron of ships.

'I understand,' he writes, 'that the Admiralty, in the person of the First Lord, have already promised to supply such chaplains to squadrons on special service.'

But in asking for the very moderate concession that similar provision should be made 'in all cases of Her Majesty's ships acting together, at home or in foreign waters,' he does so with all due reserve. For he says:—'I understand that the difficulties in the way of this solution are supposed to be very great, and perhaps they are not all on the part of the Admiralty.' How difficulties could be raised on the ecclesiastical side to prevent poor Irish Catholic sailors from getting access to the Sacraments it is not easy to imagine much less to understand. But then, as Father Browne truly observes: 'In dealing with questions which have to be ultimately decided by an understanding between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, there is always a great danger in unauthorized persons insisting unduly on their own views, for they can have only a very partial knowledge of the conditions and the difficulties of the problem.' The common sense of public opinion is, nevertheless, often of great assistance to the negotiators.

If a remedy has been found in the case of the army why should not something similar be done in the case of the navy? If some one bishop who is known to take an interest in these poor Irish sailors, were authorized to take the matter in hands, he would represent the Catholic body in all negotiations with

the Admiralty; he would make a careful study of the whole situation; he would know where vested interests clashed with the interests of the sailors; he would be in a position to obtain Papal approval for any arrangements that might be necessary; and he would have the whole Catholic body at his back to fight for Catholic rights in the service, and to provide suitable chaplains. And when once he began to interest himself in ports and ships, he might endeavour to do something for that still more forsaken body, the Catholic sailors of the mercantile marine. There are plenty of Protestant zealots at Marseilles, at Lisbon, at Tangiers, Naples, Palermo, Trieste, Constantinople, Smyrna, not to speak of the numerous ports of the Far East, who do a large traffic in souls as well as in merchandise. They lay their traps for our poor Catholic sailors, and inveigle many of them to Protestant homes, where they must assist at Protestant prayers, and attend at Protestant places of worship. It is only one who makes a careful study of the whole question, and obtains the most trustworthy information from all parts, who could be expected to meet all the requirements of the situation.

The suggestion made by Father Browne to utilize 'St. Joseph's Union' for the purpose of providing chaplains is an admirable one. Whether it is advisable to recruit them exclusively from the sons of Catholic sailors is a question on which we have not sufficient 'data' to be able to express an opinion. The chief thing at present is to get the Admiralty regulations changed. The question of providing the chaplains can then be faced.

What Father Browne tells us of the condition of things in the Far East is deplorable, and we trust that, whatever the ultimate solution of the question may be, the spiritual interests of so many poor Irish sailors, so far away from the influences of home and kindred, may not be left much longer to foreigners, however zealous and well-intentioned they may be. That Father Browne's pamphlet will hasten the solution of the difficulty one way or another we have no doubt; and on that account we welcome it, and recommend it to our readers.

J. F. H.

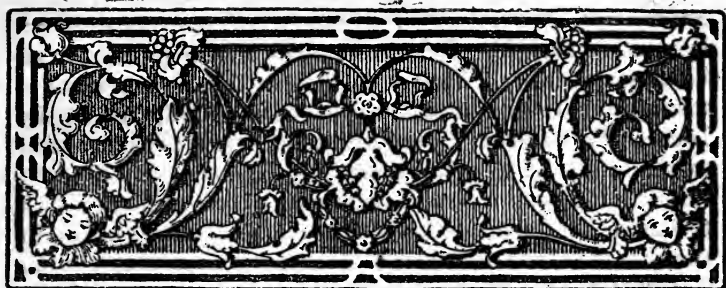
THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, July, 1900.
M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd., Linenhall Press, Belfast.

OF all the archæological journals published in Ireland, the '*Ulster*' easily holds the field. For varied and extensive

learning, for the accuracy of the information conveyed, and the fine artistic taste of those who are responsible for its management the *Ulster Journal* is quite remarkable. It is, moreover, broad and enlightened in its references to matters religious, only anxious to get contributions from the best scholars of the time, whether Catholic or Protestant. The last numbers of the *Journal* that have been sent to us well maintain the reputation of the organ that was enriched by the labours of Bishop Reeves.

The old series of the *Ulster Journal* is now valuable and costly because it contains the contributions of so many distinguished scholars that it has become a work of reference of the first importance to Irish historians. We believe that the present series will be equally valuable at least for local history.

The illustrated articles on 'Armorial Sculptured Stones of the County Antrim' would do credit to any archæological journal in the world. As the yearly subscription is only five shillings, and as the *Journal* is such excellent value, we sincerely hope that it will get that measure of encouragement from the public which it so well deserves.



‘THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND’

THE conversion of England seems to be a subject of perennial interest. Outside this little island many hearts are praying and watching for the return of England to her ancient faith. The Holy Father in his old age looks towards England to-day with as much earnestness as Pope Gregory did thirteen hundred years ago. The solicitude ‘of all the churches’ is upon him, but the conversion of England seems to be the special object of the closing years of his long and glorious pontificate. His Apostolic letter concerning Anglican orders is still fresh in our minds. He has established the ‘Arch-Confraternity of our Lady of Compassion’ at St. Sulpice for the return of England to the Catholic faith. He has set in motion the machinery of prayer, and not alone in France, but in the convents of Italy, Belgium, Spain, and America prayers are daily offered up for our separated brethren. He has endowed the Collegio Beda in Rome, for the education of convert clergymen. Leo XIII. knows well what an immense advantage to the Church the conversion of England would be, and he sees that under the British flag Catholics would enjoy a greater religious freedom than in countries entirely Catholic.

The present position of the Catholic Church in England

is most favourable. Fifty years ago we were practically an unknown quantity. It is true that in the large centres of manufactures there was a fair proportion of Catholics, chiefly Irish. We had our Vicars Apostolic, a few noblemen, and in the north of England many old Catholic families, who through the long years of persecution had remained true to the faith of their fathers. In the midland counties, in the west and south of England, there was probably one church in the very large towns, but the faith had not reached the masses, it had not touched the intelligence nor the heart of the nation. The Church of England was the Church of the church-goers. It embraced the wealth and the intelligence of the country. It had no rival. The followers of John Wesley, the Baptists, and, later on, the ubiquitous Salvation Army, had their chapels, conventicles, and barracks, but they could not pretend to run in the race with the Established Church. We were an obscure, an ignored 'sect.' Few in numbers, and too weak to assert our rights, we patiently endured the contempt and obloquy which were heaped upon us. We had no social status, very little influence in Parliament, the name of Catholic in these days was the synonym for the anarchist of to-day. What a change has come over England in the past half-century. The 'spirit of God has moved over the waters,' and to-day we are nearer than ever to the fulfilment of the aspirations of Wiseman, and the prophecies of John Henry Newman. Just fifty years ago, on the 29th of September, the decree re-establishing the Hierarchy in England was signed by Pius IX., of holy memory. What commotion and sleeping bigotry were aroused when the great archbishop landed on our shores, coming like a second Augustine. It is best to forget those troublous times. But the task set before Wiseman was greater than Augustine's. St. Augustine came to a rude and untutored people; the great Irishman had to contend against an established Church, and a mountain of prejudice that seemed all but impassable. Slowly the great work went on: the shouters of 'No Popery' grew weary, the persecution ceased, and the coming of Wiseman seemed to give a fresh lease of life and vigour to the crippled Church. To that

historic church of St. Mary's, Moorfields, came crowds of listeners of all and no denomination to hear the first Archbishop of Westminster. Side by side with the ragged Irish labourer were to be seen representatives of the House of Commons and Peers, business men and gentle folk, lawyers and authors. Conversions followed, not, perhaps, so quickly as was anticipated, and the most bigoted listeners at St. Mary's went away with changed feelings towards the Church of Rome, and a conviction that its representative at Westminster was a man of deep learning, and of wide and varied culture. It is safe to say, at this distance of time, that no better prelate could be found to guide the destinies of the Church in England fifty years ago than Dr. Wiseman. His 'Discourses' have come down to us bereft of the eloquence and persuasiveness with which they were uttered, but they reveal the marvellous skill and tact of the orator. The good seed was sown—the wall of prejudice partially broken down, and England, in the words of the cardinal's famous pastoral, 'received a place among the fair Churches which form the splendid aggregate of Catholicism.'

Such, at a glance, was the Church in England fifty years ago. More than a generation of men has passed away since the restoration of the Hierarchy. We have reached, therefore, a time when we may briefly review the condition of the Church in England and examine its future prospects from present data. The history of Catholicism in that brief period exhibits, in a remarkable way, the vitality of the Church of God. From a mere handful of Catholics we have grown to one million and a-half. Despised and downtrodden no longer we have risen to a position of eminence and respect among the Churches. Fifty years ago there was scarcely a Catholic officer of rank in the army, to-day in South Africa alone there are four Catholic generals, twenty-three colonels, and three hundred officers of various grades. I shall refer to the navy in another portion of this paper. For the present it is enough to say that every position in the navy, from the rank of warrant officer to First Lord of the Admiralty, is open to Catholics. At home and in the colonies Catholics take a leading place. It is the same in

the learned professions, in the diplomatic service, and in government offices. In the boards of guardians, county councils, presiding over municipal boroughs, in the household of her Majesty, Catholics to-day take their place side by side with Protestants. Catholicism has grown on every side. There is scarcely an aristocratic family that has not relations and friends in the Catholic Church. Many of the descendants of those who railed and wrote against us in the bitterest tones fifty years ago, are to-day the followers and champions of the 'faith once delivered to the saints.' The list of names would be too long, but I may mention a notable example—the brother, nephews, nieces of James Anthony Froude (one of the most bigoted Protestant historians of the century) are all converts to the faith. The number of conversions throughout England is steadily increasing. Day by day we hear of converts flowing in. Week by week the announcement is made of some notable conversion, chiefly from the ranks of the Anglican clergy. It is difficult for us who have always been Catholics to realize the sacrifice such conversions mean. Born in the Establishment, brought up in surroundings where the Catholic Church is never spoken of but to be mocked and reviled, educated in colleges and universities where the masters and professors are opposed to everything Catholic except our endowments—the conversion of such men is nothing less than a miracle of grace. Often, perhaps, they have spent years in the Anglican ministry, preaching and administering the few sacraments they still have left them, ministering to the poor, and leading a busy life that leaves but little time to examine the claims of our Church should a doubt arise as to the insecurity of their position. The lives of many of these zealous men are fashioned as closely as possible on the model of the priesthood. They dress like us, wear our vestments, encourage auricular confession, go through an imitation of the Mass, and are sometimes saluted by the endearing name of 'father.' In time the doubt comes that, perhaps, their sacraments are invalid—the 'Roman fever' attacks them, and they go with their doubts to some old experienced director, who soon disposes of their troubles. They are put

down infallibly to 'temptations of the Devil,' and then the unfailing prescription :—

Do not go to Rome: you have everything they have; you gain nothing by going over, you lose everything; why leave the Church of your baptism? Just take a holiday on the continent and see with your own eyes the 'superstitions' of Rome. And, Henry, don't forget to take with you Dr. Crow's *Refutation of Popery* and Jackson's *Confession of a Pervert*—the small pocket edition.

For a time, perhaps, this cruel advice produces the desired effect, but the temptation returns, and fresh symptoms of the 'fever' manifest themselves and there is nothing left now but to consult another and a better physician—a Catholic priest. In a few sympathetic and fatherly words the priest clears away his doubts and puts into his hands Bruno's *Catholic Belief*, or some other approved work explaining the Catholic position. The troubles and anxieties cease and peace succeeds under the shadow of the 'Mighty Mother.' But what a sacrifice; what a great grace! Ah; we little dream, we little know the pain and hidden anguish which such a course implies. To unlearn the false tradition of years, to put off the character of teacher and assume that of a child, to study the penny catechism and prepare for the first confession and first communion—more difficult still to sever the links of friendship and tender associations that bind the pastor and parishioners so closely together. But there is a silver lining to the cloud. He realizes for the first time that the sacrifice is as nothing compared to the treasure he has found. He is a Catholic, he is at last in the 'courts of the true Jerusalem, the Queen of Saints and mother of us all.' In the following simple yet graceful lines many readers will recognise the state of mind which I have attempted to describe.

A praise and glory on the earth
Ah, holy Rome, art thou!
I gazed on thee with wond'ring awe
When I loved thee not, as now.

Thou seemed'st some vast and shadowy form
To wond'ring childhood's eyes,
Where 'neath vague fear and mystery dim
A hidden horror lies.

Nearer I gazed and glimpses came,
 As lightning flashes bright;
 Awe-struck and dazzled shrank I back
 As from unearthly might.

My charmed eye still there was fixed—
 Was it a softening gleam,
 As when from dark and lurid cloud
 Flashes the sunbright beam?

Was it a smile, that beam so soft,
 That met my raptured gaze?
 Still milder, softer grew the light,
 Still brighter beam'd the rays.

With timid eye I upward glanced
 Towards that crowned brow:
 Some Queen all bright and glorious seemed
 Thy form majestic, now.

And still as longer dwelt my gaze,
 So vanished fear and dread;
 And now, with firm, but gentle, might,
 My steps she onward led.

* * * * *

Oh, Queen, my heart within me faints,
 Such glory to behold;
 I tread a dim and earthly path—
 Oh! loose thy awful hold.

The golden portal open flings,
 Within the hall I stand;
 That awful Queen with gentle brow,
 Still kept on me her hand.

It is a pleasure to read the record of such conversions—more pleasant, still, to welcome them into the Church, and, if the ecclesiastical authorities approve, into the ranks of the priesthood. The conversion of such men as the late Dr. Luke Rivington, Monsignor Croke-Robinson, Father Langdon of Launceston, Father Maturin, the Rev. C. R. Chase, late of All Saints, Plymouth, and numbers of others, has a far-reaching influence for the Catholic Church. Their submission set men thinking, and thinking men who read and are open to conviction, will inevitably find their way into the true fold.

Our churches, too, have grown and multiplied. In Westminster, Southwark, Salford, Liverpool and Birmingham the increase is remarkable. The growth in the other dioceses is gradual and well-sustained. Referring to the Catholic directories, we find the number of churches and priests in England stated as follows :—

Year.			Churches.	Priests.
1850	587	788
1900	1,861	2,812

Roughly speaking, the increase in churches and priests is nearly four-fold. The number of priests in Westminster and Liverpool to-day exceeds the total number of priests in the whole of England fifty years ago by thirty-six. Such is the expansion and multiplication of the Church in England since the restoration of the Hierarchy, as certified by statistics. Much yet remains to be done in the way of church-building to meet the needs of the growing Catholic population, but the figures produced will be pleasant reading for Catholics in every part of the world.

Another pleasant feature to notice is the growing popularity of the priesthood among all denominations and every class of society. It is not exactly the popularity of the ‘for he’s a jolly good-fellow’ type, but a growing feeling of respect and admiration for the Catholic priest as a hard-worked self-denying man, whose life is spent for the good of others, not for himself. Often, indeed, his income is barely sufficient to give him a decent support, but the road-worn tramp and the poor man in difficulties know that they have one friend in every town where there is a Catholic church. They turn to the presbytery :—

Secure ‘mid danger, wrongs and griefs
Of sympathy, redress, relief.

The Catholic priest in England is looked upon no longer with the feelings of distrust and suspicion of other days, but with feelings of respect, and very often of affection by the Protestant portion of the community where his lot is cast. Of course there are many places still where the more modern ideas have not yet penetrated, and where the

traditional hatred of the priesthood is nursed and fanned by men of the type of Hugh Price Hughes and the political parson, whose latest effusion is the *Scarlet Lady*. But this old-world bigotry is dying fast, and men are growing more tolerant with the spread of education. It is a hopeful and encouraging sign of the times.

The inevitable result of the great expansion of the Church is to multiply its wants and to show up the weak points in its organization. The dangers and hindrances to the further development of Catholicism are matters for serious consideration. In a recent speech Cardinal Vaughan stated that in the archdiocese alone there are between thirty and thirty-six thousand children in grave danger of being lost to the faith. This is a sad confession, and many a hard-working priest in England knows that what is true of the archdiocese is relatively true of his own mission. Children leave school when they reach the age of ten or twelve—just the critical time. Their character is yet unformed, the faculties are not developed, and they must go out into the world. It is a hard lot, a cruel destiny, but there is no alternative. Thus they are removed from school influence, thrown into an atmosphere of temptation, and exposed to evil on every side. The natural consequence is that they drift into indifferentism, and are gradually lost to the Church. Many Catholic children must of necessity attend the Board schools, and the English Board school is little better than the State schools of Paris. Who is to blame for this lamentable state of affairs? What provision are we to make for our poor children whose faith is thus endangered? It is difficult to apportion the blame—more difficult, still, to suggest an effective remedy. Meanwhile thousands of our children are being lost to the faith, and in a single generation this means an incalculable loss.

I referred in an earlier portion of this paper to the navy. Thanks to the spirited Pastoral of Cardinal Logue, the long-agitated question of making proper provision for the spiritual wants of our Catholic sailors seems very near solution. On every battleship there is an Anglican chaplain. For the whole British navy there are only two Catholic chaplains—

one at Portsmouth, the other at Devonport. It is a crying shame, and the loss and leakage to the Church through this injustice is difficult to estimate. A cruiser with, let us say, one hundred Catholic sailors on board, is commissioned for the Pacific station. During the voyage there is, of course, no Mass, no instruction to remind them of the faith in which they were brought up in distant Ireland. The commission is usually about three years, and whether they go to confession once during that time nobody knows and no one seems to care. Very often it is impossible for them to go to their duties as there are very few English-speaking priests at the foreign stations. On wet Sundays the sailors are never allowed on shore to go to Mass, though this extreme consideration for the sailors is forgotten when it is a question of going to a concert, or a few days' leave. The consequence is not difficult to foresee. Many of our poor Irish tars return home with their faith much weakened, and after two or three such commissions as I have described, the result is, sometimes, disastrous. I have come across such men with, I grieve to say it, names as Irish as the bogs, and they resented my asking them when they made their last confession. With their faith thus weakened and practically lost, it is not surprising to hear of them marrying in a registry office, and bringing up their children as Protestants. I need not dwell longer on these painful revelations. Such extreme cases are probably of rare occurrence, but one such case is enough to make one shudder for the fate of our poor Irish boys who join the British navy. Let the Irish bishops follow the example of Cardinal Logue, and in their Pastorals advise Irish parents to keep their children from the navy till better provision is made for their spiritual wants, and the Lords of the Admiralty will not dare to continue this crying injustice. If England cannot fight her battles without Irish sinew and Irish muscle, let them impose such conditions that it will be possible for them to join the service without sacrificing the only possession left to them—the heritage of a glorious faith.

The great obstacle in the way of England's conversion is, without doubt, the peculiar undefinable religious feeling

among the masses of the people. It is impossible to define exactly this peculiar religious, or, rather, irreligious feeling. Unquestionably, rationalism and unbelief are growing fast in England—rationalism in the educated, and unbelief among the masses. The 'Open Bible' and the interminable disputes in the Establishment are, to a great extent, responsible for so much irreligion. The Church of England is going to pieces. It is a 'house of many mansions,' and the comprehensiveness which was its pride seems now to be its greatest danger. The fact is that since the Reformation there is no helm in the Protestant 'ship,' at least, there is no hand on the tiller, and the natural consequence is that they are 'blown about by every wind of doctrine.' Private judgment has usurped the authority of the chair of Peter; it has got a fair trial, and the verdict seems to be that it is 'the booking office to the city of universal confusion.' Honest Anglicans are drawing closer and coming over to us by the silly and compromising 'opinions' of the archbishops; others are disgusted, and drift into unbelief. It is not difficult, then, to believe that scepticism is the true Anglican layman's faith. He has no confidence in the majority of the bishops, and he wisely hesitates to pin his faith to the uncertain preaching of the parsons. The Nonconformist Churches have a far greater hold upon their followers than the Established Church. Their religion is free and easy; their tenets few and simple; and, generally speaking, they do not approve of such a place as hell. They do not relish the idea of eternal punishment in another world, and rarely mention it, except to explain it away. Their ritual, too, is simplicity itself, and many illiterate laymen have an opportunity of preaching in the Nonconformist chapels which would be denied them in the Church of England. Such a religion, or, rather, congeries of religions, find much favour among the lower orders of the English people. The average Englishman likes and approves of a religion from which such practices as fasting, confession, and all self-restraint is strictly excluded. When he is brought up to believe that he can get to heaven without such inconvenient commandments, he, very naturally, gives the

Catholic Church the widest berth. Cardinal Newman, in his sermon, 'Christ upon the Waters,' gives us a fine portrait of the Englishman and his idea of religion. He says:—

He gets his opinions anyhow, some from the nursery, some at school, some from the world, and has a zeal for them because they are his own. Other men at least exercise a judgment upon them, and prove them by a rule. He does not care to do so, but he takes them as he finds them, whether they fit together or not, and makes light of the incongruity, and thinks it a proof of common sense, good sense, strong, shrewd sense to do so. All he cares for is that he should not be put to rights; of that he is jealous enough. He is satisfied to walk about dressed just as he is. As opinions come, so they must stay with him. And as he does not trouble in his acquisition of them, so he resents criticism in his use. When, then, the awful form of Catholicism, of which he has already heard so much good and so much evil—so much evil which revolts him, so much good which amazes and troubles him—when this great vision, which hitherto he has known from books and from rumour, but not by sight and by hearing, presents itself before him, it finds in him a being very different from the simple Anglo-Saxon to whom it originally came. It finds in him a being not of rude nature, but of formal habits, averse to change and resentful of interference; a being who looks hard at it and repudiates and loathes it—first of all, because, if listened to, it would give him much trouble. He wishes to be let alone; but here is a teaching which purports to be revealed, which would mould his mind on new ideas which he has to learn, and which, if he cannot learn thoroughly, he must borrow from strangers. The very notion of a theology or a ritual frightens and oppresses him; it is a yoke, because it makes religion difficult, not easy. There is enough of labour in learning matters of this life without concerning one's self with the revelations of another. He does not choose to believe that the Almighty has told us so many things, and he readily listens to any person or argument maintaining the negative. And, moreover, he resents the idea of interference itself: 'an Englishman's house is his castle;' a maxim most salutary in politics, most dangerous in moral conduct. He cannot bear the thought of not having a will of his own, or an opinion of his own on any given subject of inquiry whatever it be. It is intolerable, as he considers, not to be able, on the most awful and difficult subjects, to think for one's self; it is an insult to be told that God has spoken and superseded investigation. . . . Strange as it may seem to those who do not know him, he really believes in that accidental collection of tenets of which I have been speaking; habit has made it all natural to him, and he takes it for granted; he thinks his own view of things as clear as day,

and every other view irrational and ludicrous. In good faith and in sincerity of heart, he thinks the Englishman knows more about God's dealings with man than anyone else; and he measures all things in heaven and earth by the floating opinions which have been drifted into his mind.

I might proceed further, and enumerate many other grievances and obstacles; but within the limits of a short review one must be satisfied to have called attention to the most important. And now to sum up. We have seen our progress and expansion, our dangers and obstacles; what are our prospects?

It is difficult for the Catholic Church to make much headway in a country so saturated with anti-Catholic ideas; but 'with God nothing is impossible.' We have made wonderful progress during the past half-century; have we not good reasons to hope for greater things in the next fifty years? England was once the 'dowry' of Mary; for hundreds of years there was no country more devoted to Peter than England, and nowhere, excepting Italy, was there a land which had given so many martyrs to the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope. She has been dedicated over again to the Virgin Mother of God and to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. Churches bearing her name are springing up again in this land; processions are held in her honour, and her sweet name is invoked again in a land which, three hundred years ago, was bereft of so powerful a patronage. The Ritualists, too, have taken kindly to our Lady; they pray to her to intercede for them; and from many a pulpit outside the Catholic Church the name of Mary is heard, and her virtues extolled. It is well, it is what we have been praying for, that this country would own her again as its queen and mother. In the *Memorare* of St. Bernard it is said 'that never has it been known, in any age, that those who appealed to Mary for assistance were ever left abandoned by her;' and the incense of many prayers rising up before her throne in heaven has already drawn down many blessings on this desolate land. Let us hope, let us pray, that her sweet name may be lisped once again by the little ones; that it

may linger on the lips of the aged and the dying; and that her powerful influence may be further exerted to win back the land which was once proud to be called her 'dowry.'

And the shadow of the saints is again stealing over the land. St. Benedict is there, speaking to us by the voice of the holy and learned Bishop of Newport and of many priests. The grand old abbey of Buckfast, for three hundred years a ruin, and a silent witness of the past glories of the Order in England, is once again in the possession of the sons of St. Benedict, and to its hospitable roof the sinner and the pilgrim are welcome as of old. The white wool of St. Dominic is there, preaching and invoking the same power which overthrew the Albigenses. The sons of St. Bernard are there, too, communing in the solitude, and encouraging us by their prayers and the example of their hidden lives. And the sons of the soldier saint, Ignatius, are there, the pioneers and champions of learning, the 'Life Guards' of the grand army of the Catholic Church. Others, too, are there, healing and blessing this sacrilegious nation, a sure proof that the arm of the Lord has not waxen short, nor His mercy failed. Will England become Catholic again? We do not know; we can only hope and pray. To build up the Church again in England is too great an act to be done in a hundred years. One thing we may be certain of—that the Catholic Church has come to stay in this country; and in another fifty years it is not at all improbable that Catholicity and infidelity will be the two opposing forces in England, swaying and moulding the mind and intellect of the nation. There is a great deal of uphill work before us; but we have no slight outfit for the warfare. The saints and martyrs of England are interceding for us. The blood of those martyrs who died three centuries ago, and since, is a witness that England did not willingly give up the faith. The long imprisonment, the weary dungeons, the savage tortures of those holy victims, are they to have no reward? The 'blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church,' and the blood of those glorious martyrs shall purify and re-consecrate the soil to God. The Romeward movement in the Church of

England is another good omen. Thousands of clergymen of the Established Church are preaching from as many pulpits the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Vaughan, at a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society two years ago, said:—

The doctrines of the Catholic Church, which had been rejected and condemned as being blasphemous, superstitious, and fond inventions, have been re-examined, and taken back, one by one, until the Thirty-nine Articles have been banished and buried as a rule of faith. The Real Presence, the sacrifice of the Mass, offered for the living and the dead—sometimes even in Latin; not infrequent reservation of the sacrament, regular auricular confession, extreme unction, purgatory, prayers for the dead, devotions to our Lady, to her Immaculate Conception, the use of the Rosary, and the invocation of saints, are doctrines taught, and accepted with a growing desire and relish for them, in the Church of England. A celibate clergy, the institution of monks and nuns under vows, retreats for the clergy, missions for the people, fasting and other penitential exercises, candles, lamps, incense, crucifixes, images of the Blessed Virgin and the saints held in honour, stations of the cross, cassocks, cottas, Roman collars, birettas, copes, dalmatics, vestments, mitres, croziers, the adoption of an ornate Catholic ritual, and now, recently, an elaborate display of the whole ceremonial of the Catholic Pontifical—all this speaks a change and a movement towards the Catholic Church that would have appeared absolutely incredible at the beginning of the century.

E. O'DEA.

THE NEW VARIATIONS

II.—CRITICISM OF THE HEXATEUCH

AS in a previous paper¹ we endeavoured to show that amongst the higher critics of the New Testament there was harmony neither in principle nor conclusion; in this our object is to see if the application of similar methods of study to the Old Testament has been attended by similar results, if the various schools are in a position of mutual conflict, if the note of Rationalism is still Variation.

Notwithstanding some crude attempts of Carlstadt to call in question the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, Hobbes and Spinoza, by reviving the doubts of Aben Ezra, may be said to have initiated modern higher criticism of the Old Testament.² Laying hold on the difficulties which, as Catholic students well know, are scattered over the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, they insisted that anachronism, repetition, contradiction and laudatory personal reference to Moses rendered the old theory of authorship untenable, and postulated as the period of composition an age when the settlement of Canaan had been so long an accomplished fact as to enable the traditions of its origin and progress to become faint and obscure, and to permit the development of an elaborate ritual with a highly organized and powerful priesthood. In the controversy that followed some of their difficulties were found to be chimeras, some were explained away as interpolations, and some, more or less defying all attempts at resolution, became the elements out of which the later movement sprang. Within a very few years, in 1678, Father Richard Simon, priest of the Oratory in Paris, in his work, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* enunciated, and in some

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1900.

² Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*; Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*; Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*; vide passim.

measure applied for the first time, the principles of scientific historical criticism. Not content with codifying obvious superficial difficulties, he went far deeper into the question than any of his critical predecessors; the darkness that shrouds the origin of the Jewish people he would dispel by other lights, their records he would test by other standards. He suggested three lines of evidence which should inevitably lead candid and competent students to the conclusion that Moses is by no means the author of the Pentateuch as it now stands, viz. :—(a) The double account of the deluge; (b) the lack of order in the arrangement of the narratives and laws; (c) the diversity of style. Regarding Moses as merely governor of the Jews in their long and weary pilgrimage, he distinguishes between the legal and historical sections of the Pentateuch. The former he assigns to Moses; the latter to the prophets who acted in the further capacity of public annalists. Their state papers, preserved in the archives of the nation, were from time re-edited by their successors in the prophetic office, who translated archaisms into the language of the day, and sometimes gave upon obscure passages a running commentary which was subsequently incorporated with the text.

With all his ingenuity and learning, Simon was not able to win for his theory the approval of the intellectual world. It was attacked at once by Catholics and by Protestants; by Calmet the Benedictine, and by Clericus the Arminian. During the controversy he occupied himself in justifying his theory, rather than in applying it to the problems of Jewish history, but all his devoted energy was unable to prevent its universal rejection. Nor has time been more indulgent; and if Simon is to-day numbered with the founders of higher criticism, it is more on account of the principles he formulated, than of the conclusions he established.

For the next fifty years little progress was made in Biblical studies. In the intellectual activity that marked the first half of the eighteenth century, discussion having for its immediate object the authenticity of the Pentateuch was neither extensive nor momentous. English deists, impugning the possibility of supernatural religion, attempted

to discredit the Incarnation, and provoked the crushing retort of Butler's *Analogy*. French encyclopedists, whilst trying to show that there was nothing in heaven or earth not dreamt of in their philosophy, complained rather of the practical abuses of ecclesiasticism. More prejudiced against the Jesuits than against the Levites, they ignored Moses and the prophets whilst they emblazoned on their banners *Encravez l'infâme*. But undoubtedly these discussions, by creating an atmosphere of distrust and infidelity, must have impaired the influence of Scripture and prepared the way for that thorough-going and scientific criticism which we are so often assured has for all time destroyed the historical foundations of belief.

This scientific movement had for one of its first oracles the founder of the documentary theory, Jean Astruc, a physician practising at Montpellier in France. In 1753 he gave to the world his discovery that Genesis, far from being a simple and homogeneous work, is the result of the piecing together of a number of documents. He founded his theory on the use of different terms, Elohim and Jehovah, to signify Almighty God. In some sections of Genesis he maintained that Elohim exclusively is applied to God, and in others, Jehovah, equally exclusively. Making this distinction the basis of classification, he asserted that when analysed by this test Genesis resolves itself into two greater and nine lesser documents. Completely possessed by his theory, he insisted on reading and re-arranging Genesis by the sole light of Elohim and Jehovah. He made no account of style, method, philology, nor, like many others, of archæology, with the result that to-day his work is discredited as imperfect and unsound. His theory made little impression, and, in all probability, would have been totally lost to the world had not his methods, combined with those of Simon, been employed by Eichhorn as an efficient and exhaustive organ of critical inquiry.

Eichhorn, whom Canon Cheyne¹ calls the founder of modern Old Testament criticism, was the son of a clergyman

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 13.

and was born in the present kingdom of Würtemberg, in 1752. Having gone through his earlier university studies at Göttingen, he was appointed, in 1775, to the chair of Oriental languages at Jena. During his residence at Jena he became very intimate with Herder, under whose influence he came to study the Bible as a vast body of literature, in many ways, indeed, unique; but for all its range of thought and depth of feeling, for all its brilliancy of colour and wealth of expression, not specifically distinct from the lofty rhymes of sacred lore built up contemporaneously in the highlands of Persia and along the rivers of Hindostan. He published at Jena, in 1780, his *Introduction*, which at once swept aside all critical opposition, and is said to have revolutionised the Biblical studies of the time quite as much as the *Prolegomena* of Wellhausen did those of a later day. With supreme confidence in his method—an amalgam, as we have seen, of those of Simon and Astruc—he applied it with the utmost earnestness. So masterly was his analysis, so indisputable his data, so close his reasoning, that all with any pretensions to act as dispensers of the mysteries of critical speculation repeat the *ex cathedra* pronouncement of a pontiff named Gabler, ‘the father of Biblical theology,’ declaring that the combination of various documents in one by Moses has been made so evident that ‘in our day it can be regarded as settled and presupposed without any fear of important opposition.’¹ Like Astruc, of whose method and results he declares himself to have been completely independent, he divided Genesis into two main documents, the Elohist and the Jehovist, but, unlike him, would admit of only four minor ones. He admits that Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were composed under Mosaic influence during the wanderings in the wilderness—Exodus and Leviticus in Mount Sinai, Numbers in Moab; and, furthermore, that, with the exception of the last chapter, the author of Deuteronomy is Moses.

As we have seen, the documentary theory, on its publication by Eichhorn, immediately won for itself the approval

¹ Briggs, *Higher Criticism*, p. 52.

of nearly all German critical opinion. Though in so far, at least, as it is identified with the peculiar conclusions of Eichhorn, it has long since been beaten in the struggle for existence—it contains the germs of the theories to which it has succumbed. Later theories, equipped with the finer instruments of more modern research, may have been more exhaustive in analysing and more arbitrary in re-composing the elements of Genesis; they have been more audacious in defiance of tradition, and more contemptuous in disregard of common sense; but all find a common measure in the formula that ‘a second narrative postulates a second narrator.’ Were we to forget that difference of style does not always imply difference of author, and that repetition does not necessarily imply ignorance of what is antecedent; were we to forget that what has once been alluded to in general may later on be described in detail, and that, as agents may be simultaneously influenced by many motives, the imputation of one motive is by no means inconsistent with the co-operation of another; were we to forget that a complete Being may be considered under many aspects, and that now one attribute may be more prominent in description, and now another; were we to forget all this, and imagine that a second narrator is necessarily a different narrator, the validity of the application of this formula to Genesis would still be questionable. We are assured that the Hexateuch is simply teeming with instances of the same event being made the subject of different narratives, and that these duplicate narratives are impressed with characteristic differences of style, and, moreover, present such marked differences of thought and methods of conception, that any supposition, except that they came from different and independent authors, is to be scouted as certainly absurd, and not impossibly malicious. In proof of this we have arraigned, amongst others, the double accounts of the creation, deluge, decalogue (Exodus and Deuteronomy), and the erection of the monument stones, as described in Joshua iv. 7-9, 20. The dual narrative of the creation is that on which most reliance is placed. From it have been extracted the criteria which enable a properly-trained critic to detect an

Elohistic text concealed in a Jehovistic section, with all the unerring skill and conscientious delight of a Jacobin unmasking a crypto-aristocrat on the benches of the Mountain. The process of extraction readily lends itself to examination. It has nothing secret about it; it is not performed with mysterious silence in the sanctum of the specialist; it involves no expert training, no wide technical knowledge; it is one on the value of which persons of ordinary ability and ordinary information are perfectly competent to judge. Let Dr. Driver speak¹:—

As soon as the book [Genesis] is studied with sufficient attention, phenomena disclose themselves, which show incontrovertibly that it is composed of distinct documents or sources, which have been welded together by a later compiler or redactor into a continuous whole. . . . Thus 1¹ - 2^{4a} and 2^{4b-25} contain a double narrative of the origin of man on the earth. It might, no doubt, be argued *prima facie* that 2^{4b11} is intended simply as a more detailed account of what is summarily described in 1²⁶⁻³⁰, and it is true that probably the position of this section is due to the relation in which, generally speaking, it stands to the narrative of the verses; but upon closer examination differences reveal themselves which preclude the supposition that both sections are the work of the same hand. In 2^{4b} the order of creation is: 1, man (v. 7); 2, vegetation (v. 9); 3, animals (v. 19); 4, woman (v. 21). The separation made between the creation of woman and man, if it stood alone, might, indeed, be reasonably explained upon the supposition just referred to, that 2^{4b11}, viz., describes in detail what is stated succinctly in 1^{27b}; but the order in the other cases forms part of a progression evidently intentional on the part of the narrator here, and as evidently opposed to the order indicated in c. 1 (vegetables, animals, man). Not only, however, are there these material differences in form between the two narratives; they differ also in style. The style of 1¹ - 2^{4a} is unornate, measured, precise, and particular phrases frequently recur. That of 2^{4b11} is free and more varied; the actions of God are described with some fulness and picturesqueness of detail, . . . the recurring phrases are less marked, and *not the same* as those of 1¹ - 2^{4a}. . . . The book of Genesis presents a group of sections distinguished from the narrative on either side of them by difference of phraseology and style, and often *concomitant* differences of representation: these differences, moreover, are not isolated, nor do they occur in the narrative indiscriminately; they are numerous and reappear with singular

¹ *Loc. cit., et seq.*

persistency *in combination with each other*; they are, in a word, so marked that they can only be accounted for upon the supposition that the sections in which they occur are by a different hand from the rest of the book.

Even after this exposition by one of the most capable and judicious of English critics, the solution of the question *an et quatenus* does the dual account of creation postulate dual authorship may be safely left to the unbiassed judgment of the careful reader of the two chapters of Genesis. Our inability to see therein traces of dual authorship can only be explained by the repressive influences of Catholic environment in keeping our power of divination—that happy faculty which jumps at conclusions, and substitutes *a priori* speculation for historic fact—in a state of arrested development.

So marked are the characteristics of our two authors during the short space of their respective creation narratives, that there is no difficulty in recognising their handiwork, not merely in the rest of Genesis, but throughout the entire Hexateuch. The sections homogeneous with Genesis 1-2^{4a} compose the document which, from its preference for the use of Elohim, is sometimes called the Elohistic, but now, more generally, from its predominance of Levitical legislation, the priests' code, or, shortly, P. Under the application of similar methods the residue resolves itself into two sub-sections, the second Elohistic and the Jehovistic, symbolized respectively as E and J. There is a further element chiefly in Deuteronomy and Joshua symbolized as D. All these various elements are presumed to have been combined by successive redactors, whose work is symbolized R in the following order:—J with E; then JE with D; and, finally, JED with P.

Eichhorn shares more or less in the merits and demerits of the documentary theory; but his peculiarities call for some special attention. He thought that the documents used as materials for the composition of Genesis were originally independent, but did not extend beyond Genesis. His fundamental proposition is that they were deliberately

brought together by Moses, and utilised by him to form an historical work of unmistakable unity of purpose.

The unmistakable unity informing Genesis did not, unfortunately, come within the field of vision of the founder of the fragmentary theory, Dr. Alexander Geddes. Geddes was born of Catholic parents in Banffshire, in 1737. He studied at the Scotch college, Paris; and, having been ordained priest, was, for some time, on the mission near Aberdeen. Holding some advanced opinions, he got into difficulties with ecclesiastical authority, gave up the mission, though not the faith, and came to London, where he was, for some time, a prominent figure in society. He brought out his translation of the Bible in 1792, and in the preface to the first volume ventilated his opinions on the origin of the Hexateuch. He, of course, decomposed it into quite a number of elements; and, possibly, under the influence of the Lucretian hypothesis of the formation of the world by a fortuitous combination of atoms, maintained that these elements came together by some unfamiliar gravitation, and so little affinity was between them, that the only union effected was the mere external union of accidental association. He allowed that many of these elements were Mosaic, some even pre-Mosaic; but assigned the age of Solomon as the origin of the Hexateuch in its present form. His theory, introduced with some slight modifications into the continent by Vater, was radically different from the documentary, which he denounced as the work of fancy. But his own was much more fanciful; it was too radical and destructive even for the German iconoclasts; it provoked much opposition, and was speedily overthrown.

Even if these two theories had not disposed of each other they would, inevitably, have been superseded in the natural evolution of Biblical speculation. They were all together inadequate in relying exclusively on purely literary criteria, and in neglecting those of history and archæology. The credit of introducing these latter agents of inquiry is generally given to De Wette. Like so many other masters of criticism, De Wette was the son of a clergyman, and was born near Weimar in 1780. He studied at Jena, where he

graduated as doctor in 1805, defending as his thesis the view that, on internal grounds alone, Deuteronomy must be of later origin than the rest of the Pentateuch, and that its kernel was written in the reign of Josiah. Though following up his earlier studies with great zeal, he appears to have been more or less deficient in judgment. For a long time he hovered between the documentary and fragmentary theories, and seemed to be seeking for some formula which would enable him, like a good eclectic, to assimilate the reliable elements of both. At last, by some happy inspiration, he recognised the unity of the Pentateuch, and made some suggestions as to the genesis of the documents which were afterwards worked up by Bleek into the supplementary theory. Bleek was a Holsteiner, and during his student years was much influenced by De Wette. He soon repudiated all the current opinions, and put forth the hypothesis that the nucleus of the Hexateuch was an Elohist document which was 'worked over and supplemented,' revised, and enlarged by a Jehovistic editor. Were we to follow Marx, and take labour as the unit of value, verily this supplementary theory would be priceless. Critics innumerable, each writer with his own pet hobby, travelled along the lines it marked out. That they made mistakes in calculation is, unfortunately, true; that they disagreed as to the chronology of the editions in terms of centuries is also true. But what of that in view of the main result that the unity of the earlier writings is due, not to their combination by Moses, not to the mere accident of association, but to careful editing at widely different periods of Jewish history?

Amid all the confusion and discord which these variations involve a few common propositions stand out pretty clearly, viz, that the Hexateuch is the official record of Jewish national history; that if it does not contain exclusively pre-Mosaic or co-Mosaic materials, it was at all events composed at a very early period; that beyond all question it contains not merely their first attempt at national history, but is also the nucleus of the institutions in which the national spirit found its first and most lasting expression;

finally, that without presupposing it as basis Jewish history is inexplicable.

However, this very opinion that Pentateuchal legislation forms the starting point of Jewish history was fated to be called into question by the theory of development excogitated by Reuss, Vatke and Wellhausen. This theory, which has exercised in criticism a revolution like unto that brought about in biology by Weismann's theory of germ-plasm, proposes an entirely new method of considering the origin and growth of the religion of the Hebrews. Based partly on Hegelian philosophy and partly on historical criteria, in themselves mainly suggested by Hegelianism, it would completely transpose the order of events and make Mosaism the last term in the evolution of the religion of Israel. As a philosophical method it was initiated by Vatke, who, in 1835, on pure *a priori* grounds, was convinced that the Jewish religion, like every other form of natural religion brought into being by purely natural forces to minister to the needs of the human spirit, was subject to the law of development; that in its evolution it made orderly progress from the simple to the complex, from the tender, spontaneous emotion of the prophet to the hard, calculating formalism of the Pharisee; and, as a consequence, that the prophets as builders of the Jewish polity are far earlier than Moses. On its historical side it owes its origin to Reuss. Whilst lecturing in his native Alsace, in 1833, there flashed upon him the *intuition* that the priests' code in the middle books of the Pentateuch is subsequent to the code in Deuteronomy. With the caution and timidity that an unsympathetic environment necessitated, he only hinted his intuition to the students. But the times were not yet ripe for the wholesale unquestioning gulping down of intuitions, those philosophic conveniences which somebody has defined as things that we like to believe but which we cannot prove. He had to wait until the germs he scattered had matured in the minds of his disciples. The development of these embryos cannot have been altogether satisfactory.

Not till thirty or forty years afterwards was the world

enriched by the works of Graf and Kayser, in which, positively for the first time, was it the happy possessor of a theory which made Jewish history psychologically conceivable. The work of Graf, deepening the impression made by Bishop Colenso of Natal, hurried the Dutch scholar, Kuenen, to the very first rank of the advanced party. He held that the Jewish religion was a purely natural product, which, owing to favourable surroundings, was enabled to run its full course from the rudimentary stages of fetichism and polytheism to its perfection in those too rare moments when the fire of inspiration touched the hallowed lips of the prophet, and Isaias and Ezechiel heard the secret things of God, and saw the vision of the future when the voice of mourning and lamentation should be heard no more in the land, when sin and death should pass away, when Christ would make all things new. Lagarde independently came to the same conclusions, and taught that the Elohist, whom Eichhorn made a *predecessor*, and Geddes, more or less, a *contemporary* of Moses, whom Bleek and the Supplementists made the primitive author, writing about the *ninth or tenth century B.C.*, to be either Esdras or some scribe after the Restoration! The abstract, he tells us, is everywhere later than the concrete, and, therefore, the Elohist document is later than the Jehovistic, which, from the first feeble lisps of infant criticism, we had always been assured was the second edition published, with many additions and improvements, two hundred years after the first!

All these writers were destined to be superseded by Wellhausen, who combined the methods of Vatke and Reuss, and gave in his *Prolegomena* its most powerful presentation to the development theory. He embodies in a very pronounced fashion all its mannerisms, its formalism, its presumption, and its dogmatism. The work of his critical predecessors, generally, he has brushed aside with as much contempt as if it were part of the repressive tradition of a miserable, but unmasked Christianity. The supernatural elements of the Hexateuch he denounced as mere survivals of a low stage of national existence, the historical as so many myths and fables, the relics of another. He breaks

up and re-arranges everything in a most arbitrary fashion, always with overweening self-reliance, sometimes without explanation, sometimes with explanations as disputable as they are self-confident.¹

Though it is impossible to conceive how the Jews, in the absence of these institutions in which, like the soul with the body, the national spirit organises itself, could have maintained unimpaired the individuality of national existence, surrounded as they were by so many hostile influences; though in the absence of these institutions many of the most tender allusions, many of the most delightful images which adorn psalms of undoubtedly Davidic origin are inexplicable; though the laws of war and conquest in Deuteronomy, bespeaking their Mosaic origin, breathing the spirit of a rude people raised up by God who would smite their enemies hip and thigh, are woven into the tissue and inseparably connected with the rest of the book; though this book, impressed with the seal of its Mosaic authorship, is a summary, and could not possibly have existed until there was something to be summarized; though all these considerations might be urged, nay, have been urged over and over again in favour of a view that tradition has rendered venerable and criticism has failed to destroy, they would avail nothing against the foregone conclusions of perverted speculation. The sciolists of to-day, the captives of the gaudy rhetoric and vague suggestions of the theological novel, the would-be advanced thinkers whose thinking mainly consists in repeating the conclusions they do not always understand, from premises they never examine, yield the faith they would scorn as an imbecility to give to the Church to Hegel and Wellhausen, whom we must all hail as the masters of those who know.

The purpose of this paper was not to enter into any refutation of all or any of the theories it examined, but rather to set them in opposition to each other. If the views set forth in it and in a similar paper last January are correct, we may safely regard the mutually destructive theories of higher criticism of both the Old and New

¹ Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock*, etc., p. 70.

Testaments as a passing phase of thought which in God's good time, like many another form of error which the Church has had to combat, will dissolve like the baseless fabric of a vision and leave not a wrack behind.

PATRICK F. COAKLEY, O.S.A.

DISPUTACIO INTER MARIAM ET CRUCEM SECUNDUM APOCRAFUM

MODERNISED (1900) BY E. M. CLERKE

THIS Poem is contained in a volume published (1870) by the Early English Text Society, entitled 'Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion, and Cross Poems, in Old English of the eleventh, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, edited by Richard Morris, LL.D., from MSS. in the Bodleian Library and British Museum.'

The text here rendered into Modern English is that of the Vernon MS., fol. 315, b. col. 3. The Editor tells us in his preface, that after this version was printed, 'another and rather longer copy turned up in Royal MS. 18, Ax, with some additional verses on the "Festivals of the Church," in the same metre as the Cross poem.' These he has printed in an appendix.

In the following attempt to modernise the 'Dispute,' the original has been adhered to as closely as possible, since its interest as a literary relic would disappear were it adapted to modern canons of taste; whilst as poetry it has scarcely sufficient suggestiveness to bear recasting. The principal merit of this Early English poem is its rhyme structure, and this has been retained, although such structure adds much to the difficulty of rendering it into what is, to all intents and purposes, a different language.

The 'Dispute' will form, it is hoped, a portion of a forthcoming volume of *Carmina Mariana*, an Anthology in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, edited by Orby Shipley, M.A.

DISPUTE BETWEEN MARY AND THE CROSS

PART I.:

STANZAS I. TO XXIII.

I.

Our Lady Good 'gainst cruel Rood
 Made bitter moan ;
 She said : On thee Fruit born of me
 Hangs woe-begone ;
 My Child I see on Blood-stained Tree
 His foes among :
 I see in woe the Veins' red flow
 From his Flesh wrung :
 Cross, thou art harsh in sooth
 My Child to pillory amain,
 Of Adam's sin he hath no stain ;
 Now Flesh and Veins are rent in twain ;
 Wherefore I rede of ruth.

II.

O Cross, thy work is blamed,
 Beguiled is my Fair Son by thee ;
 Ne'er hath his Mother been defamed,
 Fair is my body, from defilement free ;
 Child, why art not ashamed
 Thus to be hung on pillory ?
 The Jews in anger flamed,
 And slew thee in their cruelty ;
 In woe dissolved am I ;
 My Son all Holy, Hallowèd,
 Defaced and fouled, is sore bestèd ;
 By Jews hung on a gallows dread,
 And for Man's guilt must surely die.

III.

By the great Jews were gallows made
 For men in whom all ill was rife ;
 Why should my Son on thee be laid,
 Who ne'er did harm to man or wife ?
 A drink of death, it may be said,
 Cross, thou didst give the Lord of Life ;
 To burst his veins all bruised and brayed,
 My Child now battles in sore strife ;
 Blood from his head is haled ;
 Disfigured is my Peerless Son,
 Who ill or trespass hath wrought none,
 With those who crime have loved and done,
 Why should my Son be nailed ?

IV.

Thou art condemned by Law's decree
A load of sinful fools to hold ;
My Son should be absolved from thee,
Nor e'er on thee his Blood have rolled ;
But truth is doomed by treason's plea,
With thieves to band in lonesome wold,
With nails his limbs transpierced be ;
A Mother sad in me behold,
In baleful bondage bound I weep ;
Unblemished Fruit of Maiden born,
On a thieves' gallows hangs forlorn :
A spear his breast hath rent and torn,
And his Heart wounded deep.

V.

Tree, thou art by the Law ordained
That traitors on thee die,
But now is Truth as treason feigned,
Virtue as vice raised high ;
But Love and Truth in sooth arraigned
Traitors on tree do tie,
With vice is Virtue slain unstained,
All virtues in my Son do lie ;
Virtues more sweet than fragrant spice,
Both foot and hand sore pricked are seen,
His head with thorns is thick I ween ;
The Good the wicked hangs between,
And Virtue dies with vice.

VI.

O Tree, unkind thou must be said,
Thee my Son's stepmother I call ;
My Child was born in cattle shed,
Where my sweet Blossom I let fall ;
My Nestling with my milk I fed,
Thou Cross, with vinegar and gall :
My snow-white Rose hath turned to red,
That fostered was in fodder-stall ;
O lovely feet and hands ;
That now are crossed, I kissed them oft,
I lulled to sleep, I laid them soft ;
Cross, thou dost hold them now aloft,
Fast bound in bleeding bands.

VII.

I dandled high my Love so fair,
And him with cradle-band did bind :
Cross, now he hangeth on thy stair,
Bare to the wild and cruel wind ;
The fowls do make their nests in air,
Rest in their lair wolves find,
But God's own Son, of Heaven the Heir,
His head with thorns hath lined :
Well may I make my cry ;
God's Head can find no rest,
But droopeth on his breast,
Thorns through his Flesh are pressed ;
Sin for his woe blame I.

VIII.

To slay, O Cross, thou art full fain,
My Beauteous Child thou bear'st from bliss :
Cross, him dost thou so high sustain,
My Child's dear feet I may not kiss :
I pout my lips, my neck I strain,
To kiss his feet, sooth speak I this ;
Jews drove me from the Cross amain,
At me they made ill mouths I-wis,
With jest and joy and brutal mien,
The Jews, alas, wrought me sore woe :
O Cross, I find thou art my foe,
My Child all bruised and hurt to show,
Those felon thieves between.

IX.

Christ's Cross in answer did declare :
Lady, I owe thee honour due,
Thy green Palm-branch on high I bear,
My lustre doth the Flower show through,
On me grows ripe thy Fruit so fair,
That flourisheth in sanguine hue ;
To win the world entrapped in snare,
The Blossom in thy bower that grew,
Bloomed not for thee alone :
But all this world to win once more,
That the fiend's sword in wrath ruled o'er,
God let him hands and feet wound sore,
To mend Man's bitter moan.

X.

Great ill did Adam wreak amain,
By mouthful bit beneath a bough,
Wherefore thy Son his arms doth strain,
Upon a Tree made fast enow ;
His Flesh is smit with death's sore pain,
And in a swoon he swooneth now ;
Death's shaft hath pierced his breast with bane,
And he by death, from death I trow,
Hath drawn each cherished friend :
As Hosea spake in prophecy,
And said : Thy Son, O Saint Marie,
By Death slew death on Calvary,
And gave Life without end.

XI.

The prop whereon the stock doth lean
May not bring forth the grape ;
Although on me the Fruit be seen,
The sharp shower did I not shape ;
Till grapes be set the press between,
No red wine doth escape ;
Ne'er press did better press I ween
The Wine I press for knight and knape ;
Upon a Blood-stained brink
I press the Grape ; with stroke and strife,
The Rood-Wine runneth rife ;
God in Samaria gave a wife
That liquor prized to drink.

XII.

Lady, thy praises to declare
Thy Son with lances keen is gored ;
On Cross without knife's edge, a rare
Prized Fruit I carved from God's own hoard ;
Both sides and back red garment wear ;
His Body bleedeth 'gainst the board,
A pillar I, a bridge to bear ;
God is True Way, witness the Word ;
True Way in sooth is God on high,
But many found to hell the road,
And none might win to Heaven's abode,
Till dying, God the pathway showed ;
Men wander when they die.

XIII.

Moses, as type of mystery,
Formed a white Lamb, nor other beast
Should sacred to the Saviour be ;
Of meats the first e'er carved or pieced,
I the chief Charger, as ye see,
Who bear Flesh for the people's feast ;
Christ our true Saviour is, and he
Doth feed the greatest and the least,
Roasted against the sun :
On me the Lamb of Love hath lain,
The dish to bear his limbs amain
Till feet and hands were cleft in twain ;
With Blood I was o'errun.

XIV.

In Moses' rule was writ amain,
With verjuice sour the Lamb to eat ;
Sour verjuice glads our souls full fain,
By sorrow for our sins made sweet ;
Sour verjuice is the devil's bane,
For from God's Spouse he flies full fleet ;
Hard by a staff do ye remain,
When in God's House ye take of meat,
That staff is Christe's Crutch ;
Then stand ye stiffly by that stake,
When ye of Flesh in Bread partake ;
Then shall no fiend dominion make,
Your souls to seize or touch.

XV.

For pardon showeth by a shrine,
With nail and wood on tablet writ ;
Red-letter script doth form the line,
'Mid men, too, blue and black is it ;
Our Lord I liken to this sign,
His Body on a board was smit,
His Body in bright blood 'gan shine ;
How woe was he doth pass man's wit,
All crimson on the Rood :
Your pardon's script from top to toe,
Written was it with wondrous woe,
With crimson wounds and bruise and blow ;
Our Book was bound in Blood.

XVI.

Adam stood up against his Lord,
In bitter gall his soul he drenched ;
Instead of gall God Mead hath poured,
With Mercy sweet is bitter quenched ;
His Flesh the Book, the Cross was board,
When Christ for us thereon was clenched,
No prayer could pardon Man afford,
Though high in holiness entrenched ;
Till Book on board was strained,
With sharp nails cleft and driven,
Till feet and hands were riven,
His Heart's best Blood our book hath given,
And our souls' joy hath gained.

XVII.

Christ's Cross this speech did say :
The Wine-press first was I to wring ;
I bear a Bridge to teach the way ;
There seemly Angels sit and sing
Life's Lord and leech ills to allay,
For he was set for hallowing,
The world from wretchedness to stay ;
The Cross a book doth pardon bring,
Pardon in book is billed ;
What is that pardon to our wit ?
Release of deadly sin is it ;
When on Christ's Body Blood was writ,
Pardon was then fulfilled.

XVIII.

Our Lady saith : Cross, of thy work
Wonder thou not that I be wroth ;
Thus Paul hath said, Christ's learned clerk :
The felon Jews with falsest oath,
Jews hard as stones, in sin's black mirk,
A Lamb have beaten, nothing loth,
Softer than water under sark,
Than mead or milk commingled both ;
The Jews were hard as stones ;
Softer than water falling through,
Or on the lily flower the dew,
Christ's Body was in sanguine hue ;
Fain had Jews broke his bones.

XIX.

And many a Prophet 'gan make moan,
And said : Lord send thy Lamb from thee
From out the wilderness of stone,
Us from the lion's paw to free.
On Sion's Mount was mercy shown,
Of Maiden's flesh made Man was he,
A Body made with blessed bone,
Of Maiden's blood wrought wondrously ;
At barriers rose debate ;
Through stones in desert wilderness,
Men better might have crept I-wis,
Than won their way to heavenly bliss,
Till Blood had oped the gate.

XX.

Since sons of men had such sore need,
To be led with a Lamb so mild,
Why were beguilers filled with greed,
Thus to befoul my Fairest Child ?
Cross, why wert thou so prompt indeed,
To rend my Fruit far in the wild ?
Lady, in devils fear to breed,
Me as a Shield God shaped and styled,
Till Lamb of Love had died ;
On me loud-voiced he gave the Ghost,
A relic choice, it was my boast ;
Christ's Cross, dread of the demon host,
No devil dare abide.

XXI.

I saved full many from their foes :
The Cross of Christ thereon replied :
The Gates of Heaven might not uncloze,
Till came the Lamb of Love, and died ;
For thus 'tis writ in text and gloze,
Long after Christ the prophets sighed ;
Till died the Lamb of Love, and rose,
In pain of hell mankind was tied ;
Until his noonday shone,
The Lamb of Love hath said his thought ;
Now is fulfilled what well is wrought,
And Man is out of bondage brought,
And doers of heaven undone.

XXII.

With Father that all shall fulfil,
His Son toward heaven doth help afford,
A Pillar I, and stood full still ;
Now souls crave other gifts outpoured,
The fiend that all this world would kill,
Hath in his scabbard sheathed his sword ;
To hell he hurled him from that hill,
While loud as a bear's whelp he roared ;
A bear is bound and baited ;
Christ's Cross hath cracked his crown,
The Lamb hath cast the lion down,
The Lamb is Lord in every town,
So Christ's Blood hath placated.

XXIII.

This tale doth Holy Writ supply,
That God to us good gifts decreed ;
God calls himself a Shepherd high,
And of a staff a herd hath need ;
The Cross the herdsman's crook call I,
Wherewith he smote the fiend indeed,
And made the wolf afar to fly,
By dint of blows at utmost speed ;
The Cross this tale hath told ;
The Herdsman's staff it was full stout,
That when the sheep from bounds broke out,
Drove off the wolf with blow and clout
That had devoured Christ's Fold.

THE 'IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD' AND 'THE TABLET'

THE *Tablet* has been good enough to call our attention to a passage in one of the articles of our September issue, in which a rather wholesale and unqualified charge was made against the children educated in the secularized schools of France.¹ We feel it due to ourselves and to the I. E. RECORD much more than to *The Tablet* to express our opinion of the paragraph in question and to explain the circumstances in which it found its way into our pages.

When we first read the manuscript or type-written copy of the article that was sent to us for insertion, an article in which we recognized a good deal of useful and accurate information, the paragraph to which exception is taken naturally attracted our attention, and we decided that, in the absolute form in which it then stood, it could not be admitted. It would be quite useless to enter here into a full account of the steps we took to get rid of this very passage during our summer holidays. Suffice it to say, that when we found it had ultimately secured an entrance, in spite of our efforts to exclude it, nobody was more surprised and discomfited than we were ourselves.

An attempt having been made in due time, as we naturally expected it would be, to identify us with the opinion expressed in the paragraph, we think it right to state that we have already expressed our dissent from it elsewhere; but, as the passage originally saw the light in our own pages, it is only just and fair that we should disclaim all responsibility for it here as well. For although we should be very sorry, indeed, to accept responsibility for every statement made and every opinion expressed in the signed

¹ The exact words of the passage are:—'The desired effect has been produced, and the present generation of children are little better than pagan. They sneer at religion, delight in insulting priests and nuns, and are steeped in every kind of immorality'—p. 258.

articles and letters which we publish, we admit readily enough that a statement of this particular kind involves us in a sort of indirect responsibility which, in the present case, we are not disposed to accept.

We should, in any circumstances, have felt thankful to have our attention directed to any passage of this kind that might possibly have escaped our notice, and it is, we trust, unnecessary to say that we should be only too happy to correct any erroneous impression that might be made at the earliest possible moment. Indeed, the only thing we have to complain of in the present instance is the grossly offensive form in which the matter was first mentioned in *The Tablet*.

Of the individuality of Mr. Thorp we are happy to say we know nothing whatever; and the only importance we attach to his pronouncement arises from the fact that it seems to have been to some extent adopted by the Editor of *The Tablet*. We are glad to recognize that it has not so far been expressly adopted. If it had received direct editorial approval we should have had no more to say to *The Tablet* on the subject.

We might, perhaps, be permitted to observe here, that we think it possible to reject Father O'Brien's unqualified impeachment without accompanying the rejection, as *The Tablet* has done, with an ugly personal affront. If French children ought not to jeer at the soutane, grown-up people outside of France might extend the courtesies of civilized life to a respectable priest who wears it.

Father O'Brien may have 'unduly generalized'; he may be a little imaginative as he is certainly spirited and mettlesome; he may not have yet acquired that calm and steady judgment which is so necessary in the investigation of complicated affairs, and which may come to him, if he lacks it, with the maturity of years. But he is zealous as he is young. He is inspired by the highest motives. He has thoroughly realized the dangers of neutral and godless education; and although in the present instance he may have outstepped the limits of moderation and justice, yet when all things are thrown into the balance, there are

hundreds of Frenchmen born and bred, both clerical and lay, who would not hesitate to subscribe to almost every word that he has written.

For our own part there are some charges involved in his statement that we should feel particularly reluctant to confirm. Let us take, for instance, what he says about insults to priests and nuns. Any one who reads the French newspapers must know that such insults are only of too frequent occurrence. It is, however, an entirely different thing to say that they are general and characteristic of the youth of the country, or even of that portion of the youth that is educated in the Government schools. Such a charge is, in our opinion, utterly groundless. For our own part we can affirm that, during the six or seven years we spent in France, almost exclusively amongst French people and French students, we visited many parts of the country, always wearing our clerical dress, and we have scarcely a recollection of any insult that was ever offered to us, or to any priest or student of our acquaintance. No doubt we heard of the refrain of :—

Trois canards déployant leurs ailes.

We heard now and again of a '*quoi, quoi*' at the soutane ; but everybody knows that there are a great many irreligious people in France, and a great many more who, without being positively irreligious, are simply giddy and must have their joke. The French clergy shrug their shoulders as they hear these cries, and go their way. They have all read *Les Fourberies de Scapin*. We knew a case of a student's brother and his cousin having a shout of '*quoi, quoi*' at him one day as he was passing through the '*Rue Lacourbe* ;' but the student had his turn some weeks afterwards when the pair came to the college in their military uniform of St. Cyr, and were met with the salutation of '*Sac au dos ! Sac au dos !*'

There certainly was nothing ever said or done to us to which any one would think of attaching serious importance, although we passed through many of the most populous quarters in the capital, such as Belleville, Montmartre, Plaisance, Puteaux, etc. Still less have we any recollection of insults having been offered to nuns, who were invariably

spoken of as *les bonnes sœurs*, and we doubt if there was any more popular sight in Paris than the *cornette* of the Sisters of Charity. That insults have been offered to priests and nuns is, unfortunately, not only possible but certain. That they are at all general or characteristic of French youth, or of any considerable section of it, cannot for a moment be admitted. France, no doubt, may have changed a good deal during the fifteen years that have elapsed since we lived upon her hospitable soil; but we have frequently visited the country since then, and as far as outward decorum is concerned, we have noticed scarcely any change.

As to the influence of the secularized schools on the morality of young people in France, we took the liberty of writing to a number of our former fellow-students and friends among the French clergy, and of asking them to answer the following questions:—

1. Are the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses appointed by the government of the French Republic hostile to the clergy and to the Christian faith of the children of France?

2. Do they encourage the children to show disrespect to priests and nuns, and is such disrespect at all common?

3. What is the effect on the morality of youth of the education given in these primary schools?

We have received authority from our friends to publish their replies to these questions. We think they are eminently worthy of attention, coming as they do from different quarters of the country and written as they are in nearly every case by priests occupied in the active work of the ministry.

The first letter comes to us from a priest who has been on 'the mission,' as we call it, in several parishes in the diocese of Paris, and particularly at St. Pierre de Neuilly, at Notre Dame des Champs, at St. Pierre du Gros Caillou, and at St. Augustin.

PARIS, 8 AVENUE PORTALIS,

11 Novembre, 1900.

MON CHER AMI,—La question scolaire en France est très complexe. D'abord il est incontestable que la laïcisation a été faite dans un but hostile à la religion. Elle comporte en effet—suppression de la prière et de tout enseignement religieux; défense aux instituteurs de conduire les enfants à l'église et de leur parler de catéchisme.

C'est uniquement parceque la laïcisation a revêtu officiellement ce caractère anti-religieux que nous la regardons comme un grand mal.

Autrefois il y avait dans nos grandes villes deux sortes d'écoles, les unes congréganistes, les autres laïques ; mais ces de dernières donnaient ou favorisaient l'enseignement religieux. Cette situation me paraît répondre à tous les sentiments légitimes et il serait à souhaiter qu'elle fût rétablie.

Dans l'état actuel je ne crois pas qu'il faille dire d'une façon générale que tous les maîtres et toutes les maîtresses des écoles laïques sont hostiles au clergé et aux croyances chrétiennes du peuple français, ni qu'ils encouragent les enfants à manquer de respect envers les prêtres. Il serait tout aussi injuste d'établir en thèse générale que l'enseignement donné dans ces écoles fait du mal aux enfants au point de vue moral.

Il y a, à ma connaissance, d'excellents maîtres et de parfaites maîtresses d'écoles laïques qui ne permettraient pas chez eux de pareils procédés, les uns parce qu'ils sont chrétiens, les autres parce qu'ils sont simplement honnêtes, la plupart parce qu'ils sont obligés de tenir compte de l'opinion de la majorité des parents lesquels tiennent encore à la première communion.

Il y a telles contrées restées très chrétiennes où en raison des habitudes universelles les maîtres sont même obligés d'aller à l'église et d'y conduire les enfants ; mais c'est l'exception. Généralement le personnel laïque se conduit d'après les règles d'un opportunisme prudent. Je connais certaines écoles où le directeur était excellent, mais était surveillé de très près par des adjoints mauvais, lesquels parfois ne se gênaient pas de ridiculiser en passant les enseignements de l'église, au scandale de quelques enfants qui venaient s'en plaindre à nous.

Aujourd'hui la charge des écoles libres devient de plus en plus lourde et les Curés se demandent s'ils pourront continuer. On sera peut-être forcé de les abandonner en grande partie. Je pense que dans ce cas il faudrait organiser de grandes œuvres de patronage et de persévérance après la première communion ; on y trouverait l'avantage de ne pas laisser subsister d'antagonisme entre les différentes parties de la population et les ressources que fournit la charité seraient mieux employées.

Voilà, cher ami, la réponse à vos questions. Je suis heureux de la circonstance qui me permet de renouer avec vous des liens que l'éloignement n'a pas affaiblis.

Croyez toujours à mes sentiments affectueux,

HENRI POLACK,

2^e Vicaire de S. Augustin.

Here is now a letter to which we invite the serious attention of *The Tablet*. It is written by a priest who has had a good deal of experience in the north of

France. We invite particular attention to the latter part of the letter. Let Father O'Brien's critics kindly read it to the end.

LA COUTURE, PAR ST. WAAST,
PAS DE CALAIS, 16 Novembre, 1900.

MON CHER AMI,—C'est à La Couture où je suis Curé depuis quelque temps, que votre bonne lettre m'est arrivée. J'aurais voulu y répondre plus vite, mais de nombreuses occupations ne m'en ont pas laissé le temps.

Nos inspecteurs d'académie, ainsi que tous nos instituteurs et institutrices, sont avant tout opportunistes ; c'est-à-dire, qu'ils se comportent généralement selon les exigences des populations où ils se trouvent. Si la population est chrétienne et pratiquante ils se montrent chrétiens et même pratiquants. Si non, non.

Ainsi chez moi les deux instituteurs et les deux institutrices font encore faire les prières en classe, surveillent les enfants aux messes et vêpres les dimanches et les fêtes, les accompagnent à la messe du St. Esprit pour la rentrée des écoles et aux processions publiques, nous les amènent même aux séances de catéchisme et font au moins leurs Pâques : mais ils n'enseignent plus le catéchisme dans l'école. En outre, dans les paroisses de la campagne (mais non dans les villes) où il y a des écoles libres en concurrence les laïques enseignent le catéchisme dans leurs classes et copient sur toute la ligne les Frères et les Sœurs pour ce qui est de la tenue et de la conduite des enfants.

Il en est tout autrement dans les villes, surtout dans les grands centres, où généralement les municipalités ne sont plus chrétiennes. Là les maîtres et maîtresses ne s'occupent pas plus de la religion que si elle n'existait pas.

Ceci posé, je réponds en quelques mots et d'une façon plus précise à vos questions.

1°. Les maîtres et maîtresses, même ceux qui restent sincèrement chrétiens, ont tous l'esprit universitaire, qui n'est pas bon, vous le savez, et toujours ennemi de l'enseignement libre ; et cet esprit, ils ne manquent pas de l'inculquer à leurs élèves ; c'est inévitable et fatal.

2°. Le très petit nombre d'instituteurs et quelques institutrices seulement, jusqu' à présent du moins, sont et se montrent hostiles aux croyances chrétiennes. La masse des autres garde la foi et plus ou moins d'habitudes religieuses.

Quant au clergé, pour tous les instituteurs et les neuf-dizièmes des institutrices, il est en réalité l'adversaire, l'ennemi, avec qui l'on est ennuyé d'avoir à compter, et que au fond l'on n'aime pas.

Je parle ici, bien entendu, de ce que les maîtres et maîtresses me paraissent être en eux-mêmes, indépendamment des milieux où leurs fonctions les appellent à vivre.

3°. Encouragent ils leurs élèves à montrer de l'hostilité aux prêtres et même à les insulter quelquefois ?

Généralement non. On pourrait cependant citer quelques exceptions, ou plutôt quelques circonstances où des instituteurs, dans des mouvements de colère passagère et de mécontentement plus ou moins motivé, ont lancé leurs élèves contre les prêtres de la paroisse. En somme le clergé n'est jamais insulté par les enfants des écoles de campagne : il le serait plutôt à l'occasion par quelques rares gamins des grandes villes et des centres populeux.

Bref, si dans nos écoles on n'enseigne pas encore ouvertement aux enfants la haine des curés, on ne leur apprend pas non plus à les aimer. Tous nos enfants, en vérité, remarquent et savent que, habituellement, les maîtres laïques ne fréquentent guère le presbytère et sont loin de faire l'éloge des prêtres. Or malheureusement ces maîtres-là aujourd'hui ont plus d'influence que nous, sont plus écoutés, plus facilement suivis et plus souvent consultés. Le fait est que nos gens, si chrétiens soient-ils encore, se passent de plus en plus de nos conseils et de nous : résultat incontestable de l'enseignement neutre laïque.

4°. Au point de vue moral cet enseignement fait-il du mal aux élèves ?

Oui, incontestablement. Les manuels civiques enseignent aux enfants qu'il leur est permis et avantageux de rechercher les plaisirs mondains, comme les bals, etc. Ajoutez à cela que beaucoup de maîtres et pas mal de jeunes maîtresses sont bien loin d'être des modèles de tempérance, de gravité et de modestie.

Ces leçons et ces exemples ne sont pas sans produire de déplorables effets. A 11 ou 12 ans nos enfants savent tout, et pour la plupart ils ont cessé d'être modestes : à 14 ans ils courent les cabarets et les danses, et déjà s'habituent aux plaisirs malsains. Il y a encore chez eux, en une certaine mesure, les allures religieuses qu'ils tiennent de la famille, mais plus de vertu. Encore une fois je parle ici des paysans : chez les citadins il ne reste plus rien.

Ces appréciations me paraissent donner la note vraie pour le Pas-de-Calais et le nord de la France. Je crois qu'il va plus mal dans les départements du centre et du midi. Vous pourriez vous en informer auprès de quelques anciens confrères de ces régions moins chrétiennes.

Vous êtes donc toujours professeur ! Dur métier ; mais qui n'est pas sans consolation chez ce peuple irlandaisé, toujours 'si fidèle à sa vieille croyance' comme l'écrivait notre Montalembert. C'est au Séminaire de Maynooth qu'il disait avoir passé une des meilleures journées de sa vie (13 Oct., 1830). C'est à La Couture près de Bethune que vous me trouverez quand vous voudrez me procurer le plaisir de votre visite.

Votre tout dévoué in Xto,

ANATOLE RICO,

Curé de La Couture.

The next letter comes from the extreme South, from the diocese of Valence, which borders on Savoy and the Alps.

LORIOI, 13 Novembre, 1900.

CHER CONFRÈRE,—Je répondrai en toute sincérité aux questions que vous me faites l'honneur de m'adresser.

Les écoles officielles ne peuvent être considérées comme absolument mauvaises. Quelles que soient les opinions personnelles des maîtres et maîtresses de ces écoles nous n'avons point à leur reprocher un manque d'égard que la politesse reprouverait tout comme la charité chrétienne.

Cà et là tel instituteur de village pourra faire au Curé je ne sais quelle guerre surnoise ; mais devant ses élèves il se garde de tout écart de nature à le rendre antipathique à nos populations restées foncièrement catholiques.

Ce que l'on ne peut contester toutefois, c'est la tendance de l'enseignement officiel à une élimination lente et graduelle de l'idée religieuse. Il en est résulté depuis une vingtaine d'années une indifférence malheureuse dont souffre la jeunesse de notre pays et qui se propage au détriment de la vie chrétienne dans nos paroisses. Le fait est très-sensible dans le milieu où je vis, et dans lequel les protestants, calvinistes ou derbyites, représenteront bientôt la majorité.

L'hostilité de l'enseignement officiel contre le catholicisme est beaucoup moindre dans les écoles de filles que dans les écoles de garçons. Bien souvent nous rencontrons auprès des instituteurs une sympathie discrète mais sincère, un secours prudemment ménagé mais précieux.

Ces observations s'appliquent principalement à l'enseignement primaire. Dans les lycées le ministère du prêtre s'exerce librement ; dans les facultés c'est un régime de parfait libéralisme ; toutes les opinions s'y étalent sans contrainte et s'y développent en toute liberté.

Je reste à votre disposition, cher confrère, pour plus amples renseignements. Je vous remercie d'une confiance qui m'honore et je vous prie d'agréer mon affectueux souvenir en N. S.

HECTOR REYNAUD, Docteur-ès-Lettres,
Curé Archiprêtre de Lorioi (Drome).

Here is a letter from the very centre of France, from the diocese of Nevers :—

SAINT FRANCHY, PAR SAINT SAULGE,
NIÈVRE, 10 Novembre, 1900.

BIEN CHER AMI,—Vos questions sont assez embarrassantes, et voici pourquoi. La conduite des instituteurs et institutrices laïques vis-à-vis de la religion n'est pas uniforme ; elle varie d'une

commune à une autre, d'un département à un autre. Il y a des départements, il y a des communes où l'instituteur et l'institutrice laïques feront faire la prière aux enfants avant et après les classes, leur feront même apprendre le catéchisme; les conduiront au catéchisme, les surveilleront à la messe le dimanche, etc. À côté de cela il y a des communes et des départements où les instituteurs et institutrices laïques observent la plus stricte neutralité religieuse dans leur enseignement et dans leur conduite vis-à-vis des enfants, ce qui est la légalité. Enfin il y a des départements et des communes où les instituteurs et institutrices laïques sont hostiles au clergé et aux croyances catholiques.

Ainsi dans ma paroisse l'instituteur fait faire la prière aux enfants avant et après la classe; l'institutrice ne la fait pas faire, et cependant l'institutrice vient à la messe le dimanche et l'instituteur n'y vient jamais.

Dans une paroisse voisine de la mienne l'instituteur est franc-maçon; son enseignement est anti-religieux; il dit en classe des abominations de la religion. Dans une autre paroisse voisine aussi de la mienne l'instituteur est excellent; il fait sa visite au Saint-Sacrement tous les jours: il communie très-souvent. Il n'y a peut-être pas dans la Nièvre deux communes où la conduite des instituteurs et institutrices laïques soit identique au point de vue religieux. Cette variation de conduite tient à plusieurs causes, mais la principale et celle qui est la cause dernière ou première, comme vous voudrez, c'est l'anarchie gouvernementale. Le gouvernement est tiraillé en divers sens par les différents partis qui composent les chambres et dont la coalition peut le renverser du jour au lendemain.

La réponse à votre seconde question découle de ma réponse à la première. Dans les communes où l'instituteur est franc-maçon, hostile par conséquent à la religion, la jeunesse est perdue au point de vue religieux et moral. Dans les autres, au contraire, où l'instituteur est bon, la moralité des enfants sera bonne.

Voilà, bien cher ami, les quelques renseignements que je puis vous donner. Je voulais vous envoyer le livre de la morale civique que l'on enseigne dans toutes les écoles primaires de France; mais j'ai pensé qu'il vous serait probablement inutile. Si vous le desirez cependant je serai très heureux de vous l'envoyer.

C'est avec un grand bonheur que j'ai lu votre lettre, car j'ai gardé un excellent souvenir de notre vieille amitié de Saint-Sulpice. Je me recommande à vos bonnes prières et saints sacrifices.

Votre vieil ami,

GASTON LEGER,

Curé de Saint Franchy.

The following letter comes from the diocese of La Rochelle in the extreme West :—

CIERS DU SAILLON, CHARENTE INFERIEURE,
13 Novembre, 1900.

BIEN CHER CONFRÈRE ET AMI,—Je me hâte de vous donner les renseignements que vous me demandez. J'ajoute que je le fais avec un vif plaisir, tout heureux que je suis de me retrouver en relations avec le confrère que j'ai si bien connu et apprécié à S. Sulpice.

Hélas ! Les réponses que j'ai à vous donner ne sont pas bonnes.

Les écoles communales laicisées sont généralement mauvaises. Il y a des exceptions, mais si rares !

Il est bien entendu que je ne parle que des écoles de mon département de la Charente Inferieure. Je ne puis connaître que celles-là.

Les maîtres et maîtresses sont en général hostiles au clergé et aux croyances chrétiennes des enfants. Cependant, dans les paroisses chrétiennes, pour se faire bien venir des parents, ils font les bons apôtres—pas toujours—et n'entravent pas l'action chrétienne des parents et du curé.

Je ne crois pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup chez nous qui oseraient encourager les enfants à se moquer des prêtres ou à les insulter. En dessous et par des insinuations méchantes peut-être en est il qui poussent un peu à cela. Je crois que ce doit être absolument rare.

Le grand mal—à mon avis—c'est que *sourdement*, sans en avoir l'air, les malheureux maîtres et maîtresses travaillent à saper la religion catholique, ne se gênent pas pour la tourner en dérision et par ces moyens travaillent à affaiblir si non enlever la foi des enfants dont ils ont la garde,

Ainsi le résultat pratique de l'éducation laïque est que, les enfants qu'on retient à peu près jusqu' à la première communion, passé cette époque, fuient l'église et le prêtre. On ne les revoit plus qu'au mariage.

Dans ma paroisse je me plains, mais j'ai cependant moins à me plaindre que d'autres. Mon instituteur (un divorcé) et sa femme, l'institutrice, sont polis avec moi, ne me font pas la guerre ouverte : mais ils la font à mon école chrétienne. J'ai des religieuses qui étaient communales il y a dix ans et qui ont été revoquées. Mais la proportion est belle. Elles ont cinquante et quelques enfants alors que l'institutrice communale laïque n'en a que sept. Mais cela durera-t-il ?

Laissez moi vous demander de prier pour ma paroisse et son Curé. Notre vie de curé de campagne est bien aride parfois, mon cher ami ! Il y a vingt ans à S. Sulpice qui m'eût dit que

je verrais ce que je vois ! Je vous reproche presque de ne m'avoir pas donné des nouvelles de Monsieur votre Oncle, notre cher maître à tous, que nous aimions tant à S. Sulpice. Je vous envoie mon cordial souvenir d'ami dévoué et fidèle.

L. DU BOULET,

Curé de Ciers du Saillon.

Here is a letter written by a Curé of an important parish who for reasons quite intelligible to us asks us not to publish his name. As the writer goes to the root of the evil we think it well to publish the letter whilst we keep the name of the writer to ourselves. It runs as follows :—

CHER MONSIEUR HOGAN,—Il faudrait un vrai petit rapport pour répondre aux différentes questions que vous me posez et je ne suis guère en état de le faire. Je suis obligé de vous demander de vous contenter d'une courte lettre.

1°. Le recrutement des instituteurs laïques est detestable à notre point de vue. Les jeunes gens qui se destinent à cette carrière savent que s'ils manifestent des sentiments religieux, s'ils remplissent l'essentiel de leurs devoirs de chrétien, s'ils paraissent seulement de temps en temps à l'église, ils seront mal notés et verront leur avancement absolument arrêté. Il s'opère donc à l'entrée de cette carrière une sélection à rebours. Un jeune homme vraiment chrétien ne songera pas à se faire instituteur communal et le devoir de tout prêtre est de le détourner de cette voie. Donc les instituteurs se recrutent, sauf exception, dans un milieu spécial si non hostile au moins indifférent.

2°. La formation à l'école normale n'est pas moins regrettable. Le ton général de cet enseignement a été donné par le ' Directeur de l'Enseignement Primaire ' un pasteur protestant defroqué et franc-maçon ardent. Les manuels scientifiques sont en général dans les idées positivistes, et les manuels historiques sont conçus dans un esprit absolument hostile à l'église. Les calomnies qui n'ont plus cours dans les régions supérieures de la science où elles faisaient sourire les savants sérieux se donnent là librement carrière. L'enseignement philosophique de l'École Normale a pour but de battre en brèche ouvertement la doctrine catholique, négation de tout surnaturel, inutilité de la prière, suprématie de la raison, etc. Et dans ces écoles les professeurs se permettent des pardessus qui sont interdites aux professeurs des Lycées. Comme tous les élèves sont en général au moins indifférents, il n'y a pas à craindre de blesser leurs convictions ; et d'autre part les professeurs savent que ces pauvres jeunes gens dont la culture n'est qu'ébauchée accepteront sans sourciller des sophismes qui feraient lever les épaules à un élève de seconde. Il n'y a pas

dans les écoles normales comme dans les Lycées un simulacre d'enseignement religieux ; point de chapelle ; point d'aumônier ; point de prière. Le dimanche matin les élèves sont lâchés dans les rues de la ville où est l'école normale jusqu'à 9 heures du soir et généralement ils encombre les cafés, les cafés-concerts et d'autres lieux encore moins recommandables.

Quand l'élève de l'École Normale est nommé instituteur il sait que s'il se montre chrétien il sera mal vu de ses supérieurs, que s'il se montre sincèrement neutre il risque d'être taxé de tiédeur, que s'il affirme carrément son hostilité religieuse il sera bien noté pour l'avancement. Quelle tentation délicate pour un jeune homme sans principes arrêtés et qui voudrait bien voir augmenter son traitement insuffisant au début. Puis, pour être sincèrement neutre il faudrait qu'il eût le courage de corriger les assertions des livres que les enfants ont entre les mains et où souvent la religion est attaqué sans ménagement.

Quant à l'esprit des instituteurs il varie singulièrement selon les régions. Les instituteurs ne sont pas nommés par leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques, les recteurs, mais par les préfets, fonctionnaires politiques qui sont eux-mêmes sous la dépendance des députés et sénateurs. Donc là où les élus de la population sont radicaux, socialistes, athées, les instituteurs pour gagner les bonnes grâces de l'administration ont tout intérêt à penser et à parler comme eux. Les vieux instituteurs, qui ont gagné leur bâton de maréchal, sont d'ordinaire moins mauvais que les jeunes. Ils voient les tristes résultats de cette éducation et osent penser pour eux-mêmes.

Naturellement la moralité doit bien laisser à désirer dans des écoles où l'on n'enseigne qu'une morale sans sanction ; de plus, elle doit être plus basse que dans les écoles libres, puisque les écoles de l'Etat reçoivent les enfants des familles irreligieuses, les enfants des indigents, et les pupilles de l'assistance publique (enfants trouvés, moralement abandonnés ou dont les parents sont déchus de la puissance paternelle).

Il est difficile de donner des chiffres pour la moralité : pour la criminalité c'est plus aisé : et même les publications officielles sont obligées de reconnaître qu'il y a un écart formidable entre la criminalité des enfants sortis des écoles communales et des écoles chrétiennes.

Au fond, pour me resumer, l'instituteur communal n'est pas libre de manifester ses sentiments religieux, s'il en a, sous peine de voir son avancement arrêté. Il n'a le droit de donner aucun enseignement religieux aux enfants, et ses supérieurs voient d'un mauvais oeil qu'il les accompagne à l'église, ne fût-ce que pour maintenir l'ordre. Depuis que je suis dans ma paroisse mes deux instituteurs n'ont jamais mis le pied à l'église, pas même le jour de la première communion de leur enfant.

Pratiquement matérialiste pour la plupart, l'instituteur, tel que

nous le connaissons, ne peut avoir qu'une conception fausse de l'éducation. L'enseignement de la morale naturelle ou civique est généralement nul de l'aveu des inspecteurs de l'Université. Les livres qu'il est obligé de mettre entre les mains de ses élèves (il est obligé de les prendre sur une liste dressée par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique) contiennent pour la plupart les attaques les plus violentes contre la religion. L'instituteur communal est doublement fonctionnaire politique, d'abord parce qu'il dépend du préfet, fonctionnaire politique; ensuite parce que dans les compagnes il est d'ordinaire secrétaire de la mairie. Il est donc obligé souvent d'épouser les passions anticléricales des hommes au pouvoir. De plus, un nombre respectable d'instituteurs fréquentent plus qu'il ne conviendrait le cabaret, ce qui leur enlève beaucoup de leur autorité. Que peuvent être les enfants formés par de tels maîtres et d'après de telles méthodes il est facile de le deviner. Le plus fort élève peut sortir de l'école sans avoir aucune notion de l'existence de Dieu et de la loi morale si le catéchisme et la famille n'ont pas comblé les lacunes voulues de l'instruction publique.

Maintenant je m'empresse de dire que là comme ailleurs il y a d'honorables exceptions et que ce que je dis des instituteurs en général ne saurait s'appliquer à chaque individu.

Veuillez excuser le décousu de cette lettre. Elle ne laisse que trop voir la fatigue de celui qui l'écrit; et croyez toujours, cher Monsieur Hogan, aux sentiments affectueusement dévoués de celui qui fut votre condisciple et sera toujours votre ami fidèle.

X. Y. Z.

The Abbé Varangot writes to us from the troubled diocese of Laval in Mayenne:—

Dieu préserve votre pays des calamités du nôtre, et surtout de nos écoles sans Dieu qui sont l'abomination de la désolation. L'instruction publique est purement et simplement en France une machine de guerre entre les mains de la franc-maçonnerie pour détruire la religion.

And further on, after having described the spirit of these schools, he says:—

Peut-être demandez vous des faits. Eh bien, même en Mayenne, j'ai vu des instituteurs nier les vérités fondamentales de la religion et faire perdre ainsi la foi aux enfants. J'en ai vu envoyer les enfants faire du tapage aux portes des églises pendant les messes, ou pour empêcher les confessions. À Laval on trouve des enfants des écoles qui insultent les prêtres, etc. Ces faits abondent.

'The Abbé de Scorbiac, from the department of 'Tarn et Garonne,' writes to us :—

Il va sans dire qu'il y a parmi les instituteurs de braves gens ; mais ceux-la sont timides, se cachent, n'osent rien dire. La majorité des instituteurs primaires, quand ils n'attaquent pas le prêtre, s'attachent aux objections contre la religion et font un mal irréparable. Au point de vue moral il en résulte chez les enfants. 1°. Un grand orgueil qui sous un certain vernis de politesse amène incontestablement l'esprit frondeur. Un enfant de 15 ans discute la religion, la juge avec des idées absolument naturalistes et demande que Dieu agisse avec lui comme un patron avec des grévistes. 2°. Une tendance marquée vers le socialisme qu'ils ne comprennent pas encore, mais qu'ils considèrent comme une réforme et un progrès par la solidarité.

Finally, we should not wish to deprive *The Tablet* of the following extract. We should add that it comes to us from Montauban, and that Montauban is not far from Gascony :—

La foi languissante, la perversion de l'esprit public qui s'accoutume à tout ne permet pas aux évêques de prendre les mesures énergiques qui chez d'autres peuples seraient efficaces. La générosité des catholiques est admirable, mais leur organisation électorale ne leur permet pas encore de remporter la victoire. Puissent les conseils du vaillant journal *La Croix* que la presse juive a tant décrié en Angleterre, lors de l'ignoble affaire Dreyfus, parce qu'il a déjà fait un bien immense, puissent ses efforts sur le terrain électoral aboutir enfin !

We might quote many other letters presenting various shades of a picture, which in order to be properly appreciated must be looked at as a whole ; but those which we have given here represent fairly enough the tone of all the others.

Now, the first serious reflection suggested to our minds by this rather voluminous correspondence is, that surely the Irish clergy are well inspired, when they proclaim their determination to fortify by every safeguard the position they have won, through the devotion and the wisdom of their forefathers, in the primary schools of Ireland, and to dispute, if need be, inch by inch, and line by line, every attempt that is made, no matter under what pretence, to make a breach in the citadel that means so much to them. It is only a small rift now that might widen out in the course of years,

and ultimately admit that demon of secularism which has wrought such havoc in the fairest land in Europe. Indeed it is much more for the information of the Irish clergy that we have gone to the trouble of entering into this correspondence, interesting though it may be in itself, than for the trifling purpose of answering a rude correspondent of *The Tablet*, or of vindicating ourselves. If we wanted merely to reply to any strictures *The Tablet* might be pleased to pass upon us we had only to turn to its own pages and quote them against itself.

So very many months have not elapsed since *The Tablet* shocked the Catholics of these countries by giving the hospitality of its columns to what was euphoniously described as 'a plea for *habeas corpus* in the Church.' That such a plea should have found its way into some of the other organs that profess to defend Catholic interests in England, but which nobody assuredly would think of regarding as competent exponents either of Catholic doctrine or of common sense, was only what might have been expected; but that it should have found its way into the pages of a responsible organ like *The Tablet*, caused, to say the least of it, no small surprise. For what was the suggestion underlying this plea? The impression left upon the mind of any one who read it was, that the author was almost afraid to speak above his breath, that some dark cloud, the herald of danger and disruption, was brooding over the Church. The wildest speculations, he said, were going about. 'There was nothing on any side but ferment and unrest. There were everywhere the gravest causes of anxiety and doubt. People saw before them, with dismay, the prospect of an all-pervading turmoil in which, by the tyranny of circumstances, they might unwillingly become involved.' There was no check to the flood of anecdote, conjecture, and insinuation which poured itself out amongst the clergy when they talked freely, and amongst the laity when they confided in one another; and all because the cardinals of the Roman Congregations did not hold their sessions in public, like a British court of justice, with judge and jury, according to the provisions of *habeas corpus*.

Of course, as far as we know, it was suggested, things may be all right in the *Curia*; but if only its procedure were reformed and brought into harmony with the practices of civilized nations, then we might breathe again. We are not, we thank heaven, like other peoples. Our success has been great in the world and our advice is surely entitled to some weight. If, therefore, this plan, put forward, as you see, in the most dutiful of the Catholic organs of Great Britain, be adopted, there will be an end to the state of anxiety and alarm in which we live, and the possibility will be removed for ever of shady things being done, by Roman cardinals, in dark places, and behind people's backs.

Now, let nobody think that we desire to do *The Tablet* an injustice. Some weeks after this so-called 'plea' appeared in its pages, yielding to the indignation of its correspondents, it clearly rejected the 'plea' and all the nonsense that accompanied it. In one of the best articles we have ever read in its pages, and we have read many good ones, the position of the Roman Congregations in the economy of the Church was ably set forth and richly illustrated. With what justice, then, could anyone have accused it in the interval of having taken part in an agitation for *habeas corpus* in the Church? And if *The Tablet* was not held responsible for 'the plea,' why should the I. E. RECORD be now held responsible for a charge with which it has less sympathy, we are sure, than *The Tablet* had with this instruction of the Pope in the management of his own tribunals.

The Tablet may not be aware that a word has never yet appeared in the I. E. RECORD about the famous case of Captain Dreyfus. We have never admitted a syllable about it into our pages, though frequently urged to do so. We detest Jew-baiting as we do stories of ritual murder and of walled-up nuns. But we have never felt ourselves called upon to pronounce on the merits of a case so intricate as to puzzle some of the ablest jurists in the world. Besides it was no business of ours. We have a strong objection to outside interference in matters of domestic concern, and we have never laid claim to a

monopoly of virtue. Dreyfus, for all we know, *may* have been innocent. His judges *may* have been mistaken; we do not say they were not. These officers and gentlemen may not have been equal to the task of unravelling the web of expert depositions that was laid before them. But it was not we who dared to scrutinize the unseen evidence of their consciences. It was not we who branded their verdict as infamous. It was not we who suggested that, at that solemn hour, when the fair name of their country was at stake, they were capable of throwing honour, conscience and justice to the winds, and of thinking only of the breaking or the making of their own career.

We should be very sorry, indeed, to deny, or to minimize the services which *The Tablet* has rendered to the Catholic cause in England under its present editor. Nor do we grudge it the liberty to which it has a perfect right in politics and matters of free opinion. Every man who is wise and patriotic must be disposed to see and to appreciate what is best in his own land, and to defend what he conceives to be the highest interests of the people amongst whom his lot is cast. Hence, whatever nation a journal may belong to, some allowance must be made for the tendency to 'chauvinism' that is born in every human breast. But, whilst making all allowance and leaving a wide margin for this element of human nature, we think *The Tablet* is more prone than other Catholic organs of respectability to see the mote in its neighbour's eye, whilst it comfortably ignores the beam in its own. It has occupied itself a good deal of late with the *Osservatore Romano*, the *Voce della Verità*, the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It was probably inevitable that our turn should have come. We cannot say that we regret the attention we have received, seeing that it gives us an opportunity, not of our seeking, to tell *The Tablet* that, whilst we gladly recognize its claim, on many grounds, to the esteem and gratitude of Catholics, we do not regard it as an unbiassed witness of anything that concerns either ourselves or our country.

As the honoured name of Mr. Bodley, the distinguished author of the work on *France*, has been mentioned in this

discussion, he has written to *The Tablet*, from Biarritz, to give his views on the particular question from which the controversy arose. Now, however we may differ from Mr. Bodley on matters of principle and on questions of detail, he is a man of whose impartiality we have a very high opinion, and for whose character we have the greatest respect. We should be sorry to think that anyone, knowing what he has done, should give utterance to an unkindly or disparaging word in his regard.

At a time when an attempt was made to rouse the fury of the world against the clergy of France, and when English Catholic laymen were setting fuel to the flame in disgraceful anonymous letters to *The Times*, Mr. Bodley, to his credit be it said, stepped into the breach, and from the depth of his knowledge of a country about which he had written two classical volumes, and in language worthy of Edmund Burke, bore the testimony of a gentleman and of a Christian to their character and virtues.

Mr. Bodley takes occasion, when referring to this matter, to regret that the task of rectifying the impression produced by Father O'Brien's article was not undertaken by the Archbishop of St. Paul, in the United States. Archbishop Ireland, he adds, could speak with great authority for many reasons; and, moreover, he has made it 'his chosen mission to smooth away misunderstandings between English-speaking peoples and the Latin races.' It is needless to say that we have no objection. We have no quarrel with any race or people. We yield to no one in our admiration for the great versatility of Archbishop Ireland. We are quite sure, however, that his Grace would be the last person in the world to deny that there is only one bishop in Christendom whose authority encircles the globe, and who has received from on high the mission to moderate the jealousies of conflicting races, and to hold the balance evenly between Catholics in the various nations of the world. Archbishop Ireland has, no doubt, great experience of races and their characteristics, and he has achieved the unwonted triumph of being popular, at the same time, in England and France. For our part we wish all success to his efforts to make these two nations as friendly to one another as he is to

both of them. We are only surprised that the brilliant idea that his Grace's good offices were needed to make peace between Irishmen and Frenchmen should have come from a man of Mr. Bodley's intelligence, and did not originate with *The Tablet*.

A venerable French ecclesiastic,¹ now no more, told us, some years ago, that he had spent the whole of his long life in the capital of France. He was born under the great Napoleon and had some dim recollection of his downfall and death. He had seen the Bourbons restored and he had seen them driven out again. He had seen Louis Philippe, the first-born of the regicide, cheered by the mob, and he had seen him hooted and deposed. He had witnessed the scenes of bloodshed that marked the revolution of '48. He had gone with his archbishop to offer his homage to Napoleon III., who rubbed his hands in glee—*joliment content*—to see that at last he had won the Church to his side; and he had felt all the bitterness of Sedan, and had seen the same emperor a prisoner and an exile. He was present at Notre Dame at the baptism of the Prince Imperial, and had gazed on that occasion upon a scene of pageantry and rejoicing such as perhaps the world had never witnessed before. Some twenty years later he had read in the newspapers how that child of promise and of hope had fallen in the service of a foreign land, pierced by the assegais of a savage tribe, on the distant plains of Africa, and was found with a medal hanging from his poor little neck and an image of *Notre Dame* close to his heart. Four of his archbishops had been done to death, two on the barricades, one at the altar, and one in the massacre of the Roquette. He had seen Paris bombarded and reduced and had seen the conqueror marching through its streets. He had lived under the *régime* of Raoul Rigault and of Jourde. From the top of his father's house in the Rue du Bac he had looked out on the night of the 23rd of May, 1871, to see the lovely city of his birth in ferment and in flames. It was a starlight night, calm and beautiful, and as he heard the yells of the populace, the crackling of

¹ The late Curé of the parish of St. François Xavier in Paris.

the Tuileries and of the Palais des Finances, surmounted now and again by the roar of cannon, the *crépitement* of the mitrailleuses and the rattling of the chassepots, he thought to himself that surely the crack of doom was not far distant. *Ah ! ma foi, j'ai vu tout cela, mon ami !* But there remained something sadder for him still to see, and he witnessed it from the gallery of the chamber of deputies on the fatal day when the religion of his Redeemer was banished from the schools of the land he loved.

On that day he saw Jules Ferry, the most ardent disciple of Voltaire and the worst enemy of Christianity that the present century has known, arise in his place and congratulate his friends on the victory they had achieved. 'At last,' he shouted, 'we have reached the goal. The future of France is ours—*l'apprentissage est à nous.*' Yes, truly, they have the apprenticeship. The youth of France is in their hands. The man who uttered that shout of triumph has since gone down to his pagan grave, *unhouselled and unaneled*. But he has left behind him a system which acts like a huge engine for the extirpation of Christianity and of all that it signifies.

Now, what puzzles us more than the condition of France, is that the press of a great country like England, which has itself just made so ardent and successful a struggle for the recognition of Christianity in its schools, should hail with satisfaction what has been done on the other side of the channel. For is it not a fact, that when the clergy of France, tied down though they are by the Concordat, make some effort to stem the tide of paganism that is threatening to overwhelm their country, they are insulted and decried, and set down as political agitators, and disturbers of the peace? Can *The Tablet* help us to solve this mystery?

M. Brunetière, in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review*, points out how convenient it is to have one set of principles for the guidance of an empire at home, and another for application abroad. The taunt is one, no doubt, as he himself admits, that invites a pretty evident retort; but we wish that, in the case of the French clergy, at least, *The Tablet* could supply some *rebutting evidence* to the charge.

If *The Tablet* could only prevail with the newspapers of England to show towards the French clergy something of the spirit that was manifested towards them during the great revolution—or if this kindly spirit, which has never been forgotten in the presbyteries of France, cannot be revived, something, at least, of moderation and justice—it would surely win a trophy more worthy of its ambition, and more creditable to England, than some petty triumph over Father O'Brien and the I. E. RECORD.

For our part we require no one to tell us, that, in spite of all the evil influences at work, the streams of grace that have fertilized the soil of France for so many centuries still flow through innumerable channels. We know at least as well as the *The Tablet* that the traditions of politeness, of gentle manners, of refinement, and of chivalry, that have come down with more than a thousand years of Christianity, are still the leading characteristics of the nation; but who can look forward to a hundred years of godless education without apprehension as to their fate?

When we think of what the world was before the charter of grace was delivered to the Apostles; when we recall the condition of France itself before Clovis had yielded to St. Rémi, and before our own Columbanus had founded his great nursery of missionaries at Luxeuil, what have we to expect, where the Gospel is rejected, but corruption and barbarism? Have we not got a foretaste of it already? Do we not see the most violent passions let loose? Do we not hear the most reckless charges hurled at opponents? Has not the *Lex Pappia Poppaea* been urged on the Senate? Do we not see in the bookshops and windows, at railway stations and in the thoroughfares, evidences without number of the vice that prevails? If we take up some casual book to read do we not get a startling reminder of what Suetonius and Seneca have written of other days? Let any one who spends a month in France read the *Libre Parole*, the *Eclair*, the *Intransigent*, the *Aurore*, and he can form some idea of the hatreds that are abroad. No doubt in the midst of it all there is great refinement, an advanced civilization, great material progress. There are

fine theatres and luxurious palaces. We see that the arts are cultivated, that steam and electricity are at work. But all these things are on the same plane as the Grecian architecture, as the statues of Phidias and the screw of Archimedes. They do not surpass in their own order the baths of Caracalla, the Roman aqueducts or the Coliseum. The spirit that has given them to the world was not unknown at Alexandria under the Ptolemies, nor at Florence under the Medici. They are very fine in their way, and they help to train the mind, and to educate the taste. But they have nothing to do with eternal life. They will never induce men to love their fellow men, to keep their passions in control, to refrain from calumny and theft, and from the vices that lead nations to decay. For that the people of France, and of every other country afflicted as she is, must return to the precepts that shine so brightly in the eyes of the peasants of Ober Ammergau. They must respond to the voice of the shepherd which speaks to them at the midnight hour, above the din and clamour of the world, and, in the solemn stillness of the centuries, in accents as sweet as ever fell from the lips of a successor of St. Peter, calls them to the fold of Christ the Redeemer.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE LAW OF ABSTINENCE, AS IT AFFECTS PERSONS EXEMPT FROM THE LAW OF FASTING

REV. DEAR SIR,—Now that the Advent fast is approaching, you would confer a boon on many readers of the I. E. RECORD, if you were to explain the law of abstinence in reference to persons who are not bound to fast. It is a practical matter, in which the people and their pastors are interested, and on which there is considerable diversity of opinion. At almost any gathering of priests, you can hear rival theories regarding the obligation of such persons, especially outside of Lenten time.

(a) Can children, for example, use milk in any quantity not only at dinner, but also at breakfast and supper, on the days of the Advent fast?

(b) Does the same answer apply to butter and eggs? Some hold that children may take eggs and lacticinia, as often as they please, outside Lent: others deny this.

(c) If children have permission to use eggs, *v.g.*, at breakfast and supper, on fast days outside Lent, does that permission come from the Lenten indult of the bishop, so that we can assume that the Lenten regulations are intended by the bishop to apply to the remainder of the year also? In a diocese, for instance, where the bishop allows the use of milk and butter without restriction, but restricts the use of eggs, on week-days of Lent, to one meal, even for those who are not bound to fast, are we to hold that on the fast days during Advent also, for example, children may use milk and butter as often as they wish, but that they may use eggs at one meal only?

FRANCIS X., C.C.

Questions like this regarding the law of abstinence, in so far, especially, as it affects extra-Lenten time, and persons exempt from the law of fasting, have reached us from various quarters. If we bear in mind a few leading principles, the solution is usually not difficult. But, as our correspondent

suggests, it may be useful to some readers to recall a few obvious principles on which the solution of the questions now raised depends.

1. We must first bear in mind the distinction usually made between the law of fasting and the law of abstinence. The law of fasting restricts the *quantity* of food that may be lawfully taken on certain days; it does not touch the *quality* of food, unless in so far as it forbids the use of food of any kind outside the meal or meals allowed. According to the present discipline of the Church, the law of fasting allows (1) one full meal, (2) a light meal (of about eight ounces) or collation as it is called, and (3) a very small quantity (one or two ounces) of food in the place of a third meal. At the full meal, *any kind* of food, meat, for example, may be taken, as far as the law of fasting is concerned. For the law of fasting, as such, does not regard the *quality* of food. As a rule, the law of abstinence is binding on fasting days, and, therefore, meat and sometimes lacticinia are forbidden, even at the full meal. But during Lent, when an episcopal indult removes the law of abstinence on certain week-days, we have an example of a case, in which the law of fasting remains in full force, though even meat is allowed at the full meal. As for the quality of food that may be taken outside the full meal, it is altogether determined by custom. The law of abstinence, as opposed to the law of fasting, does not restrict the quantity of food, but prohibits, on specified days, certain *kinds* of food, viz., meat, (and sometimes) eggs, butter, cheese and milk.

2. The law of abstinence, with which our correspondent's question is concerned, is more strict during Lent than outside of Lent. During Lent it prohibits the use of meat, eggs, butter, cheese and milk. At the present day, of course, large concessions for the use of these forbidden qualities of food are made in the Lenten indults. Outside of Lent, the common or general law of abstinence forbids meat only; it places no restriction on the use of eggs, butter, cheese or milk.

We have said, that outside of Lent, the common law of abstinence prohibits meat only. But in Ireland the local

law of abstinence was, until recent times, much more severe. Since 1877, however, the law of abstinence in Ireland has been substantially the same as the general law of the Church. The only vestige of the more rigid discipline of the Church in Ireland is that when the vigil of the feast of the Nativity, SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, or of All Saints falls on Friday, the use of eggs, as well as of meat, is forbidden.

3. The law of abstinence affects the whole day equally. In other words, any kind of food that may be taken at any meal on a day of abstinence may, as far as the law of abstinence is concerned, be taken at every meal on that day. If, therefore, the law of abstinence allows eggs and butter at dinner on any day, it allows them also at other meals. Of course, this is not necessary *ex natura rei*, but in fact, such is the law. Dispensations in the abstinence, however, may, according to the will of the person dispensing, affect one, two, or all meals. Thus, we find the dispensation for the use of meat or eggs on Lenten days sometimes limited to one meal, even in the case of those bound to abstain merely.

4. The power to dispense in the laws of fast and abstinence belongs *per se* to the Pope exclusively, for these laws are papal laws. By custom, however, bishops, and even parish priests can dispense, in individual cases. But neither the bishop nor the parish priest can, in virtue of custom, give a general dispensation available for the diocese or parish. Hence, when bishops grant a general Lenten indult containing dispensations in the law of abstinence, they act in virtue of *special* powers granted by the Holy See. Whether or not any bishop has power to grant a general dispensation in the extra-Lenten fast or abstinence depends on the extent of his special faculties from the Holy See. But, where the Lenten indult of a bishop on the face of it expressly regards the Lenten regulations only, there can be no justification for applying either his dispensations or restrictions to the extra-Lenten fast or abstinence.

5. As we have said above, the law of abstinence affects the whole day equally. Whatever persons exempt from

the fast may take at the principal meal on any day they may take as often as they wish that day. This rule holds good universally, in Lent and outside of Lent. Moreover, a dispensation in the abstinence affects the whole day also, unless the contrary be expressed or manifestly implied by the person who grants the dispensation. When a bishop, for example, in his Lenten indult permits the use of meat on certain days during Lent at the principal meal, the effect of his dispensation is to remove altogether on these days the law of abstinence forbidding meat. Those who are bound to fast can use meat, of course, at their principal meal only, because the law of fasting still binds them to use nothing outside the principal unless what is sanctioned by custom, and meat is not allowed by custom; but those who are exempt from the law of fasting may use meat as often as they please. If the bishop so wishes he can impose restrictions. He can limit the use of meat, say to two meals or even one meal. But these restrictions, to take effect, must be clearly expressed or implied; they are not to be assumed. Moreover, from an answer sent (11th Dec., 1878) to the Bishop of Buffalo, we are left to infer that it is 'not expedient' that such restrictions should be placed on persons exempt from the fast owing to age, labour, or infirmity.

A few words will now suffice to answer our correspondent's questions.

1. (a) In Lent, children and all those who are exempt by reason of age, labour, or infirmity, from the obligation of the law of fasting, may use as often as they please on any day any kind of food that is allowed by the Lenten indult at their full meal to those who are bound to fast. The only exception to this rule is where the indult expressly or implicitly maintains a further restriction.

(b) Outside of Lent, the same classes of persons are forbidden the use of meat at any meal; but they may use eggs, butter, cheese and milk, without restriction. They are bound by the law of abstinence only and, outside Lent, it forbids meat, not eggs and lacticinia. The only exception to this rule is that by the local law of abstinence in Ireland, eggs are forbidden at any meal on the four

vigils above mentioned, viz., the vigil of the feast of the Nativity, SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption, and All Saints, when they happen to fall on Friday.

2. The permission—with the restrictions already made—come from the Lenten indult. The ordinary indult to those exempt from the fast to use eggs and lactinia without restriction on fasting days outside Lent does not, therefore, deal with Lenten time only. The bishop, moreover, cannot give a general dispensation in the extra-Lenten abstinence, unless his special faculties from the Holy See cover that case. Just as the Lenten indult is not the source of the permission to use eggs and lactinia on fasting days outside Lent, so the special restrictions of the indult have no application outside Lent. Outside Lent, the general law of the Church allows eggs and lactinia without restriction to those who are exempt from the fast. There is, therefore, no need or place for an episcopal dispensation, nor, consequently, for any restriction on the extent of that dispensation.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

1. SHOULD THE "OIL-STOCKS" BE BLESSED? 2 THE SECRET IN THE MASS OF THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH.

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask for answers to the questions which follow?

1. Among the 'Benedictiones Reservatae, ab Episcopo, vel Sacerdotibus Facultatem Habentibus, Faciendae,' in the appendix to the Ritual (Editio Typica), I find one under the heading 'Benedictio Vasorum pro Sacris Oleis Includendis.' Should I, therefore, conclude that the vessels in which we reserve the Holy Oils must be blessed, or would, at all events, laudably be blessed? If so, is this conclusion to be drawn equally in regard to the larger vessels in which the oils are brought from the cathedral, and the smaller ones which immediately serve in the administration of the Sacraments? O'Kane in his *Notes on the Rubrics*, third edition, cap. iii., n. 268, says that such vessels are not to be blessed. But to what vessels, if this be the case, does the blessing

I have spoken of apply? Again, if the supposition be that the blessing is to be performed, must the faculty be especially asked from the Ordinary? The faculties usually granted to priests in missionary countries for blessing sacred vessels speak, as far as I know, only of *utensilia ad Sacrificium Missae Necessaria*.

2. The missal provides for the Mass which is to be said on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of a diocese, or religious community, by referring us to the Mass *Terribilis est locus iste*, from the common of the consecration of a church. In the secret of this Mass, we find certain words, *ut quicumque*, etc., which we are told to omit *extra Ecclesiam ipsam dedicatam*. If a priest is saying the Mass upon such an anniversary, he being a priest of the diocese, or the community whose churches are in question, and yet happens to be celebrating in a church which itself is not consecrated, does he omit the words *quicumque*, etc.? I know it may seem clear at first sight he should do so, but to me at least a little doubt as to the propriety of his doing so exists, because, while saying Mass in a church itself not actually consecrated, he seems to be saying Mass in a church which in some way, as far as the formula of the Mass goes, is one with those the consecration of which is actually commemorated by reason of their having been more solemnly devoted to God's service by the special ceremony of the Pontifical. Of course, it seems clear to me, that if the priests in a diocese be commemorating the anniversary of the consecration of the cathedral, they should omit the words, as the anniversary in the case of the cathedral seems to be something entirely distinct from that of the other churches. What am I to do in regard to omitting the words?

An answer will favour a constant reader of the I. E. RECORD.

Very truly yours,

'SACERDOS.'

We shall endeavour to satisfy, in a few words, the doubts existing in the mind of our esteemed correspondent on the points raised in his inquiries.

1. As to the first question, we see no solid ground for departing from the opinion maintained by such a pains-taking and invariably accurate an authority as O'Kane, as quoted by our correspondent, viz., that there is no necessity for blessing the vessels which contain the Holy Oils, whether

there is question of the larger vessels in which the Holy Oils are generally brought from the Cathedral or of the smaller ones, commonly known as 'oil-stocks,' which the priest carries about with him in sick-calls. In support of this view the following reasons occur to us. Firstly, we think it is not the custom, in this country at least, to have these vessels blessed, and it is scarcely credible that this practice would prevail if there was an objection in the matter. Again, all commentators on the rubrics that we have seen make no reference to the necessity of a blessing for these vessels, and this universal silence amounts to something more than a merely negative argument, when we consider how very careful and exact the rubricists generally are to caution us about the obligation of having the various vestments and utensils used for divine service blessed when this is required by the rubrics.

Commentators are divided¹ as to the obligation of having the Ciborium blessed. No one holds that it should be consecrated. Now if there is not a clear necessity in the case of the Ciborium, to which greater respect and reverence is manifestly due than to the *vasa oleorum sacrorum*, it will not be easy to discover a reason for holding that these latter ought to be blessed. The existence, however, of the *Benedictio vasorum pro sacris Oleis includendis* in the ritual would go to show that, though there may be no strict obligation, the blessing of them is praiseworthy. From its position among the *benedictiones reservatae*, we conclude that this benediction is reserved in the sense that it cannot be exercised without special delegation. But as to whether it may be contained in the group of faculties mentioned by our correspondent, this must be determined by the prevailing practice of the place, and by the other indications which help to divine the intention of the ordinary.

2. About the second question we have much less hesitation. It is our decided opinion that the words:—'Ut quicumque intra templa hujus, cujus anniversarium dedicationis diem celebramus, ambitum continemur, plena

¹ *Vide. De Herdt Sacrae Liturgiae Præcis*, ed. nona, tom i., 173.

tibi, atque perfecta corporis et animae devotione placeamus,' which occur in the secret of the Mass, *In Dedicatione Ecclesiae*, ought not to be said when the Mass is celebrated in a church that is not itself consecrated. For it is only churches that are consecrated by the solemn rite of the Pontifical that are entitled to an annual dedicatory feast. Hence, while the Mass celebrated in churches, consecrated as well as dedicated, is practically identical, still it is only the former class that have in reality an *anniversarium dedicationis diem*, and, consequently, it is only when the Mass is said in one of this kind that the words *ut quicumque*, etc., are verified.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE CITY OF ARMAGH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Permit me to call the attention of those who possess copies of the new edition of the *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, to certain errors and misprints in the *Book of the Angel*, given in appendix A. As the whole of the *Book of Armagh* is now being printed, from a fund left for that purpose by the late Dr. Reeves, it is of the utmost importance that the errors referred to should be publicly rectified beforehand. It is also an act of simple justice to Dr. MacCarthy, who made the transcription as far back as 1883 and spontaneously placed the result of his labours at my disposal, as a valuable adjunct to the new edition of Stuart, together with an English translation, the first ever attempted. Unfortunately, being sorely pressed for time, I was unable to give him an opportunity of seeing the last revise and inserting the corrections. They are herewith subjoined.—I remain, Rev. dear Sir, yours faithfully,

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

P. 449—Title:—*for* Royal Irish Academy *read* Trinity College, Dublin.

Translation:—line 3, *for* himself *read* him [Patrick].

line 12, *for* to the *read* [to bound] within.

P. 450—Translation:—*for* O Holy *read* O my Holy.

P. 451—Text:—line 22, *for* relegiossi *read* religiosi.

line 35, *to* reverentiæ *add* [-entia].

line 35, *for* Aird-Machæ *read* Aridd-Machæ.

line 41, *for* præst *read* preest.

Translation:—line 1, *for* said *read* saith.

line 15, *for* lector *read* rector.

line 25, *for* this *read* that.

line 31, *for* and *read* [and].

P. 452—Text:—line 9, *for* inerrabilis [innarrabilis] *read* ine[na]rrabilis.

line 25, *for* [-cum] *read* [cum].

Translation:—line 8, *for* favour *read* benefit [the Redemption].

line 13, *for* with the *read* with.

P. 453—Text:—line 13, *for* eundem *read* eundem [idem].

Translation:—line 40, *for* optional *read* unrestricted.

P. 454—Text:—line 19, *for* finem *read* in finem].

line 20, *for* in usque *read* usque.

line 28, *for* illam que *read* illamque.

Translation:—line 2, *for* by its *read* with [the aid of] its.

lines 3, 7, *for* decree *read* have decreed.

line 11, *for* followers *read* pupils.

line 14, *for* Church of the Relics of the Martyrs *read*
[church of] the Shrine of the Relics.

lines 24-5, *for* seemed to have *read* had.

line 26, *for* through her *read* her.

Note *:—*for* Domach *read* Domnach.

DOCUMENTS

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS
ASSEMBLED IN NATIONAL SYNOD AT MAYNOOTHTO THE CLERGY, SECULAR AND REGULAR, AND THE LAITY OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND

VERY REV. AND REV. FATHERS, AND DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Assembled as we are in a National Synod to make such amendments of our ecclesiastical laws and regulations as the lapse of time and the altered circumstances of our country require, our thoughts turn to our dear people, whom we have ever in our hearts, and we salute them in the words of the Apostle—‘Grace to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ’ (Gal. i. 3).

And as we contemplate the actual condition of the Church in Ireland, and its progress since the first Synod of Maynooth twenty-five years ago, we see on all sides manifest reasons for thanking God always for the grace that is given to you: ‘That in all things you are made rich in Him, in all utterance and in all knowledge, as the testimony of Christ was confirmed to you, so that nothing is wanting to you in any grace, waiting for the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ’ (1 Cor. i. 5-7).

For, whether we regard the Church’s external organization or her living spirit—the outward forms in which her manifold activities show themselves, or the unfailing power of God’s grace, which, as a living fountain, wells up amongst her children unto eternal life—our hearts are filled with joy, and ‘we cease not to give thanks for you making commemoration of you in our prayers.’

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that the efforts and sacrifices of the Catholics of Ireland, within recent years, for the material and outward works of religion are, in proportion to their means, unsurpassed, and, perhaps, unequalled by those of any other people in the Church. Noble cathedrals, parochial churches of great richness and beauty; convents and monasteries, and religious institutions of all kinds, have sprung up in every direction, on a scale and in a style of great magnificence. To those who observe us from outside the Church, these works seem but ill-proportioned to our poverty. And so they are. Irish Catholics as a body are poor indeed. They do not own the land from which

their forefathers were expropriated; they are the merest fraction of the great professional and commercial classes; they rarely find admission to any of the high offices of state. 'For see your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble' (1 Cor. i. 26). And yet, to the amazement, and often to the vexation, of those who judge all things according to the standard of human prudence, they cover the whole face of the land with structures which, in any other country, would be taken for the evidences of great material prosperity.

But we who know the profoundly religious character of our people, their sense of the Majesty of God's service—their love for the beauty of the House where His divine presence dwells, can understand their action, and see in it an illustration of His own word that the 'foolish things of the world hath God chosen to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the strong' (1 Cor. i. 27).

And it is this spirit of faith that makes the singular harmony, which exists in Ireland, between the Church's growth in outward form and grandeur and her progress in the sanctity of her children. At other times, and in other places, there have been richer and grander churches than ours; but it has often happened that as the material building rose in strength and beauty the spiritual edifice was crumbling into ruins.

Thank God it has not been so in Ireland. As far as we can judge by the ordinary evidences of a people's spiritual condition, we have reason to bless and thank God for 'the faith and labour and charity' of ours.

There is scarcely any form of public or private devotion which has not received a notable development in recent years. The wonderful Pontiff whom God has given to the Church in these times of difficulty and trial, while by his great dogmatic pronouncements he has influenced the course of human thought in its highest reaches, has, at the same time, sent his voice into the humblest cabins, and made the hearts of the poor of Christ beat quicker with the love of Him who loved them first. Under his inspiration, the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus has spread with singular rapidity. It is as if his words kindled the sacred fire which the Lord Himself had cast upon their hearts, and with scarcely any human effort, and often where the fervour of the people would seem to outstrip the zeal of the clergy, Communion

on the first Friday of the month has become an almost universal practice. We desire thus, formally, to thank God for this great grace, and to encourage both priests and people to persevere in maintaining and extending it.

Amongst other blessings which we expect from this beautiful and touching devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Lord is the increase in external reverence towards Him in His own Adorable Sacrament. Our shortcomings in this respect are an unhappy survival from the Penal times; but we may confidently hope that, as reverence for the Sacred Heart grows amongst our people, it will find its own expression spontaneously in an outward worship, in accordance with our faith. In this matter we trust that the clergy will lead their people by word and example, and in particular by the extension, under ecclesiastical authority, of the practice of Solemn Benediction and the beautiful devotion of the Forty Hours' Adoration.

The consecration of our people by families to the Holy Family was another most providential inspiration of our Holy Father the Pope, and an evidence of that divine assistance which is ever with him in the government of the Church. It has taught the people the sanctity of home, the sacred nature of the ties which religion adds to those of blood; and will thus be, we trust, the means of planting and cultivating in their hearts those domestic virtues which lie at the very foundation of all human society.

We have observed, with special satisfaction, the renewal of the old fervour of our people in the recitation of the Most Holy Rosary. Here, too, the words of our Holy Father the Pope touched a tender chord in the Irish heart. With the unerring instinct of faith, the Irish people have ever cherished the Holy Mother of God, in their inmost hearts, with a particular and most tender love; and by some attraction, or rather some gift of God's grace, they have found in the recitation of the Holy Rosary, as family prayer, something congenial to all their religious thoughts and feelings. Now, with the fresh sanction which it has received from the Head of the Church, we see this devotion established more firmly than ever in their affection; and we rest thereon great hopes for their perseverance, being confident that She who has crushed heresy in every age will not fail a people who have ever been so true to Her.

In these practices of piety, and in countless other ways, we find the evidences of our people's spiritual progress. One

notable feature deserves particular mention—that is, the continuous increase in the number of the faithful who approach the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. It is questionable whether it has ever been exceeded, in proportion to the population, in any country, or at any period, since the Apostolic times.

Surely, Dearly Beloved Brethren, these are considerations which should gladden the hearts of the pastors of the country, and make them feel that in such a people they have 'their joy and their crown.'

And in the relations of the Church to questions that bear upon her interests, at the same time that they touch those of the civil society in which she exists, we can contemplate the course of events during the last twenty-five years with much satisfaction and gratitude to God.

Amongst all these questions there is none more important than that of education, and there has been none in Ireland which has filled us with greater thankfulness to God for the steadfastness with which our people have stood by their pastors in vindicating our rights as Catholics. In this matter ours has not been an isolated contest. Although the forces arrayed against us here in Ireland have adapted their line of attack to the peculiar condition of our country, in reality they are the same as those with which the Church all through this century has been in conflict in most of the countries of the world.

Everywhere two systems of education, resting on principles fundamentally opposed to one another, have striven for the mastery, and whether there has been a question of founding a University or a village school, the same vital issues have been at stake.

The essential difference between these systems comes from their respective attitudes towards supernatural truth. For those who do not believe in God or in a revelation made by Him to man, or consider that the meaning of these truths and their bearing on human conduct are matters of mere private opinion and conjecture, it is waste of energy and precious time to make the teaching of them, at least in any public institution, a part of its ordinary functions.

These are the children of this world. They deal with what they know. This world is the one certainty for them, and to prepare their children to advance in it, is their highest conception of education.

This in its final analysis is Secularism; over and against it stands out the position of the Church of Christ. All education is holy. There is no more sacred duty than the development of a young mind and soul. Man's destiny is supernatural; he has not here a lasting city but seeks that which is to come, and for its attainment God has given to him a revelation distinct and well-defined in its doctrines; solemn and imperative in the duties which it imposes on him; rich and abundant in the aids to their fulfilment; and He has made the knowledge and the belief of these things the first principle of spiritual life in man. 'This is the true life that they should know Thee, the one true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.'

In his wonderful Encyclical *On Human Liberty*, our Holy Father Leo XIII. sets forth this conception of Christian education with singular force and clearness. Truth, he lays down, must be the subject-matter of all teaching—truth, both in the natural and the supernatural order—and unless the art of teaching is to be turned into an instrument of corruption, both of these must be guarded inviolably. Now, amongst the inestimable treasures of supernatural truths which God has revealed to us are:—'That the only-begotten Son of God was made flesh to witness to the truth; that a perfect society—that is the Church—was founded by Him, of which He is the Head, and with which He has promised to abide to the end of ages. He willed to make that Church the depository of all the truths which He taught, in order that she might hold, and guard, and by lawful authority expound them. At the same time He commanded all nations to hear her as they should hear Him, and whosoever should disobey should be lost eternally. Whence it follows that the first and supreme Teacher of man is God Himself—the fountain and source of all truth; then the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, the way, the truth, and the life—the true light which enlighteneth every man. But in bringing the knowledge of faith to men, and in the formation of their lives, God Himself has made the Church a participator in this divine office of teaching, and by His gift has made her infallible.' (Encyc. Leo XIII. *On Human Liberty*.)

When once we understand these two conceptions of man's place and duty on earth, we can see how profound and irreconcilable must be the differences in the views as to education which correspond with them. It is the opposition which Christ

found between Himself and the world, and which He foretold would endure between it and His Church for ever.

In Ireland we have had bitter experience of that hostility, and in no phase of our sufferings for the faith has it been directed against us with more determination and persistence than in its attacks on religious education.

But, what gave our people courage and strength to withstand it, was their instinctive perception of the interests that were at stake. The struggle for the schools turned on everlasting issues. The souls of the children were the objects for which men fought, and it was the realization of this truth that it was no mere matter of ecclesiastical policy, no movement for the social or political advantage of the Catholic body, but that it was simply to determine the religious belief of the Irish people—to decide whether the next generation and those to come after them were to forsake the faith of their fathers or be true to it; it was the clear appreciation of this issue that made sacrifice easy, and made every human advantage a loss to the Irish people, when compared with the pre-eminent knowledge of Jesus Christ. 'This is the victory which overcometh the world, our faith' (1 John v. 4).

In every grade of public education in Ireland we have had to contend for these Christian principles. Sixty years ago the System of National Education was established. In its first conception it was thoroughly dangerous, if not worse. The notorious Whately revelations let in a flood of light on the combination of Protestants and Secularists who, under the specious formula of combined secular and separate religious education, hoped to undermine the faith of our people. But, thanks to that good God whose Providence never failed us, that System of National Education, instead of spreading secularism or indifference, has itself undergone a radical change, and in a great part of Ireland is now in fact, whatever it is in name, as denominational almost as we could desire. In most of its schools there is no mixed education whatsoever. It is separate education, as it ought to be, for the children of different religious professions, and thus it has come, in a great part of Ireland, to be a help rather than a hindrance to the Church. That is a great achievement. It has not been the work of a day, but it has been brought about by the steady and unswerving determination of a Catholic people who were true to themselves and loyal to their pastors.

Yet some great blots remain on the System of National Education. The vexatious restrictions on the use of religious emblems in schools that are manifestly denominational are hardly intelligible; and the maintenance of the Model schools, which violate the principle of local control and managership, which is the very essence of the whole system, is a wrong to Catholics and an unpardonable waste of public money.

We hope, however, that this latter anomaly may soon cease, and that these schools may become technical institutions, or otherwise turned to useful account, under the recent Agricultural Act.

These remarks which we have made on our Primary system of education suggest some considerations on the character and duties of teachers.

In many respects the office of teacher is allied to that of a priest, and is almost sacred in the nature of the work for which it is instituted. A school teacher is not a mere instructor of youth in certain branches of knowledge, but it is his mission to form their minds in wisdom—to mould their characters, to bring them in intellect and in heart to that disposition which will enable them to grow up into good and useful members of society, and worthy children of the Church, whose aim will be, in their various positions in life, to attain, above all things, the supernatural end of their creation.

That is, to instruct them unto justice; and, assuredly, every good and faithful teacher may look with confidence to a share of the special reward that is promised to those who do this holy work. We would then exhort the teachers of Ireland to set before themselves a high ideal of their noble profession, which our people have always held in the highest honour. For them, as for all men, the interests of religion must come first in their thoughts, and if they are personally penetrated with the spirit of faith, they will manifest it in their whole bearing and action in their schools, but especially in their relations with their spiritual guides and superiors. From our knowledge of the teachers and their work in our respective dioceses, we can bear testimony—and we do so willingly—to their worth, their zeal, their piety, as individuals; but we have to add that, in recent years, their organization has manifested a painfully un-Catholic spirit.

We are aware that the great majority of the National school teachers are not in sympathy with this anti-clerical and almost secularist movement. But it is an evil that follows associations

that they readily lend themselves to the machinations of a few designing persons who are able to impose on the body collectively courses of action which, as individuals, the greater number of them would condemn. In this way only can we reconcile the official acts of the Teachers' Association with the well-known dispositions of its members at large.

It is for these members, then, to put themselves right as Catholics, and, unless their Association takes up and maintains, unequivocally, a correct and becoming attitude towards the Bishops and Priests of the Church, to sever their connection with it as no longer in harmony with the principles of faith, or with their duties as members of the Catholic Church.

In Intermediate education our progress has been still more striking. Up to the year 1878 a large number of our Catholic schools languished for the want of resources, while Protestant schools were amply provided with endowments derived in large measure from confiscated Catholic property. Since the passing of the Intermediate Education Act, an astonishing change has come in this respect, and the annual examinations which have been held have been a positive revelation, and showed us the wealth of intellect which had lain undiscovered and unworked in our Catholic youth, as well as the teaching power of our Catholic masters.

But the feature in this system on which we desire particularly to dwell is its frank recognition of the denominational principle,—thus illustrating the obvious truth that if educational or any other laws are to be a success, they must be framed in accordance with the convictions and feelings of the people for whom they are made.

To the great body of Catholic teachers throughout the country, whether members of the Secular or Regular clergy, or of other religious communities, we tender the expression of our thanks for their services, and our admiration of their signal success.

At the same time, we venture to express a hope that no competition however keen in secular studies, will cause them to forget the precedence which religious instruction should hold in a Catholic school. It is to vindicate freedom for our schools in this respect that we have all along striven, and it would be a poor result of all our labours if when our triumph was secure, we ourselves neglected the very object for which we fought.

But the triumph of denominational principles and the consequent growth of our Catholic schools, has given to our grievance in the matter of University Education a fresh urgency and importance. Our Catholic boys—who bear off the highest prizes in the Intermediate Examinations—are increasing in numbers annually. The system of education that exists is leading them, by hundreds, nay by thousands, to the very threshold of the University, only to find the door shut in their faces, while the comparatively few Protestants or Agnostics who joined in the same competition enter into the possession of all the advantages that a University career can give.

Dearly Beloved Brethren, this is not only a grievance, it is an insult to this Catholic Nation. In its ultimate resolution it means that we Catholics have no rights in this matter, that our principles may be disregarded, and those of religious bodies, who regard us with the bitterest hostility, may be imposed upon us. In other branches of the education question the true issues have sometimes been obscured; here there can be no mistake that we are face to face with an opposition which draws its full force from religious prejudice. One has only to consider the source from which the opposition comes to divine its nature. Statesmen are not against us. The ablest and most representative politicians in England and Ireland have openly espoused our cause; and, what is more noteworthy, not a single public man of the first rank, no matter what his political opinions, has taken sides against us. Nor is it in the interest of knowledge that our claims are denied. As far as they have spoken, the representative men of the great Protestant Universities in England and Ireland have pleaded for us. Not, indeed, that their principles and ours are one, or that we and they have a common ideal of a University; but, differing from us fundamentally as they do, they consider it narrow bigotry and unwisdom to lower the whole educational status of a country because its people will not renounce in education the abiding principles of their religious belief.

Whence, then, comes this persistent, and, we are sorry to add, powerful opposition? One has only to follow the course of this question for the last few years to tell that it has its source in a limited body of English and Irish Protestants who, we believe we may state without offence, are actuated mainly, if not entirely, by their bias against the Catholic Church.

They are the very men who have always opposed every

concession and measure of relief to their Catholic fellow-citizens; whose feelings against us are so strong that they regard it as an injustice to themselves if a public place of emolument is given to a Catholic, and whose policy, if it had prevailed, would have kept us still under the disabilities of the Penal Laws. Yet, while this is so, it only makes our position more humiliating. If responsible statesmen held, on some ground of public policy, that it was dangerous to the State to allow Irish Catholics to get a higher education in a Catholic atmosphere, or if the representatives of learning asserted that it could not be done without injury to the interests of Knowledge—although we should differ from them as to the facts, we should understand their position; but when those who can speak with authority for the State and for Knowledge unite in vindicating the justice and the expediency of our claim, we consider it the strongest and most fatal condemnation of our Government to find it abandon its own convictions, and, for some electoral expediency, takes its policy from the least enlightened sections of its followers.

For us, however, our course is clear. Irish Catholics know what it is to be repulsed time and again. On every issue that we have ever raised for freedom we have been thrown to the ground often—but from the touch of our mother earth we have risen with fresh vigour and determination, until in the end the victory was achieved. We are confident that this will be our experience here too. The argument is over, the case is clear, and it only needs to be pressed home with determination for a little while. We trust, then, that our people will realize its importance for themselves, and for their children, and for their country, materially as well as religiously, and lose no opportunity of infusing their own spirit into our public men. At the approaching General Election it should be made a test question in every Catholic constituency, and still more, in selecting representatives, our people should have regard to the importance of choosing men who, by education and personal character and experience, would be capable and worthy advocates of this most important and sacred cause.

Hitherto we have tried to find a solution of the question which would hurt no existing institution and leave no heart-burnings behind.

Nor can it be said that we have aimed at enlarging our ecclesiastical privileges. If we have erred at all, it has been on

the side of concession—for our purpose has been to reduce our claims to the very narrowest limits that were consistent with our duty as Bishops and guardians of our people's faith.

If ultimately these efforts of ours fail, we cannot be blamed for seeking, on some other lines, for relief from a grievance which is simply intolerable. We have tried to meet the case by 'levelling up.' If the extreme Protestant party in these countries stop the way in that direction, they must be prepared to find public opinion advancing on another. Things cannot remain as they are. The days are gone by when any one section of the community, and least of all, the wealthiest, can be allowed to monopolise endowments that should be the possession of the nation at large; and it may be found that the vexatious delay which has occurred in settling this grave question has only led to a more thorough-going and satisfactory solution than we had ever ventured to ask.

Out of the revenues of Trinity College, which are undoubtedly public and national property, and the endowment of the Royal University, and the annual grants made to the Queen's Colleges, a fund might be established which would be sufficient to satisfy all the higher educational needs of the country in one great National University, and on principles that would hurt no religious susceptibilities. The System of Intermediate Education is founded on this principle. Catholics come into competition under it with their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen. If we may not have a University for ourselves, then let us have equality between Irishmen of all religious bodies in another way—let one National University preside over all our higher studies and administer a common fund, and let each college or institution receive a share of it according to the extent and the quality of its work.

Meanwhile, it is for Irish Catholic parents to heed the warnings of the Church, and remember the account which they shall have to render to God for the souls of their children. On no account should they send them for the sake of any temporal advantages to colleges in which their religious interests may suffer.

The Queen's Colleges have been condemned by the Holy See itself as intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals—and two National Synods have promulgated that condemnation. Trinity College, Dublin, has been declared by the National Synod of Maynooth to be dangerous for the same reasons.

It is, then, for Catholic parents to keep their sons away from these places, lest in seeking the knowledge of this world they

suffer the loss of their holy faith. Even at some pecuniary sacrifice they should send their sons to the Colleges of our own Catholic University; and Catholic representative bodies, too, may afford substantial aid to the cause by appointing to offices of trust and emolument those candidates who have made their studies in these Colleges. The Medical School, in particular, has a strong claim on the favourable consideration of Boards of Guardians. It turns out, from year to year, a number of young doctors who have passed their examinations with great distinction before the public licensing bodies of the country; and we do not think it unreasonable to ask that, if they are found as well qualified as their competitors from other institutions, they should get a preference in those appointments from which Catholics have been so long excluded.

Although, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we address you directly on matters of spiritual interest, we cannot refrain from expressing our congratulations on the powers of Local Government, which for the first time in this century, have been conferred upon our fellow-countrymen; and, we have to add with singular satisfaction, our admiration of the prudence and moderation and liberality with which they have entered on their exercise. In this beginning, limited as it is, we see the seeds of great developments; and we are confident, if the spirit which the people have shown in the first year of their power continues—especially if they exercise great care in the selection of their representatives—that this measure of local government will not only help to heal the soreness of ancient feuds, to mitigate class prejudices, to draw all Irishmen together in the service of our common country, but that it will demonstrate our fitness for wider responsibilities, and remove much of the distrust with which some persons, no doubt honestly, still regard the prospect of national self-government.

Amongst the powers which our local authorities will have to exercise are those of directing and controlling Technical Instruction under the recently-passed Agricultural Act. At once let us say frankly that we recognize in that Act the means of securing great advantages for our people, and that, as far as it is in our power, we should wish to co-operate in making it a success. Whatever increases the resources of Ireland, by manufacture, by commerce, and, most of all, by agriculture, has our fullest sympathy. Every increase in national wealth brings with it the means of better and more extensive employment, and puts a

corresponding check upon the flow of emigration, in which our poor country, literally and truly, has been bleeding to death. Whatever may have been thought about emigration at the time of the great famine, no one of any school of economics will now venture to hold that it can continue at its present rate without absolutely impoverishing the whole country.

But in putting their powers under this Agricultural Act in force in town and country, our local bodies in Catholic districts will, we are sure, shape their regulations in accordance with the principles which we, as their Pastors, have always laid down on educational questions. In particular, great care has to be taken in establishing residential colleges of any kind, and the great waste of public money, and the utter failure that befel the old Agricultural Colleges under the Commissioners of National Education, because they ran counter to Catholic principles, should act as a warning to those who are confronted with the same problem which they failed to solve.

The essential error made in their constitution was, that Catholic youth were asked to live in the same dwellings with youths of different religions, and often under non-Catholic masters. In such a system it was obvious that there could be no security for the religious belief and moral training of these students, and the colleges founded under it might readily become hot-beds of vice and irreligion. If residential colleges are to be set up, they should be placed under the control of some religious body which would take the place of parents for the young students, and, while giving them technical instruction, would prepare them to take their place as good and useful members of society.

If there is question of mere day classes, the same objections do not hold; yet even here we think it will be found that the nearer the Technical Education system approximates to the ordinary educational institutions in existence, the healthier and more useful it will be.

If well and judiciously used, we believe that the powers given under this Act may be productive of immense good; but if the drain of emigration is to cease, and their homes in Ireland are to be made more attractive for our people than their prospects in foreign lands, something more radical and thorough is required. As it stands, the Land Question is in an impossible position. There is no finality in our land laws. No one now pretends to think that a system in which rents are periodically made a matter

of litigation before a tribunal in which neither of the litigants has confidence, can be the true solution of the question, and the conviction is growing on many sides that peasant proprietary must ultimately come. In that change will be involved, we trust, a measure which will restore to the industry of Irish peasants, who now are driven to starvation on miserable holdings, the great grass plains that are at present almost worthless to their owners, and are economically lost to the country.

A movement for these purposes will have our fullest sympathy and support, on the one condition that it is conducted on just and orderly and constitutional lines, but we shall set our faces against any attempt to reach them by violence or injustice or any other means condemned by the laws of God. Our recent experiences must be a warning to us. Within a few years the country has passed through a political agitation which, in its extent and force was little less than a revolution. It would be too much to expect that during its progress many things should not have occurred, from which, in calmer moments, people would shrink. There have been considerable evils which we all deplore; but considering the vastness of the interests which were at stake, and the intensity of the movement that arose in connection with them, we have reason to thank God that these evils were for the most part, superficial and transient, and left hardly a trace upon the national character.

But, such as they were, it is our duty to profit by the lessons which they teach, and, in any further movement for similar objects, to eliminate everything which is at variance with God's law, as authoritatively declared to us by the Pastors of His Church. Sinful means do no good. They often defeat their own ends; but, even if they brought us some temporal advantages, these would be bought at too dear a price if we offend God, and still more if we lower the moral tone of an entire nation by bringing it to acquiesce in methods of action which it knows to be immoral.

But, Dearly Beloved Brethren, while the actual condition of our country fills us spiritually with great joy and gratitude to God, and, as regards your temporal prospects, gives us the hope of much prosperity, we cannot disguise from you the fact that sometimes anxious thoughts for the future present themselves to us, and we ask ourselves: Will our people, under the altered conditions of life that are now forming around them, be found

as faithful as in the past? Nations, as well as individuals, may fall away from God's faith. There are few things more touching in human history than St. Paul's account of the rejection of the Jewish people. They were his own race, and he loved them with an intense devotion. Their ancient glories, their privileges, their mysterious and wonderful election as the chosen people of God, filled his heart with exultation, and he loved to recount them all:—'Who are Israelites, to whom belongeth the adoption as of children, and the glory, and the testament, and the giving of the law, and the service of God and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ, according to the flesh, who is over all things, God blessed for ever' (Rom. ix. 4, 5).

Yet after these ages of predilection, during which, out of all the nations of the earth, they had been God's chosen people—and at the very time when all their glories had received their consummation and their crown by the birth, as one of them, of the Incarnate Son of God—the Jews, even then, as a nation, were rejected by God, and others taken in their stead.

'I speak the truth in Christ,' says the Apostle; 'I lie not, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great sadness and continual sorrow in my heart; for I wished myself to be an anathema from Christ for my brethren, who are my kinsmen according to the flesh' (Rom. ix. 1, 2). And the words of solemn admonition which the Apostle then addressed to the Roman converts, who might be disposed to overweening pride and confidence at being called into the place which the Jews had forfeited, have their application as directly and immediately to us, and to every people who are similarly the objects of Divine favour:—'If some of the branches be broken, and thou, being a wild olive, art engrafted in them, and art made partaker of the root and of the fatness of the olive-tree, boast not against the branches; but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then: 'The branches were broken off that I might be grafted in. Well, because of unbelief they were broken off; but thou standest by faith: be not high-minded, but fear; for if God hath not spared the natural branches, lest, perhaps, he also spare not thee' (Rom. xi. 17-21).

That is the supreme lesson for a Christian people to learn. Their faith, which is the root and foundation of all God's supernatural blessings to man on earth, is His gift, given to us without right or title on our part. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor

of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy' (Rom. ix. 16). To us, the people of Ireland, He has shown great and signal mercy at all times. He has led us, even as He led the Jews of old; He has been the God of our fathers, and kept them, generation after generation, faithful children of the Church; yet these mercies of God should but deepen our anxiety lest we should be unworthy of them, and in some evil hour we, too, should be cut off.

And though, in many respects, the state of things, religiously, in our country, gives us good grounds to hope that we shall persevere in the ways of our fathers; yet there are special dangers in our times that should make us humble and cautious. Hitherto we lived almost apart from the great movements of the world's thoughts. The very persecutions to which our religion was subjected for the last three centuries,—while they brought out what was best in the national character, and tempered and strengthened it,—on the other hand, acted as a shield against the attacks of unbelief, which, at the same time, were making such havoc throughout Europe. Down to our own day, also, nearly all our political movements were either purely religious, or were tinged with a religious spirit, so that this providential combination of circumstances tended to bring the religious interests of the country into prominence, and to concentrate the mind and heart of the people upon them.

How great a change we have undergone in these respects is a matter of common knowledge, and the danger is that in the intense, though perfectly legitimate, preoccupation of our people with the purely human questions that are now in issue, with the spread of education, the diffusion of literature, the unrestrained circulation of every current, however bad or irreligious, of modern thought, the mind of our people may lose the fine edge of its faith, and, it may be, enter on the path that has led other nations to their spiritual ruin.

Against such a danger there is no protection so secure as personal holiness of life, fidelity to religious duty, and the devout and humble reception of the Sacraments. God protects the good man, and guides him, and opens his mind to the teaching of the Church and the knowledge of faith: 'Wisdom conducted the just man . . . through right ways, and showed him the kingdom of God, and gave him the knowledge of holy things' (Wisdom x. 10). And as a means towards extending amongst the laity, particularly those of the educated classes who are most exposed to dangers

against faith, the practices of religion, we desire most earnestly to commend the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. No words of ours can add anything to the formal and most emphatic testimony which this very year it has received from our most Holy Father, Leo XIII. In a remarkable letter addressed to the President-General, His Holiness writes :—

‘It is becoming daily more evident that this Society, which is entirely devoted to works of active charity and benevolence, is peculiarly suited to the needs of our times. For in the singular force of Christian charity we must find the remedy of the evils which now press around us. Wherefore we thank the most merciful God for the increase which He has given to your work, and we pray to Him that He may give you many more partners of your labours.’

We trust that this prayer of the Vicar of Christ may be efficacious in Ireland too, and that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul may receive an extension worthy of its own excellence and of the piety of our people.

We would particularly recommend it to young men, many of whom are disposed to yield themselves up to the pleasures and frivolities of life, and pass their best years without realizing its earnestness and its solemnity. It is most noteworthy that in its origin this Society was the work of six or eight young students of the University of Paris, under the leadership of Frederick Ozanam, and was their answer to the taunts of infidels and sceptics : ‘Show us your works.’ We should desire most earnestly that young Catholics throughout this country followed that blessed example. In visiting the poor in their homes, they would be brought into actual contact with the stern realities of life ; they would be schooled in the lessons of Christian charity ; and by the very poor themselves, in their resignation to God’s Holy Will—their vivid faith—their undying hope—they would learn the deep and wonderful power of our Holy Church to ennoble the lives of the lowliest of her children.

But over and above these ordinary precautions of a Christian life, it is our duty to warn our people, with all the earnestness and solemnity which we can command, against the special danger, which has assumed such proportions in our days, from the spread of irreligious and immoral literature. A sad change seems to have come over public opinion on this point. No subject now is too sacred to be made the matter of popular discussion in

magazines and newspapers—the mysteries of faith, the solemn truths on which man rests his eternal hopes, are tossed about, with as little reverence or reserve, as if they were some topics of the most trivial importance, and we fear that sometimes these things leave their poison in the minds of Catholics who read them. ‘Lead us not into temptation’ holds in this as in all other occasions of sin, and the Catholic who, out of mere wantonness or curiosity, reads such writings, loves the danger, and it is no wonder if he should perish therein. The ordinary man of the world—without any special training in such subjects—without any opportunity or intention of following up the questions in discussion to the end—is no match for writers who are often specialists of great ability and knowledge, but who by some perversity use their powers against God’s holy faith; and, at the very least, it is inexcusable rashness for such a man to expose himself to the danger of being unsettled in his belief by the impressions which they may make upon him.

Avoid such writings, then, Dearly Beloved Brethren, thank God for the gift of faith, and guard and cherish it as your most sacred possession.

Worse, perhaps, and more fatal to many souls, is the immoral literature which is poured, almost in floods, over the country. We believe that one should go back to the old pagan times to find anything equal to it in corruption, and it would be a wrong to the great classical writers of antiquity to compare them with a certain important school of English fiction in these days. And what is most deplorable is that many Catholics, who deem themselves loyal members of the Church, allow themselves the utmost liberty in reading such things. Let a book only be extensively spoken of, then no matter how impure and how suggestive of evil it may be, no matter how gross and indecent may be the phases of human life with which it deals, if only it is fashionable, numbers of people seem to think that they are free to read it. Even women—Catholic women—take this licence, and will sit down hour by hour over a book, which no earthly consideration would induce them to read aloud in the presence of any one—man or woman—for whom they had a particle of respect. Surely such reading must fill the imagination with images of evil that in the end will corrupt their very souls.

In this matter we Catholics have a high standard of morals, and we should never regulate our conduct by any other. For all

Catholics, but especially for women, there is ever set before their eyes, by our Holy Church, an image that should raise them above foulness of this kind, and make it, in any form, repulsive to them. Mary Immaculate, the Virgin Mother, is their ideal, and their pattern, and we can hardly conceive anyone—least of all a woman, in whose heart that spotless image is enshrined—finding pleasure in the literature to which we refer.

And all that we have said of these works of fiction, which are written for the leisured classes, holds, with still greater force, with regard to the grosser and more vulgar forms in which the same topics are presented to the people at large. We believe that immense quantities of these vile publications, together with most indecent and lascivious pictures, which are shown by certain traders in their shops, are brought into this country from England. It should be the duty of Parish Priests, by combined and persistent action, to put a stop to this unholy trade, and to denounce, in the clearest and plainest terms, the utter sinfulness of all participation in it.

A positive remedy for this crying evil is to find for the people a literature which will be at the same time healthy and interesting, and it is for this purpose, mainly, that the Catholic Truth Society has been established. We commend it to the patronage and support of our clergy and people. It has given an earnest already of what it can do, but with the full strength of Catholic Ireland to sustain it, it would be impossible to measure the services which it may yet render to letters and religion amongst us.

In referring, as we have to do, to the widespread and most pernicious evil of Intemperance, we only follow in the footsteps of our predecessors in the last Synod of Maynooth. Almost every word in which their Pastoral Letter described the sin, the misery, the domestic woe, the national impoverishment, which follow in the train of this degrading vice, might be repeated by us now. It is still working havoc in town and country—it is still blighting many a life and bringing sorrow into many a home—it is a blot upon the fair fame of our Irish Church, and a mystery in the persistence with which it baffles all the efforts of religion to extirpate it. Consequently, it is our duty, as Pastors of the people, to strive in the first place to raise their minds to a realization of its magnitude, and then by God's grace to organize them in strong and united action for its cure, or at least its substantial abatement.

At the same time, it is right to acknowledge the decided

progress that has already been made. It is the universal experience of the clergy, and our own, that the extent to which drunkenness prevails has been steadily reduced in recent years, and what is more important and more hopeful, that a sounder and truer tone of public opinion has grown up in reference to it. It is no longer regarded, as it used to be, as a tolerable failing of which a decent man need not be ashamed. Drunkenness now is considered disgraceful in every class of society, and to the influence of this feeling we look, under God and His Holy Sacraments, for future progress towards sobriety.

We desire that the clergy should encourage and foster religious associations under their own direction for the promotion of temperance, and, in particular, we recommend to their zeal the establishment of total abstinence societies in the schools, and we would make an earnest appeal to parents to encourage their children at the time of Confirmation to take a pledge against drink, and to watch over its observance themselves as long as the children remain under their control.

We should wish, too, that the occasions of intemperance were reduced. The multiplication of public-houses out of all proportion to any possible needs of our people is a great wrong; and we anxiously desire to see a considerable reduction in the opportunities of drinking which are thrown in the way of our working-men on Saturday nights and Sundays.

But although legislation may do a good deal by lessening the occasions of sin, the radical and permanent cure can be brought about only by God's grace working through His Holy Word, by the Sacraments and Prayer, on the hearts and consciences of the people.

There is another evil which we may not fail to notice, because although at present it has not grown to any great extent, yet it may develop into considerable proportions and bring in its train most serious consequences. We refer to the shocking desecration of the Lord's day by horse-racing. In the strongest and most emphatic terms we condemn this practice, as scandalous in the last degree, and an outrage on religious decency. We would appeal to our good Catholic people to aid us in stopping it at the outset, for if it should ever come to pass that our people, in considerable numbers, should so far depart from their duty as Catholics as to take part in such irreligious conduct, we should begin to fear that the ancient faith of Ireland was passing away. Let us leave these things to the infidels on the Continent of

Europe. Hitherto they have been unheard of in this Catholic land, and they shock every sense of religion and propriety.

In times past, secret societies were the occasion of much injury to the souls of our people. We have reason to hope that they have lost the greater part, if not all, of the strange fascination which they seemed to exercise on the minds of young men. Possibly the experience which the country has had of their worthlessness for any national purpose and, in many instances, of the treachery of their leaders, has helped to bring home to our people the conviction of the wisdom in this, as in other respects, of the Church's laws.

Still there may be some individuals so misguided as to look to them as a means of serving their country, and to these we trust it will be enough to point out that all such societies are condemned by the Church, and fall under grave ecclesiastical censures. The severity of this legislation should, in itself, be a sufficient warning to Catholics of the sinfulness of these societies, and of the Church's anxiety to save her children from their pernicious influence.

In all these admonitions which, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we have addressed to you, as well as in the decrees which we have passed in Synod, we have the comfort of knowing that we address those who recognise our authority as Pastors of the Church, and will receive our words with dutiful obedience. There is, however, one section of the flock committed to our charge, for whose welfare we cannot thus provide, because by a most unfair, and, we will add, unchristian state of the civil law, they are cut off from the opportunities of practising their religion, which we regard as necessary for their spiritual needs. We refer to the sailors in Her Majesty's Navy. More than forty years ago an undertaking was given that the evil of which we complain would be remedied, but still there it stands, and Catholic sailors are required to go to every quarter of the globe, and to be ready, at all times, to shed their blood for their Queen, and all the while no Catholic priest is allowed to accompany them, no proper provision is made to satisfy their conscientious requirements in the practice of their religion, or give them its consolations and help in their dying moments to prepare them to go before their God. We should be false to our duty, if at any cost, we did not raise our voices in protest against so glaring and so intolerable a wrong.

In conclusion, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we cannot omit a

reference to the auspicious time at which we are assembled. It is of good promise, we trust, for the fruit of our labours that they have been carried on during this Holy Year, when the thoughts of the faithful throughout the universal Church are turned, at the invitation of the Supreme Pontiff, to Rome, and multitudes of them, day by day, are pouring out at the shrines of the Apostles their prayers for the spread of God's faith, the extirpation of error, and the welfare of our Holy Church. In the Divine blessings which these prayers must draw down abundantly, we hope and trust that we have had a part, and that, in view of them, the Spirit of God has directed our deliberations.

We are assembled under the authority of the Vicar of Christ, and what we have decreed must, before its promulgation, receive his approval. He is the Chief Pastor and Ruler of the whole Church, to whom, in Peter, have been given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In communion with him, and under his authority, we exercise the powers which we have received from the Spirit of God to rule His Church.

This year, more than ever, the spirit of that loyalty to Rome, and to him that sits in the chair of the Fisherman, should be quickened within us.

In a few weeks a pilgrimage will go from Ireland to partake of the blessings of the Jubilee which has been proclaimed, and, over and above their own spiritual advantages, to be witnesses to the faith of this Catholic land, 'which is spoken of in the whole world;' and in particular of our unfaltering loyalty, under all circumstances, to the Vicar of Christ and to the See of Rome. Even more, as they kneel in the gracious presence of the venerable Pontiff Leo XIII., they will thank God, on behalf of all of us, for having in these days given to the Church a Pope who, by the sheer force of his own glorious personality, has raised the Papal Throne to a place of influence and power such as it has not held in the world for many a year. But, at the same time, as they think that this illustrious Pontiff, whose 'sons come from afar, and whose daughters rise up at his side,' is, humanly speaking, a mere dependent upon the will of others, that even the city of Rome, which is his by titles as sacred as they are indefeasible, is not left to him, they will pray, as we all do, that these evil times may cease, and that He whose angel struck the chains from Peter in prison, will deliver Peter's successor, too, and give him back that independence which the well-being of the Church and the nature of his office demand.

For the rest, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we 'pray that your charity may more and more abound in knowledge and in all understanding; that you may approve the better things, that you may be sincere and without offence unto the day of Christ, filled with the fruit of justice, through Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God' (Philippians i. 9-11).

- ✠ MICHAEL, CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
and Primate of All Ireland, Delegate Apostolic.
- ✠ WILLIAM JOSEPH, Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate
of Ireland.
- ✠ THOMAS WILLIAM, Archbishop of Cashel.
- ✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.
- ✠ FRANCIS JOSEPH, Bishop of Galway.
- ✠ THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Cork.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Ferns.
- ✠ ABRAHAM, Bishop of Ossory.
- ✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Raphoe.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Achonry.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Kilmore.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Down, by Procurator.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Kerry.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Killaloe.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Derry.
- ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Killala.
- ✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Cloyne.
- ✠ RICHARD, Bishop of Clogher.
- ✠ JOSEPH, Bishop of Ardagh.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Elphin.
- ✠ HENRY, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Kildare.
- ✠ DENIS, Bishop of Ross.
- ✠ MATHEW, Bishop of Meath.
- ✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canea.
- CARTHAGE DELANY, Abbot of Melleray.
- J. CAMILLUS BEARDWOOD, Abbot of St. Joseph's,
Roscrea.

Given at Maynooth,

Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary, 1900.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY. By his Son, Leonard Huxley. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1900. 2 vols. 8vo.

THROUGH the medium of these two volumes we get a pretty full view of the life and character of Thomas Henry Huxley. We must honestly say that the view is, on the whole, anything but a pleasant or attractive one. The chief work of Huxley's life was to popularize Darwinism, to spread unbelief amongst the people, to undermine Christianity. As a man of science his performance is of little value. No doubt he awakened an interest in biology, and did much not only to win for it the attention of all classes of people, and not least of Christian apologists, but also to facilitate for them the study of the subject by his clear and forcible methods of exposition. But really no great discovery remains after him, no very original investigation. He has not left nearly so much as Tyndall; yet to judge from his letters and his essays one would imagine that he had made most of the scientific discoveries of the century.

The man had not in him a single element of the supernatural; he had no reverence or respect for what the great majority of his fellow-men held sacred. He had, as his letters attest, but little sympathy for the fine arts. He had no genuine love of poetry or literature. The two great objects of his cult were science and Huxley.

We cannot, therefore, be much surprised to find that his views of men and things were singularly narrow-minded, that he was imperfect and one-sided, wanting in that sympathy and receptiveness which are needed by the man of science, perhaps, more than by any other member of society.

If he is ever assigned a place in the history of philosophy, a matter which is doubtful enough, as he has done so little that is original or of any permanent value, it will be in the company of the famous John Toland, the Derry philosopher of the eighteenth century, between whom and Huxley there are many points of analogy. Both wielded the English language with equal deftness and vigour. Both were animated by the same hatred of

Christianity. Both set themselves with equal determination to prove that the Scriptures were mere human books. Toland invented the term 'Pantheism' and was the first to introduce it into the literature of philosophy, although, of course, the thing it represents is to be found not only in the works of Spinoza but in those of the ancient philosopher Linus. Huxley, if he was not the inventor of the terms agnosticism and biology, was, at all events, the first to give them a place in the terminology of science. Toland taught an exoteric doctrine to the public, and held an esoteric doctrine for himself. Huxley, though by no means deficient in brass, took care to clip his sails when he was called upon to lecture in public, and to tack before the breeze of popular opinion. He kept his most radical views for himself and for the readers of the reviews and of his books. According to Toland the Nazareans or Ebionites were the only true Christians of early times; according to Huxley, the Founder of Christianity would not recognize His work were He to come on earth to-day. Toland, however, was by far the more acute and versatile man of the two. It would be difficult to say which surpassed the other in impiety—*par nobile fratrum*.

We can readily imagine to what the world would revert if paganism on the Huxley model were to get the upper hand once more. In 1885 he is in Rome, and his friend, Donnelly, sends him an account of some dynamite outrage to which he replies in this delicate fashion:—

'News about the dynamiting gentry just arrived. A little more mischief and there will be an Irish massacre in some of our great towns. If an Irish Parnellite member were to be shot for every explosion I believe the thing would soon stop. It would be quite just, as they are practically accessories.'

He is fearfully shocked at seeing the poor Italians kiss the 'Bambino' on Christmas Day. He rages and blasphemes at some ceremony he witnessed in St. Peter's at which Cardinal Howard pontificated. His description of the Cardinal is coarse and brutal. He, himself, is possessed with the 'desire to arise and slay the whole brood of idolators.' Nero and Caligula and Julian the Apostate were possessed with the same desire, and what they failed to accomplish is not likely to be carried out by an official of the British Museum or of London University.

Cardinal Newman is 'the slipperiest of all the sophists' he has come across. We have no doubt. Call the man you cannot

answer 'a sophist,' and, of course, there is an end of him. As far as Catholicism is concerned it is, perhaps, just as well that Huxley was what he was. The Papacy was to him anathema. He hated it with a bitterness that approached to madness. As we read some of his diatribes we are reminded of the words of the psalm :—*Peccator videbit et irascetur, dentibus suis fremet et tabescet.* But we should not forget the sequel : *Desiderium peccatorum peribit.* We imagine that in spite of all his bravery Huxley had his moments of terrible misgiving. He was a man whose whole life might have been transformed by some sudden stroke of grace. But the favour was denied him. A correspondent once brought under his notice an article written by a Catholic priest on the Galileo question. Huxley replies :— 'I looked into the matter when I was in Italy and I arrived at the conclusion that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had the best of it. It would complete the paradox if Father Roberts should help me to see the error of my ways.'

But it was not to be. Huxley died as he had lived, interesting himself only in nature. The flowers of his garden were the only things he thought of on his death-bed. Perhaps he thought of something else. His son, at all events, draws the veil over his last moments. The people whom he laboured to pervert will very soon draw it over his whole life.

J. F. H.

L'ÉGLISE CATHOLIQUE À LA FIN DU XIX^e SIÈCLE.
Paris.: Librairie Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Rue Garancière 10.
Price, 60 francs bound; 40 francs unbound.

WE have received from Messrs. Plon, Nourrit & Co., of Paris, this splendid volume, representing the Catholic Church at the end of the nineteenth century. It is no excessive praise to say of it that it is worthy of its noble subject, and worthy of one of the greatest publishing firms of Catholic France. It will find its natural place, not alone in Catholic libraries, and Catholic religious institutions, but on the drawing-room tables of Catholic families the world over. As a gift book, or a present, we could not recommend anything more suitable for a Catholic. It contains a splendid portrait, in colours, of Pope Leo XIII., portraits of all the cardinals of the Sacred College, of a great number of archbishops and bishops, of Roman prelates, heads and

officials of Roman congregations, heads and professors of Roman colleges, members of the Papal household, distinguished Catholic laymen, who are known for their devotion to the Holy Catholic Church, all sorts of religious buildings, and works of art.

The letter-press gives us a short account of the lives of the principal personages, and a brief history of some of the principal institutions. It is a beautiful book, and we trust that the enterprise and skill which have been brought to the service of the Church in this noble volume may have a rich reward.

The book contains amongst other Irish portraits an excellent one of his Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin, accompanied on the same page by a sketch of St. Patrick's cathedral. The compilers of the work evidently thought that the cathedral was still in the possession of Catholics.

J. F. H.

THE HOLY YEAR OF JUBILEE. By Herbert Thurston, S.J.
London: Sands & Co., 1900. 12s. 6d.

DECIDEDLY the gift of style does not seem to have been vouchsafed to Father Thurston. When we think of what an attractive and readable volume a French author would have made of the materials, so laboriously collected, and yet so inartistically woven together, which compose the work before us, we cannot fail to be impressed by the contrast. That Father Thurston has given his readers a vast amount of information, and that he has taken great pains to satisfy curiosity-lovers is abundantly clear. The pity of it is, that he did not take more trouble to throw his materials into shape, to relegate to the appendices several of the documents he has introduced into the body of the work, and to lift the reader now and again from the dull and monotonous plane of facts and details to something more in harmony with the subject. This was the rare gift that was possessed in such a high degree by John Henry Newman, by Matthew Arnold, and by Ruskin. It is still a notable characteristic of writers like John Morley and Mr. Lecky. It is to be met with in historians of the type of Freeman, Gardiner and Gasquet. But in a good many of the works that have recently issued from the Catholic press of Great Britain there seems to be positively neither life nor soul. We certainly are no believers in the rhapsodical style of writing; but there is a judicious mean. The mass of readers have imaginations and

sentiments as well as intellects, and if their minds and hearts are to be reached, and their attention captivated, they must be appealed to as the composite mixtures that they are.

Father Thurston's book is essentially a *livre de circonstance*. In a hundred years time people will look into it and quote it as a specimen of the taste and learning of our age; but in the meantime its readers will be few, and will be mostly drawn from the circle of historians. For, the matter of the book is interesting, and would require only the skilful touch of some master-hand to make it live and speak. We regret that we cannot give the book the unqualified praise which we should like to extend to a work that must have caused the author so much trouble. There is no use in recommending a book to the general reader that will not be read by any but curiosity hunters, and persons specially interested in the history of the subject.

F. D.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ST. IGNATIUS. Edited by J. F. X. O'Connor, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros.

THIS is a volume we would wish to see in the hands of every Catholic. St. Ignatius was of so commanding a personality himself, the Order founded by him has played so large a part in the history of the Catholic Church for the last three hundred years and more, that any detail of his life or labours must be of much interest to us all. And here we have that life-story told, not in the words of any biographer—whose best work can be only an impression from without—but by the saint himself, and with all the simple candour characteristic of him. The details may not be numerous, but there is a luminousness in them that reveals more than the keenest observation of the biographer. The saint's heart is laid bare, the doors of his soul thrown open for the time, and we are permitted to look at the most interior working of divine grace in him. We will not say that one finds here in all its fulness that charm of close personal confidence one experiences in the *Confessions of St. Augustine*. If it be not irreverent in us to say so, we have sometimes felt sorry that the saint elected to tell his story in the third person; and we have also longed at times for fuller treatment. Nevertheless, we have not met with much that was more delightful reading. The narrative is plain, direct, and for its compass intensely self-revealing. The book is one of those one instinctively takes to his heart.

The editor has done his work carefully. The English of the

translation is all one could desire. There is an appendix of interesting particulars, illustrative of the educational work done by the fathers of the Society of Jesus. Many of the statistics are very significant, and Catholics will thank Father O'Connor for having told them so plainly.

The publishers—Benziger Bros.—have spared no pains in bringing out the volume. The rich, velvety paper employed, the generous print, the binding, make a book well worthy of St. Ignatius and his Order. The many plates, printed on fine art paper, scattered through the text, are a feature one should not omit to mention.

We wish, and confidently predict, a large sale for the volume.

P. D.

AT THE FEET OF JESUS. By Madame Cecilia, Religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham. London: Burns and Oates. 1900. 3s. 6d.

UNDER the above title we have a little volume which is at once a spiritual reading and meditation book. Under either aspect it is very satisfactory: under both combined it is out of the common: altogether it is an excellent book—one that fully justifies its separate existence in an age of spiritual books, for it can be read with pleasure and profit by all. In a space of two hundred and eighty pages it contains twenty-four familiar discourses on the lessons taught us by the life and virtues and example of Jesus in the Gospels. They are written in an easy, elegant style. They breathe a spirit of deep and solid piety throughout. The title of the book is an appropriate one, and indicates the chief excellence of its contents: the conferences bring us at once to the feet of the Master, and speak—or rather let Him speak—at once to the head and to the heart. They teach us how to read the Gospels by exciting our wonder at the depths of wisdom and instruction an humble and devout follower of the Lord can draw from even the least of His words and actions. All good spiritual reading books afford much matter for meditation; so do those discourses. Reading them creates a desire to go back and meditate. For this very purpose each of them is followed by a brief clear summary. The book, therefore, serves a double purpose, and its value is enhanced accordingly.

P. C.

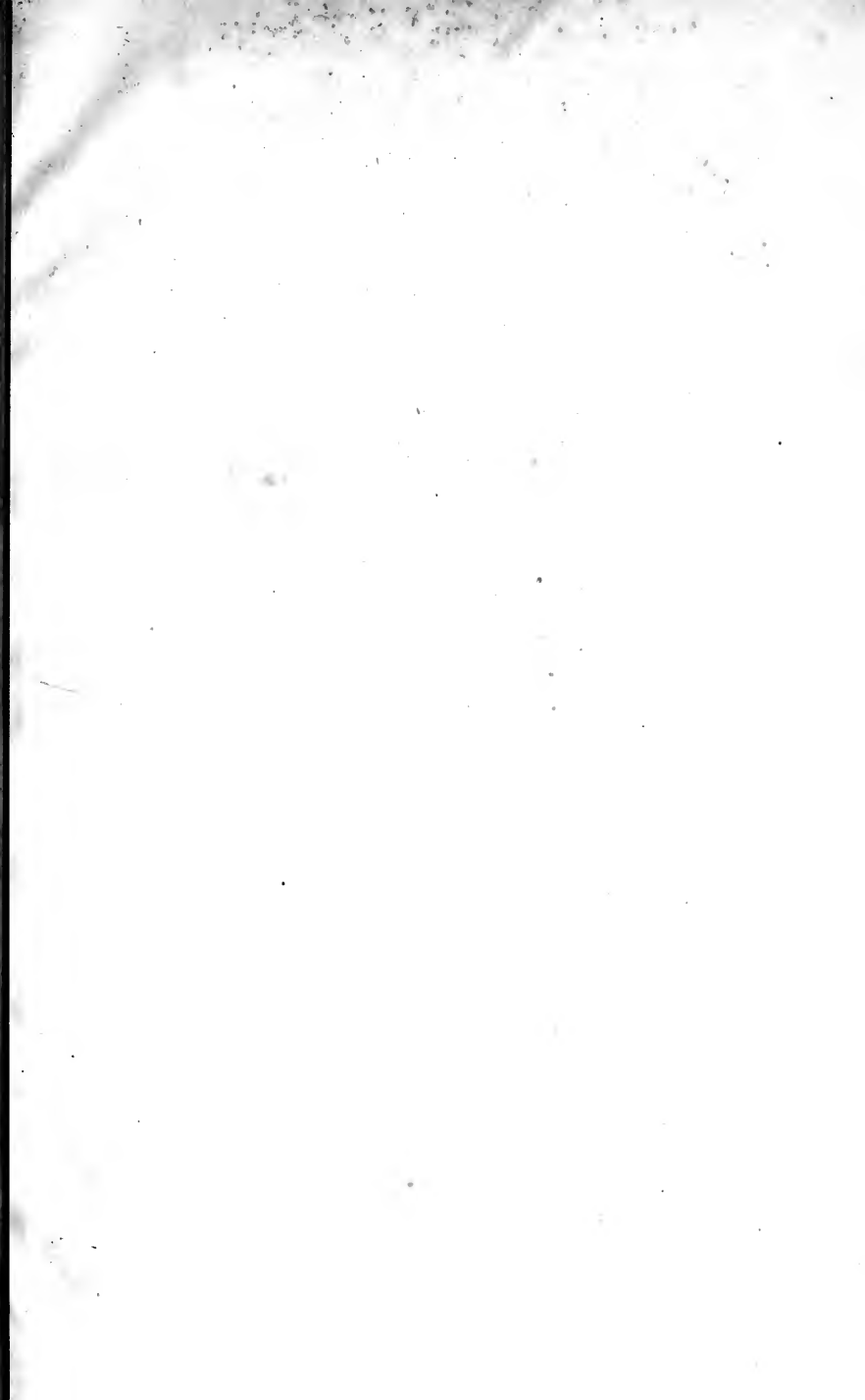
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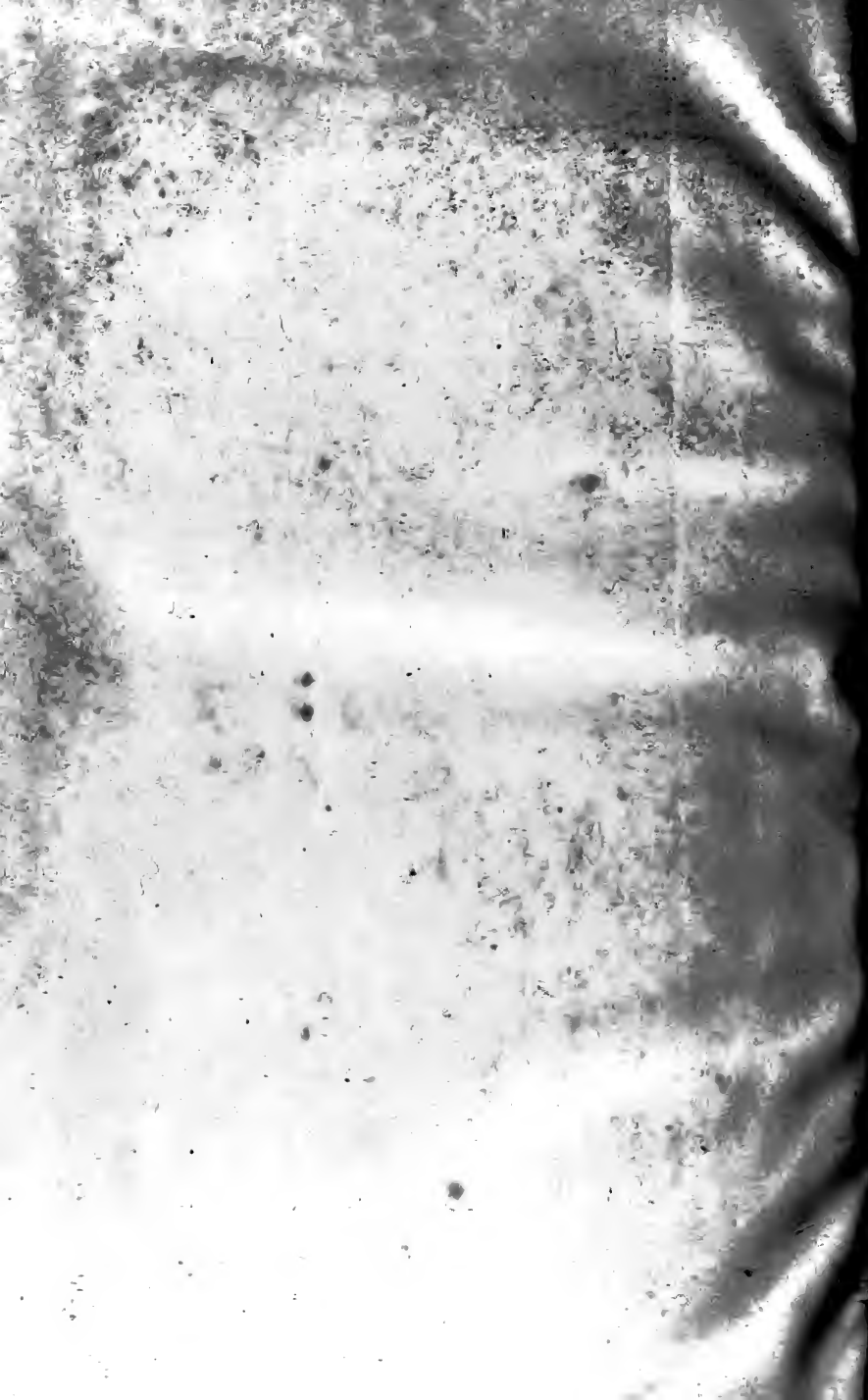
THE POEMS OF EGAN O'RAHILLY

WE should have stated, in connection with the review of 'The Poems of Egan O'Rahilly,' which appeared in our last issue, that the text of the work, just published by the 'Irish Texts Society,' and edited by Father Dineen, S.J., of Clongowes Wood, can be had from the publisher, David Nutt, 57, Long Acre, London, at the price of 10s. 6d. The members of the 'Irish Texts Society' (8, Adelphi-terrace, Strand, London), are entitled to all the publications of the Society on payment of 7s. 6d. per annum. New subscribers can also get the three volumes already published at the original subscription.—ED. I. E. R.

If 'Def. Par.' would kindly send us his name and address, his communication will be attended to. We have already stated more than once that we cannot insert anonymous communications, unless they are privately authenticated.—ED. I. E. R.

The answers to Liturgical questions of 'Regular' are unavoidably held over till next month.—ED. I. E. R.





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